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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

NEW SERIES ;

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR JULY, 1821.

ART. I. *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the Years 1799—1804. By Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland; with Maps, Plans, &c. Written in French by Alexander de Humboldt, and translated into English by Helen Maria Williams. Vol. V. Part II. Svo. Longman & Co. 1821.*

AFTER a lapse of two years, we have the pleasure of introducing to the notice of our readers another volume of M. Humboldt's *Personal Narrative*. We are now arrived at the fifth volume of the English translation, and at the second of the original publication in quarto. We are informed, in a note, that there remain two more volumes in quarto to complete the narrative, and that we may now consider ourselves as having dispatched one half of the task which M. Humboldt has commenced. When we reflect, however, upon the slow progress which he has hitherto made, and observe that he has just employed 1000 pages in relating the history of three months, we confess that we do not feel very sanguine in our hopes of arriving at so speedy a result. According to his present calculation, the work before us, when completed, will form ten unusually large octavo volumes. This, we think, is pretty well for a book of travels; but if it should extend to twice that length, we own that we are prepared for the worst. Upon the system which M. Humboldt has hitherto pursued, and upon which he appears to be intending to proceed, we have no doubt that, even if he should survive all the present generation, he will still die before his task will be completed.

The fact is, that to call this work a personal narrative is nothing less than a delusion. The incidents and adventures which are described in that part of the work which has hitherto been presented to the public, would certainly not occupy a volume; the rest is made up of dissertations, his-

B

torical, philological, and scientific, piled up, one upon the other, without order and without end; and often having no more connection with the personal narrative of M. Humboldt than with that of any other individual who happens to take an interest in the natural history of our globe. If our author chooses, in this way, to write commentaries upon the natural history of South America, and to mix them up with the details of his own travels, we are by no means disposed to offer any objection to such a plan of writing, considering it in the abstract: in some points of view we think, indeed, that it has considerable advantages; but to the indiscriminate prodigality with which he puts down every thing that comes into his own head, or ever came into any body else's head, upon every subject connected either with the history or the people or the climate of South America, no matter how common place, or irrelevant, or uninteresting: to this we do very strongly object. Were this interminable and often most tiresome diffuseness the trick of a mere book maker, who, from lack of legitimate materials, is often obliged to adulterate what little he has really to say, with any rubbish which he can scrape together by searching indexes and encyclopædias, we should then know how to treat the case: but in M. Humboldt we believe it to be merely a want of taste. He is, in this respect, a sort of German commentator in science; full of learning, and industry, and research, but unfortunately plagued with a memory, which retains indiscriminately all facts alike; through which nothing filters, and the contents of which can only be obtained by turning it upside-down, and emptying it as you would a barrel. To use a vulgar saying, "all is grist that comes to M. Humboldt's mill." He rejects nothing, arranges nothing, compresses nothing; and after all very frequently forgets, perhaps, to tell you the very facts for which you are in search. Thus with respect to the Oroonoko. The present volume consists of an account of the voyage which our author took to explore its source beyond the cataracts. The most interesting points connected with this immense column of water, are the rapidity of its currents; the character of its navigation; its length and general width; the time it would occupy in transporting goods from its mouth to certain given places, and *vice versâ*. Many other points of a similar nature might be mentioned, respecting some of which no information whatever is to be gained in any one of all the thousand pages which are devoted to the subject; and even the others are only to be snatched up here and there, in notes and among incidental discussions upon topics that possess in themselves comparatively no

interest whatever. For example, we should have been glad to know something respecting that part of "the hydraulic system" (as M. Humboldt most affectedly calls it) of the rivers of South America, by which the waters of the Orinoko and Marañon are joined. We should be afraid to say at a guess how many pages are devoted to the history of all the opinions that have successively prevailed upon this subject; we know that we were extremely wearied with the length of the discussion, and perfectly unable to follow the thread of it; and yet after all not a single fact is related by our author that adds, in any material respect, to the knowledge which was before possessed upon the subject. It may be very true that M. Humboldt had no additional information to communicate; and this, no doubt, may be a sufficient explanation of his silence as to those particulars of which we are ignorant; but then, why should he, merely because he had not any thing of real value to communicate, suppose that a dissertation, at all events, would be expected; and under this idea inflict upon his readers such a mass of useless and undigested history, as nothing but compulsion would induce us to load our memory with, even if it were in our power.

But it is an ungracious, and even an ungrateful task to dwell upon the faults of a writer to whom science is so greatly indebted. We have before had occasion to express the respect and admiration which we entertain for M. Humboldt; and assuredly there is nothing in the volume before us that ought to make us change any opinion which we have once expressed. Great however, and valuable as the information is, which is to be found in his writings, he certainly does, at times, tire the patience of his readers; and having said this, we have said all that can be said in his dispraise. He is still the most instructive traveller that has, perhaps, ever existed, and possibly the greatest natural historian of his age. If we thought that any thing we might say would have the effect of deterring our readers from adding the work before us to their libraries, we should have been more qualified in the manner in which we have animadverted upon his faults. It is not, however, the character of M. Humboldt himself which we have been giving; for that we must refer our readers to our XIIth volume, in which we endeavoured to do justice to his extraordinary endowments. If our author would only draw his pen occasionally through what he writes, and practise a little selection in his materials, it is all that we think his works substantially require in order to ensure them a permanent station in literature. Some faults there are which he has contracted from living so long in Parisian society, and in

that worst part of it, where literature is a pretension; but they are not worth adverting to in an author, the only object of whose writings is altogether scientific. Were M. Humboldt a writer upon philosophy, we certainly could not permit his style to pass without comment. But simplicity is a quality of which a Frenchman, or a person who writes for the French market, has no more notion than a dancing-master has of grace.

In our Number for October 1819, we left our author at the town of San Fernando de Apure, after having accompanied him across the Llanos of Venezuela from Cumana. He was then on the point of embarking upon the river Apure, on his way to the Oroonoko; and we could wish our readers to turn back to the XIIth Vol. of our Review, in order to connect the narrative, and to refresh their imagination with some general idea of the climate and scenery through which we are once more about to travel. We shall not now repeat the remarks which we then made concerning the general features of nature in the tropical climates; on that subject we have already said as much as we thought necessary; we shall therefore at once proceed to accompany our author in that part of his travels of which he has presented us with an account in the volume before us.

It is necessary to mention that the year in which the scene of the present narrative is laid, is 1800; so that with respect to the towns and missionary colonies that are here described, it is a history of what *has been* the state of the inhabitants of the banks of the Oroonoko, and not of what it actually is. These countries have been regenerated, as our readers are aware, by Bolivar and his heroic followers. And it is needless to be reminded that in political regeneration, the first steps are always understood, in the present day, to be preceded by a course of systematic devastation. These little spots and germs of incipient civilization were never very numerous or important in themselves; but whatever curiosity they might have excited, when considered as the seeds of prospective settlements and colonies, now that they possess only an historical interest, the description of them may easily be dispensed with. In an account, therefore, of the contents of this volume, we shall not stop to notice the several places at which our author remained during his voyage on the Oroonoko. For a general description of the missions we refer our readers to the extracts which we made from M. Humboldt's fourth volume, and from Ulloa, in our review of Col. Cox Hipplesley's Narrative of his Voyage on the Oroonoko, in our Number for November of 1819; with re-

spect to the scenery, and situation, and management of these infant colonies, they were in all respects so similar to each other, that to know one is to know them all.

The period which our author passed upon the rivers was three months, viz. April, May, and June. He was accompanied as before, by M. Bonpland, and also by Don Nicholas Sotto, the brother-in-law of the governor of the province of Varinas. They embarked on board a large canoe, navigated by Indians, and which was large enough to admit of a covering at the stern, together with a table and benches. With respect to the incidents of the voyage, such as the places at which they stopped, the persons by whom they were received, and other circumstances of an accidental nature, which might be expected to form a principal feature in a work professing to be, by distinction, a personal narrative, these are so few, and so slightly touched upon, and occur at such long intervals in the volume, that to follow our author from day to day, and place to place, is almost impracticable; for it is seldom that his steps can be traced. In the wilds of South America, or upon the solitude of her immense rivers, it is not as it is in Europe, where man, and the operations of man are always present to the mind and uppermost in the thoughts; in the countries of which we are now speaking, there is almost nothing to call the recollection to the puny works of human industry and art. The air, the rivers, and the forests all seem to belong to another tribe of beings, among whom man appears to be no longer lord; and the mind almost learns to forget him while expatiating among scenes in which he seems to have been forgotten by nature. It is no doubt owing to this circumstance that we are so seldom reminded of our author himself, and of his companions, while following his course along the waters of the Oroonoko; his mind seems to be always kept upon the stretch by other thoughts and feelings; and the mind of the reader sympathizes with him in his abstraction. The scarcity of narrative in the volume before us, must therefore serve to explain the absence of details of that nature, from the extracts which we propose to make from it; as also for the unconnected manner in which we shall pass from one topic to another. The phenomena of nature are not connected with each other by any logical combinations; and when, as in the work before us, they are discussed and described merely in the accidental order in which they happen to present themselves to the eyes of a traveller, it is in vain for a reviewer to attempt giving them any formal arrangement. All we can do is to treat

only of one subject at once ; and that is a greater restriction than our author's plan allowed him to impose upon himself.

The first five days of our author's narrative is occupied with an account of his voyage upon the Apure, which is a large, navigable branch of the Oroonoko, upon which the town of San Fernando, the capital of the province of Varinas, has been founded, and was at the time when it was visited by our author, extremely flourishing. Nothing can be more striking than the difference of the scenery upon the banks of the several branches of the Oroonoko, and that which is witnessed when we enter the waters of that immense stream. The wood upon the smaller streams (for small they are in proportion, though the largest of our European rivers sink into insignificance when compared with some of them) comes down close to the water's edge ; and the variety of birds and beasts of prey which are at every moment seen emerging from the forest, give a character to the picture which is singularly in keeping with the crowds of enormous crocodiles that line the shore, and are perpetually appearing upon the top of the water. But on leaving the minor streams and entering the Oroonoko, a country and scene of a totally different aspect presents itself to the view. An immense plain of water stretches before the spectator, as far as the eye can reach. The tops of the waves are whitened by the conflict of the breeze and the current, and rise to the height of several feet. The air no longer resounds with the piercing cries of the herons, the flamingoes, and the spoon-bills, crossing in long files from one shore to the other. A few large crocodiles are now and then discovered in the hollows of the waves, cutting obliquely, by the help of their long tails, the agitated waters ; but the forests cease to form a foreground in the picture ; they are removed to the horizon, and between them and the river, a vast beach, desert and bare, and constantly parched by the heat of the sun, is substituted for the shady banks which we just now described, as being peopled with a constant succession of objects that animate the scene and keep the imagination on the alert.

The Oroonoko, in that part of it, where it meets the waters of the Apure, and which as our readers will perceive from the maps, is several hundred leagues from its mouth, was found by measurement to be upwards of six miles broad. This, however, was at a time of the year when the waters are lowest. In the rainy season it attains, at this place, the breadth of upwards of 25 miles. And yet the Oroonoko is considered by our author as a river only of the second class.

The length of the course of the Oroonoko, calculated according to the most recent maps, and adding $\frac{1}{2}$ for the sinuosities, is 420 leagues. Now the Indus has a course of 510, and the Ganges of 426. The Rio de la Plata is 530 leagues in length; but the Mississippi has a course of 815 leagues, and the Maranon, a river of the Amazons, of 980 in length. The flux and reflux of the tide, in the month of April, when the waters are lowest, (the time at which our author visited it) are felt in the Oroonoko, beyond Angostura, that is to say at a distance of 250 miles from its mouth. At the confluence of the Carony, sixty leagues from the coast, the tide rises one foot three inches. These oscillations of the surface of the river, this suspension of its course, is not, however, to be confounded with a tide which flows up. Neither is it to be considered as a certain measure of the slope of the river. The tides are so extremely inconsiderable in that part of the Atlantic into which the Oroonoko and Maranon pour their waters, that the fact of its influence being felt at a distance of nearly two hundred leagues from the coast, would seem to imply that these two rivers have only a slope of a few feet during a course of some hundred miles. This proof, however, is not conclusive. The magnitude of the transmitted undulations depends much on local circumstances; on the form, the sinuosity, the number of channels of communication, and on many other accidents which might be enumerated. As an evidence of this, M. Bumontier* has recently shewn, that in the bed of the Garonne, the oscillations of the tides go up as on an inclined plane, far above the level of the waters at the mouth of the river. A partial exemplification of the same fact may be witnessed in our London river. It commonly happens that the water will rise a foot at London Bridge before the tide has turned.

In estimating the importance of the rivers of South America, however, we are not to consider them so much channels of communication with the ocean, but rather as the roads by which at some future time all the inhabitants of the inland parts of South America will carry on their intercourse with each other. In this point of view the branches of the three great rivers which water that immense peninsula, from their number and magnitude, are of even more importance in its geography than the main streams themselves. Our author tells us that voyages from the beds of the Maranon to the Oroonoko, by the natural canals of Cassiquiare and Rio

* *Recherches sur les Mouvements des Eaux*, p. 809. §. 72 and 83.

Negro, excite no more attention in the colonists at present, than the arrival of boats that descend the Loire by the canal of Orleans, awakens on the banks of the Seine. We have only to turn our eye to the map and view the enormous tracts of country in every direction which, by this single fact, may be brought into communication with each other, and the imagination will at once be impressed with some idea of the advantages which the people of South America may possibly at some future time derive from the endless facilities which their inland navigation seems to present.

This, however, is a speculation upon which we confess we are not able to enter with any confidence. With respect to the political changes that are now in operation over every part of that fine division of the globe, we are willing to suppose, for the sake of argument, at least, and certainly are most heartily disposed to wish, that they may be as fortunate and successful as the most sanguine admirers of South American freedom seem disposed to expect. But even if we place those regions under the most favourable forms of government, we are still inclined to think, that the advantages of it can be fully and extensively felt only partially. The table of lands of Mexico and of the ridge of the Andes, part of the Brazils, and perhaps the southern extremity of the Peninsula generally, may arrive at something like European civilization; but as to those immense plains and forests which cover the largest portion of its surface, we regard them as natural barriers by which the different districts of the continent will always be as effectually insulated from each other, as they would be if they were separated by the ocean; and indeed but for the rivers by which these immense tracts are intersected, much more effectually. It is the prodigality of nature which opposes an obstacle to improvement between the tropics, and one which appears to be quite as unfavourable, under many circumstances, to the wants and condition of man, as the parsimony with which she furnishes her stores in the arctic regions. Captain Parry particularly remarked the abundance of all the necessaries of life with which the Esquimaux Indians, in Lancaster Sound, seemed to be supplied. This is imputable directly to the industrious and provident habits which the severity of the climate in those high latitudes almost irresistibly calls into action. And it is to the same cause, namely to an opposite influence of climate, that upon the banks of the Groonoko, where the earth, and water, and air, are almost choked with the overflowing fecundity of every element, and where nature only requires the hand of man merely to give it a direction, that our author

found the natives, both European and Indian, often exposed to the difficulties almost of absolute want. As an instance of what we are now saying, we extract our author's account of the little mission of Esmeralda. The passage contains matter of other interest besides that which is germane to the subject of the indolence generated by the climate; but it will not be on that account the less welcome to our readers.

"It remains for me to speak of the most solitary and remote Christian settlement on the Upper Oroonoko. Opposite the point where the bifurcation takes place, the granitic group of Duida rises in an amphitheatre on the right bank of the river. This mountain, which the missionaries call a volcano, is nearly 8000 feet high. Perpendicular on the south and the west, it has an aspect of solemn greatness; its summit is bare and stony, but, whenever its less steep declivities are covered with mould, vast forests appear suspended on its flanks. At the foot of Duida is placed the mission of Esmeralda, a little hamlet with eighty inhabitants, surrounded by a lovely plain, bathed by rills of black, but limpid waters. This is a real meadow, decorated with clumps of the mauritia palm, which is the sago-tree of America. Nearer the mountain, the distance of which from the Cross of the mission I found to be 7300 toises, the marshy plain changes to a savannah, and spends itself along the lower region of the Cordillera." Vol. V. Part II. p. 502.

"There is no missionary at Esmeralda; the monk, appointed to celebrate mass in that hamlet, is settled at Santa Barbara, more than fifty leagues distant. It requires four days to go up the river; and he therefore visits this spot but five or six times in a year. We were cordially received by an old officer, who took us for Catalonian shopkeepers, whom our little trade had led to the missions. On seeing packages of paper for the purpose of drying our plants, he smiled at our simple ignorance. 'You come,' said he, 'to a country, where this kind of merchandize has no sale; we write little here; and the dried leaves of maize, the *platano* (plantain tree), and the *vijaho* (heliconia), serve us, like paper in Europe, to wrap up needles, fish hooks, and other little articles, of which we are careful.' This old officer united in his person the civil and ecclesiastical authority. He taught the children, I will not say the Catechism, but the Rosary; he rang the bells to amuse himself; and, impelled by an ardent zeal for the service of the church, sometimes used his chorister's wand in a manner not very agreeable to the natives." Vol. V. Part II. p. 504.

"The site of the mission is highly picturesque; the surrounding country is lovely, and of great fertility. I never saw clusters of plaintains of so large a size as these; and indigo, sugar, and cacao might be produced in abundance, if any trouble were taken for their cultivation. The Cerro Duida is surrounded with fine pasturage; and, if the Observantins of the college of Piritu partook a

little of the industry of the Catalonian Capuchins settled on the banks of the Corony, numerous herds would be seen wandering between the Cunucunumo and the Padamo. In the present state of things, not a cow or a horse is to be found; and the inhabitants, victims of their own indolence, are often reduced to eat hams of alouate monies, and flour of the bones of fish, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. A little cassava and a few plain-tains only are cultivated; and when the fishery is not abundant, the natives of a country so favoured by nature are exposed to the most cruel privations." Vol. V. Part II. p. 511.

Our author notices in another place, that the inactivity both of body and mind, incident to all the inhabitants of this quarter of the globe, seems to extend even to the brute creation; and mentions as an instance, the distance which the birds will continue to run before they can be induced to take wing. But the most extraordinary example of the strange and perverse privations of all kinds to which mankind will resort, when once habits of inactivity are rooted in their constitution, rather than break through the enchanted chain, is furnished by the account which our author gives us of a most singular custom which prevails among the Otomacs, a tribe in a very rude state, and presenting, as M. Humboldt remarks, one of the most extraordinary physiological phenomena which has ever been authenticated, namely, of a whole race, who systematically, and for several months of the year, appease their hunger by swallowing large quantities of earth, which they regard as a principal article of food.

"The inhabitants of Uruana belong to those *nations of the savannahs (Indios andantes)*, who, more difficult to civilize than the *nations of the forest (Indios del monte)*, have a decided aversion to cultivate the land, and live almost exclusively on hunting and fishing. They are men of a very robust constitution; but ugly, savage, vindictive, and passionately fond of fermented liquors. They are omnivorous *animals* in the highest degree; and therefore the other Indians, who consider them as barbarians, have a common saying, 'nothing is so disgusting, that an Otomac will not eat it.' While the waters of the Oroonoko and its tributary streams are low, the Otomacs subsist on fish and turtles. The former they kill with surprising dexterity, by shooting them with an arrow, when they appear at the surface of the water. When the rivers swell, which in South America, as well as in Egypt and in Nubia, is erroneously attributed to the melting of the snows, and which occurs periodically in every part of the torrid zone, fishing almost entirely ceases. It is then as difficult to procure fish in the rivers, which are become deeper, as when you are sailing on the open sea. It often fails the poor missionaries, on fast days as well as flesh

days, though all the young Indians are under the obligation of 'fishing for the convent.' At the period of these inundations, which last two or three months, the Otomacs swallow a prodigious quantity of earth. We found heaps of balls in their huts, piled up in pyramids three or four feet high. These balls were five or six inches in diameter. The earth, which the Otomacs eat, is a very fine and unctuous clay, of a yellowish grey colour; and, being slightly baked in the fire, the hardened crust has a tint inclining to red, owing to the oxid of iron which is mingled with it. We brought away some of this earth, which we took from the winter provision of the Indians; and it is absolutely false, that it is steatitic, and contains magnesia. Mr. Vauquelin did not discover any traces of this earth in it: but he found, that it contained more silex than alumin, and three or four per cent of lime.

"The Otomacs do not eat every kind of clay indifferently; they choose the alluvial beds or strata that contain the most unctuous earth, and the smoothest to the feel. I enquired of the missionary, whether the moistened clay were made to undergo, as Father Gumilla asserts, that peculiar decomposition, which is indicated by a disengagement of carbonic acid and sulphuretted hydrogen, and which is designated in every language by the term of *putrefaction*; but he assured us, that the natives neither cause the clay to rot, nor do they mingle it with flour of maize, oil of turtles' eggs, or fat of the crocodile. We ourselves examined, both at the Oroonoko, and after our return to Paris, the balls of earth, which we brought away with us, and found no trace of the mixture of any organic substance, whether oily or farinaceous. The savage regards every thing as nourishing, that appeases hunger: when therefore you inquire of an Otomac, on what he subsists during the two months when the river is the highest, he shews you his balls of clayey earth. This he calls his principal food; for at this period he can seldom procure a lizard, a root of fern, or a dead fish swimming at the surface of the water. If the Indian eat earth from want during two months (and from three quarters to five quarters of a pound in twenty-four hours), he does not the less regale himself with it during the rest of the year. Every day in the season of drought, when fishing is most abundant, he scrapes his balls of *poya*, and mingles a little clay with his other aliment. What is most surprising is, that the Otomacs do not become lean by swallowing such quantities of earth: they are, on the contrary, extremely robust, and far from having the belly tense and puffed up. The missionary Fray Ramon Bueno asserts, that he never remarked any alteration in the health of the natives at the period of the great risings of the Oroonoko.

"The following are the facts in all their simplicity, which we were able to verify. The Otomacs, during some months, eat daily three quarters of a pound of clay slightly hardened by fire, without their health being sensibly affected by it. They moisten the earth afresh when they are going to swallow it. It has not been possible

to verify hitherto with precision how much nutritious vegetable or animal matter the Indians take in a week at the same time; but it is certain, that they attribute the sensation of satiety, which they feel, to the clay, and not to the wretched aliments which they take with it occasionally. No physiological phenomenon being entirely insulated, it may be interesting to examine several analogous phenomena, which I have been able to collect." Vol. V. Part II. p. 640.

This fact is so curious, and appears to be so perfectly authenticated, that we need not be surprized if M. Humboldt makes it the occasion of a dissertation; nor will our readers probably be displeased to learn some of the facts which he has collected upon the subject. It appears that the Negroes in Martinico are commonly afflicted with disorders in the stomach, which are imputed to their fondness for this food, if it may be so called. That such a propensity should be detrimental to their health will not occasion surprize; they themselves, however, impute this bad effect entirely to the nature of the earth in the West Indies, which they say "is not so easy of digestion as that of their country." In the island of Java, cakes of clay, slightly baked, are regularly exposed to sale. At Popayan in Peru, our author saw lime reduced to a very fine powder, sold in the public markets, among other articles of provision. This lime, when used, is mingled with *coca*, that is, with the leaves of the erythroxylon peruvianum; and the Indian messengers, as is well known, take no other aliment for whole days. In Germany, the workmen employed in the quarries of sandstone worked in the mountain of Keffhæusen, spread a very fine clay upon their bread, instead of butter, which they call stein-butter, contending that "it is singularly filling and easy of digestion." Finally, our author tells us, that two young French physiologists have tried the experiment with success; they ate five ounces "of a silvery green and very flexible laminar tale," after long fasting; they experienced from a food to which their organs were so unaccustomed, no inconvenience, but on the contrary; for their hunger was perfectly appeased, and probably more completely than it would have been by the same quantity of ordinary aliment. After these facts, and this experiment of Messrs. Hippolyte Cloquet, and Breschet, some of our readers will perhaps begin to think that the supposition which Malthus makes of the population of any particular country, outstripping its means of subsistence, is altogether chimerical; for as long as people have ground to stand upon, they can never, if we will be instructed by the Otomacs, be without food to eat. M. Ham-

boldt, himself, seems to be very sceptical as to the probability of being able to bring mankind to this ideal perfection; for "we shall never learn," he thinks, "to digest and assimilate earth:" but since the grand experiments of Gay-Lussac and Thenard, have discovered that only some permutations in the proportions of oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon, distinguish the hardest timber from starch, he is very far from daring to dogmatise upon the subject. By the experiment of these chemists, it appears that the ingredients of starch, as compared with those of oak timber, are numerically the same.

Starch.	Oak timber.
Oxygen..... 49·68	41·78
Carbon..... 43·55	52·53
Hydrogen..... 6·77	5·69
<hr/> 100·00 <hr/>	<hr/> 100·00 <hr/>

With these facts and discoveries before us, we ought really to feel grave upon the subject; yet we could not help smiling at the reflections with which our author closes the discussion.

"We can scarcely dwell on these speculations of general physiology, without enquiring what would have been the state of society, or rather of the human race, if man had no need of the productions of organization and vitality as aliment. No habit can essentially change the mode of nutrition. We shall never learn to digest and assimilate earth: but since the grand experiments of Gay-Lussac and Thenard have made known to us, that only slight differences in the proportions of oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon, distinguish the hardest wood from the substance of starch, how can we deny, that chemistry may one day succeed in converting those enormous vegetable masses, those textures of hardened fibres, that compose the trunks of the trees of our forests, into alimentary substances? Such a discovery, to be important, must be founded on cheap and simple processes: but in this supposition, which appears scarcely probable, it would change the organization of political bodies, the price of labour, and the actual distribution of the population of the globe. In rendering man more independent, it would tend to dissolve the bonds of society, and to sap the foundations of industry and civilization." Vol. V. Part II. p. 660.

One of the most intolerable, and as it should seem, most irremediable evils incident to the otherwise fertile and picturesque tracts, along the banks of the rivers, are the countless myriads of venomous insects which darken the air and

almost impede the respiration. This plague seems not to be equally or universally felt in all places alike, but language can hardly describe the torment which is occasioned by it, in some particular situations. "How comfortable must people be in the moon," said a Saliva Indian to Father Gumilla, "she looks so beautiful and so clear that she must be free from moschettoes." When two people meet in the morning, the first questions they address to each other, are, "How did you find the zancudoes during the night? How are we to day for the moschettoes?" At Mandacava our author met an old missionary, who told him with an air of sadness, that "he had spent his twenty years of moschettoes;" and shewed his legs in order that M. Humboldt might be able to tell, *por alla*, (beyond sea) "what the poor monks suffer in the forests of Cassiquiare." They were in fact so speckled, with spots of coagulated blood, that it was difficult to recognize the proper colour of the skin. But our author needed not this demonstration of the evil; for at various places which he describes, it was hardly possible to speak in the open air without coughing and sneezing. They are diffused in the atmosphere like smoke, and we are told that to the height of 18 or 20 yards a cubic foot of air is often peopled by a million of winged insects, every one of which is in one degree or other venomous.

We have before observed that the *plaga de las moscas*, as the inhabitants state, does not infest all places alike in the countries of which we are now speaking. With respect to the table lands of South America, and in the dry plains remote from the beds of the great rivers, there are not sensibly more gnats than in Europe. But still it is difficult to assign any thing like a *geographical distribution* of them, because different places are very differently affected by them, that appear in all other respects to be similarly situated. But what most struck our author in the natural history of these insects was, that the different species, of which there are great numbers, do not associate together, and that at different hours of the day you are stung by different tribes. From half-past six in the morning, till five in the afternoon, the air is filled with *moschettoes*, which have not the form of our *gnats*, but that of small flies. An hour before sunset, a species call *tempraneros*, because they appear also at sunrise, take the place of the *moschettoes*. These remain on duty only one hour and a half; and between six and seven the *zancudoes* make their appearance. These last, which are the most venomous, retire about midnight, and return at about four in the morning, when they return in crowds, and

with a most voracious appetite. In the intervals of "mounting guard," as the inhabitants phrase it, there is a repose in the air for about a quarter of an hour; but so regular are they in their operations, that in a climate where every thing proceeds with such admirable regularity that a barometer becomes a clock, our author tells us that we might shut our eyes and guess blindfold the hour of the day or night by the various hummings of the insects, and by their stings, the pain of which differs according to the nature of the poison which each tribe deposits in the wound. These animals appear also to migrate; and at different times of the year they seem to change about to different places. In fact this is an evil, as we said before, for which the Indians have discovered no cure or alleviation, which attacks equally the native and the stranger, and frequently, from the excessive perspiration which it induces, brings on disorders that terminate fatally. It is now neither the danger of a navigation in small boats, nor the serpents, crocodiles, or jaguars, that terrify the Spaniard from undertaking a voyage on the Oroonoko; it is, as they say, with simplicity, "*el sudar y las moscas*," "the sweatings and the flies."

With respect indeed to the jaguars and crocodiles, and other monsters and beasts of prey with which both the rivers and the forests upon the banks of them, abound, one is surprised to find how trifling, comparatively speaking, is the discomfort occasioned by them, when placed by the side of those apparently minor evils, of various kinds, which from being incessant, and altogether unavoidable, appear to render the countries which are exposed to them, not only dangerous to live in, but absolutely uninhabitable. As to the jaguars, our author mentions no instance of their attacking men; and the fearlessness with which the Indians regard them, is a sufficient evidence that their ferocity is only excited by hunger; which in those countries where every production of nature overflows, is probably not often felt by them. Even the cattle are less annoyed by them than by the bats. A story which was related to M. Humboldt by a missionary, presents the character of the jaguar in a new light. Some months before his arrival at the village of Atures, two Indian children, a boy and a girl, about eight or nine years of age, were playing on the grass near the village, in the middle of a savannah, which was pointed out to our author. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a jaguar issued from the forest, and approached the children, bounding round them, and evidently disposed to play. Sometimes he hid himself in the grass, sometimes he sprang forward, bend-

ing his back and pointing his head down in the manner of our cats. The little boy, who was perfectly ignorant of his danger, seemed at first not at all averse to his play-fellow, until the jaguar beginning to pat him with his claws, ended with a blow which wounded the child severely, upon which the little girl took the branch of a tree, and striking the animal, drove it away into the woods. The boy was brought to our author, who appeared very intelligent, and the scars, which were two, were still plainly visible. Were these animals exposed to hunger, however, there can be no doubt that their presence would be very alarming. They are so numerous in the forests of South America, that their cries are always heard during the whole night. It appears that more than 4000 are killed every year in the Spanish colonies. Buenos Ayres alone, exported formerly, 2000 skins annually. They are called by our furriers skins of the great panther; and there are two or three varieties. Besides the common kind, there is the great black tiger, and also an Albino variety; the former are so dark, that the black spots are scarcely visible; and in the latter kind, the spots are so pale as not to be easily distinguishable on a white ground.

The monkey tribes are very numerous, and some of them remarkably gentle and intelligent. At the mission of the Atures our author's host had one of a new species, which was remarkably ugly, and used to amuse himself with traversing the savannahs on the back of the first pig which he could catch. Here also the fame of the hairy man of the woods was spread. He is called by the Indians *vasitur*, or great devil; but among the missions is known by the name of the salvaje. Neither natives nor missionaries have any doubt of his existence; they singularly dread him, and particularly the women; notwithstanding father Gili's authority, who gravely relates* the history of a lady in the town of San Carlos, in the Llanos of Venezuela, who much praised the gentle character and attentions of the man of the woods. She lived several years with one in great domestic harmony, and only requested some hunters to take her back "because she was tired, both she and her children, (who also were a little hairy) of living so far from the church and the sacraments." This fable, evidently embellished from the history of the manners of the ourang-outang, pursued our author for five years, from one extremity of the Peninsula to the other; and he was greatly blamed in every society for persisting in having doubts as to its truth.

* Saggio, Vol. I. P. 248. 315.

A much more formidable enemy to the safety of the inhabitants than this fabulous monster, is the crocodile, which in the Oroonoko, and in all the streams flowing into it, appears to reign lord paramount of the waters. During the heat of the summer they betake themselves to the savannahs, where they bury themselves in the mud, and lie dormant till the rainy season commences. And both at San Fernando and at Angostura, our author was informed that seldom a year passes without several grown up persons, particularly women, who fetch water from the river, being devoured by them. The following is the description which M. Humboldt gives of them.

“ The movements of the crocodile of the Apure are abrupt and rapid when it attacks any object ; but it moves with the slowness of a salamander, when it is not excited by rage or hunger. The animal in running makes a rustling noise, that seems to proceed from the rubbing of the scales of its skin against one another. In this movement it bends its back, and appears higher on its legs than when at rest. We often heard this noise of the scales very near us on the shore ; but it is not true, as the Indians pretend, that, like the pangolins, the old crocodiles ‘ can erect their scales, and every part of their armour.’ The motion of these animals is no doubt generally in a straight line, or rather like that of an arrow which changes its direction at certain distances. However, notwithstanding the little apparatus of false ribs, that connects the vertebræ of the neck, and seems to impede the lateral movement, crocodiles can turn easily when they please. I often saw young ones biting their tails ; and other observers have seen the same action in crocodiles at their full growth. If their movements almost always appear to be straight forward, it is because, like our small lizards, they execute them by starts. Crocodiles are excellent swimmers ; they go with facility against the most rapid current. It appeared to me, however, that in descending the river they had some difficulty in turning quickly about. A large dog, that had accompanied us in our journey from Caraccas to the Rio Negro, was one day pursued in swimming by an enormous crocodile, which had nearly reached him, when the dog escaped its enemy by turning round suddenly and swimming against the current. The crocodile performed the same movement, but much more slowly than the dog, which happily gained the shore.

“ The crocodiles of the Apure find abundant nourishment in the chiguire (the thick-nosed tapir of naturalists), which live fifty or sixty together in troops on the banks of the river. These unfortunate animals, as large as our pigs, have no weapons of defence ; they swim somewhat better than they run ; yet they become the prey of the crocodiles in the water, as of the tigers on land.

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It is difficult to conceive, how, persecuted by two powerful enemies, they can become so numerous; but they breed with the same rapidity as the cobayas, or little guinea-pigs, which come to us from Brazil." Vol. IV. p. 424.

South America is a country respecting which our historical knowledge is so brief, and in which so little that meets the eye or strikes the imagination, is the work of man, that hitherto we have confined our extracts and remarks, almost entirely to those parts of M. Humboldt's narrative in which he traces the history of natural phenomena. With regard to the Indians, or to the missions that are scattered at long distances along the banks of the river, although we frequently meet with little incidents and details respecting them, that serve, now and then, to diversify his dissertations with something of dramatic interest, yet taken separately these parts of his volume are of inferior value. The following extract, however, contains matter of a very extraordinary nature, and which we are sure our readers will be gratified by reading in M. Humboldt's own words. Those ancient traditions concerning the destruction of the world by water, and the renewal of the human race from a single family, or pair, seem to float upon the memory of all nations like the relics of a vast shipwreck, and are as curious, in a philosophical point of view, as they are valuable from the testimony which they bear to the truth of those records in which the history of our holy religion is preserved.

"I cannot quit this first link of the mountains of Encaramada, without recalling to mind a fact, that did not remain unknown to Father Gili; and which was often mentioned to me during our abode in the missions of the Oroonoko. The natives of those countries have retained the belief, that, 'at the time of the great waters, when their fathers were forced to have recourse to boats, to escape the general inundation, the waves of the sea beat against the rocks of Encaramada.' This belief is not confined to one nation singly, the Tamanacks; it makes part of a system of historical traditions, of which we find scattered notions among the Maypures of the great cataracts; among the Indians of Rio Ere-vato, which runs into the Caura; and among almost all the tribes of the Upper Oroonoko. When the Tamanacks are asked how the human race survived this great deluge, the *age of water* of the Mexicans, they say, 'a man and a woman saved themselves on a high mountain, called *Tamanacu*, situate on the banks of the *Asiveru*; and, casting behind them, over their heads, the fruits of the mauritia palm-tree, they saw the seeds contained in those fruits produce men and women, who repeopled the earth.' Thus we find in all its simplicity, among nations now savage, a tradition, which

the Greeks have embellished with all the charms of imagination ! A few leagues from Encaramada, a rock, called *Tepu-mereme*, or 'the painted rock,' rises in the midst of the savannah. It displays resemblances of animals, and symbolic figures, resembling those we saw in going down the Oroonoko, at a small distance below Encaramada, near the town Caycara. Similar rocks in Africa are called by travellers *Fetish Stones*. I shall not make use of this term, because *fetichism* does not prevail among the natives of the Oroonoko ; and the figures of stars, of the sun, of tigers, and of crocodiles, which we found traced upon the rocks in spots now uninhabited, appeared to me in no way to denote the objects of worship of those nations. Between the banks of the Cassiquiare and the Oroonoko ; between Encaramada, the Capuchino, and Caycara, these hieroglyphic figures are often placed at great heights on the walls of rock, that could be accessible only by constructing very lofty scaffolds. When the natives are asked how those figures could have been sculptured, they answer with a smile, as relating a fact of which a stranger, a white man only, could be ignorant, that 'at the period of the *great waters*, their fathers went to that height in boats.' " Vol. IV. p. 471.

These sculptured rocks, of which so curious an account is given above, are found all over South America ; and often strike the imagination the more forcibly, from the traces of civilization which they seem to indicate, in contrast with the deep barbarism by which they are now surrounded. They do not indeed imply any very advanced degree of culture ; but still they are sufficient to prove, that the Oroonoko was once inhabited by a different race from those who now are found along its banks. In North America, however, there are the remains of circumvallations and walls, though no vestige of a wall or dike is to be found between the Oroonoko and the Marañon. If we except the sculptured figures of which we have just now spoken, the only historical monument (and that does not appear to claim any very high antiquity) which our author met with in this part of the Peninsula, occurs near the great cataract of Maypure. It is an immense cavern filled with mummies ; and we shall not anticipate, by any remarks of our own, the fine description which M. Humboldt gives of his visit to it.

" We climbed with difficulty, and not without some danger, a steep rock of granite, entirely bare. It would have been almost impossible to fix the foot on its smooth and sloping surface, if large crystals of feldspar, resisting decomposition, did not stand out from the rock, and furnish points of support. Scarcely had we attained the summit of the mountain, when we beheld with astonishment the singular aspect of the surrounding country. The foamy bed of the waters is filled with an Archipelago of islands

covered with palm-trees. Toward the west, on the left bank of the Oroonoko, stretch the savannahs of the Meta and the Casanare. They resembled a sea of verdure, the misty horizon of which was illumined by the rays of the setting sun. Its orb, resembling a globe of fire, suspended over the plain; and the solitary Peak of Uniana, which appeared more lofty from being wrapped in vapours that softened its outline; all contributed to augment the majesty of the scene. Near us the eye looked down into a deep valley, enclosed on every side. Birds of prey and goatsuckers winged their lonely flight in this inaccessible circus. We found a pleasure in following with the eye their fleeting shadows, as they glided slowly over the flanks of the rock.

“ A narrow ridge led us to a neighbouring mountain, the rounded summit of which supported immense blocks of granite. These masses are more than forty or fifty feet in diameter; and their form is so perfectly spherical, that, appearing to touch the soil only by a small number of points, it might be supposed, at the least shock of an earthquake they would roll into the abyss. I do not remember to have seen any where else a similar phenomenon, amid the decompositions of granitic soils. If the balls rested on a rock of a different nature, as it happens in the blocks of Jura, we might suppose that they had been rounded by the action of water, or thrown out by the force of an elastic fluid; but their position on the summit of a hill, alike granitic, makes it more probable, that they owe their origin to the progressive decomposition of the rock.

“ The most remote part of the valley is covered by a thick forest. In this shady and solitary spot, on the declivity of a steep mountain, the cavern of Atarupe opens itself; it is less a cavern than a jutting rock, in which the waters have scooped a vast hollow, when, in the ancient revolutions of our planet, they attained that height. We soon reckoned in this tomb of a whole extinct tribe near six hundred skeletons, well preserved, and so regularly placed, that it would have been difficult to make an error in their number. Every skeleton reposes in a sort of basket, made of the petioles of the palm-tree. These baskets, which the natives call *mapires*, have the form of a square bag. Their size is proportioned to the age of the dead; there are some for infants cut off at the moment of their birth. We saw them from ten inches to three feet four inches long, the skeletons in them being bent together. They are all ranged near each other, and are so entire, that not a rib, or a phalanx is wanting. The bones have been prepared in three different manners, either whitened in the air and the sun; dyed red with onoto, a colouring matter extracted from the *bixa orellana*; or, like real mummies, varnished with odoriferous resins, and enveloped in leaves of the *heliconia*, or of the plantain-tree. The Indians related to us, that the fresh corpse is placed in damp ground, in order that the flesh may be consumed by degrees; some months after, it is taken out, and the flesh remaining on the bones

is scraped off with sharp stones. Several hordes in Guyana still observe this custom. Earthen vases half baked are found near the *mapires*, or baskets. They appear to contain the bones of the same family. The largest of these vases, or funeral urns, are three feet high, and five feet and a half long. Their colour is greenish grey; and their oval form is sufficiently pleasing to the eye. The handles are made in the shape of crocodiles, or serpents; the edge is bordered with meanders, labyrinths, and real *grocyques*, in straight lines variously combined." Vol. V. Part II. p. 615.

Our limits will not permit us to continue farther our extracts; if those which we have already given, combined with the deservedly high character of the author, are not sufficient to create in our readers a desire to become possessors of the work, no remarks or praise of ours will probably be of avail. Without the writings of Humboldt, no library can be complete, because it is only in his work that an accurate knowledge is to be obtained of a portion of the globe, which whether we regard its magnitude or its productions, or its possible destination, must always possess an eminent place in our curiosity. We shall wait with some anxiety for his continuation of the narrative, of which so considerable a portion is now published; and not the less from the promise, that to the last volume, there will be annexed a copious table of contents, in which the physical and geological observations will be methodically arranged. This, certainly, is a convenience which all the writings of our author greatly require; and the present work, from the very plan upon which it is composed, more than any other.

ART. II. *The Life of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, compiled principally from Original and scarce Documents. With an Appendix, containing Fur Prædestinatus, Modern Policies, and three Sermons by Archbishop Sancroft. Also a Life of the learned Henry Wharton; and two Letters of Dr. Sanderson, now first published from the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace. By George D'Oyly, D.D. F.R.S. Domestic Chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; Rector of Lambeth, and of Sundridge in Kent.* 2 vols. 8vo. Murray. 1821.

A GOOD memoir of Archbishop Sancroft has long been a desideratum in ecclesiastical biography. He lived in the

most interesting period of our history; and he partook of the troubles and distresses in which, during the earlier part of that period, all loyal subjects, and especially the clergy, were involved by the great Rebellion. And as he had steadily adhered to the Church in her humiliation, and devoted his talents and acquirements to the vindication of her doctrines, and the exposure of the errors and artifices of her enemies; so did he share largely and deservedly in her subsequent exaltation, being raised rapidly, through various gradations of preferment, to her highest dignity.

In his greatness he still preserved the same unbending attachment to her cause, and manifested the same zeal and diligence in her defence, which had attracted the notice of the wise, and conciliated the patronage of the powerful, when he was in a humble station: and he closed his professional life as he had commenced it, by meekly suffering for conscience sake. If ever a man could safely adopt the language of St. Paul, and say, "Now my rejoicing is this, the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, I have had my conversation in the world *," we have reason to believe that Archbishop Sancroft was that man. He seems to have been eminently guileless, simple-hearted, and sincere in all his conduct. The circumstances of the times placed him in great difficulties, and called upon him for great sacrifices; but his conduct was uniformly regulated by a determination to adhere to what he thought to be his duty at all hazards, and without regard to personal inconveniences.

He seems to have been slow and cautious in forming his resolutions, examining all the peculiarities and bearings of every case which came before him with scrupulous and painful attention: but his decision, when once formed, was inflexible; and his passive courage in enduring its consequences not to be shaken. Perhaps it required less effort to prepare his mind for suffering than for action; perhaps, in some instances, his penetration in discovering what was best to be done, was not equal to his resolution in adhering to the suggestions of his judgment, and the dictates of his conscience: but his integrity cannot be doubted, and his disinterestedness never was excelled. The fear of losing his fellowship, then almost his only support, could not influence him in early youth to cast his lot among the covenanted enemies of the altar and the throne; and the splendour and

* 2 Cor. i. 12.

dignity of the Primacy had no more power to tempt him in his old age to compromise his principles, by acting as if the personal misconduct of his sovereign, and his pusillanimous desertion of his government and kingdom, absolved him from his allegiance. How far, in the latter instance, he may be convicted of an error in judgment, we shall have occasion to discuss hereafter: but, however we may perhaps doubt the correctness of his determination, we cannot withhold from him the praise of having greatly sacrificed every selfish feeling to what he considered to be the claim of duty; and though we may lament the unhappy circumstances which prematurely bereaved the Church of his superintendence; yet the noble example of self-denial which he thus set, by holding fast his integrity under so great a trial, may perhaps have more than compensated to her by its beneficial influence, for the immediate loss she sustained from his deprivation. Considering then the peculiar character of Archbishop Sancroft, the eventful nature of the times in which he lived, and the distinguished part he was called upon to act in them, we were led to imagine that his biographer could scarcely fail to produce a narrative of more than common interest: and the supposed facilities for collecting information afforded to the author by his official station at Lambeth, may have contributed to raise our expectations somewhat higher than was reasonable. We know not whether we were thus led to anticipate more than Dr. D'Oyly's materials would enable him to supply; but we confess that we have not perused the volumes before us without an occasional feeling of disappointment. We have been induced to wish, that their author had entered more at large into some interesting passages in our ecclesiastical history, which he has rather alluded to than related; and we were anxious for more minute information respecting the private studies, opinions, and character of the Archbishop than he has given us: and sometimes we have perhaps regretted, that his solicitude to discharge the duty of an impartial historian, has diffused an air of languor and coldness over his work, singularly out of harmony with the soul-stirring nature of the events which it records. Though however we cannot regard this life of Archbishop Sancroft as calculated entirely to satisfy the wishes of those who have long desired a full and animated narration of this most important æra in the annals of our Church, still our thanks are due to Dr. D'Oyly for what he has effected.

He has contributed much to the restoration of the venerable primate's character, to that place in public estimation

which it deserved to hold ; he has selected from the valuable store of original documents submitted to his inspection, some curious matter which had not before been accessible to the general reader ; and he has collected and embodied in a convenient form, several interesting particulars which were hitherto to be found only detached, and dispersed through various, and often scarce and expensive volumes.

William Sancroft was born at Fresingfield, in the county of Suffolk, January 30, 161⁹₇. His family was ancient and respectable, having been settled and possessed of property at Fresingfield, from the time of Henry III. or Edward I. He appears to have been educated at Bury, and at the age of eighteen he was entered a member of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, of which his uncle, Dr. William Sancroft, was at this time the master. By this circumstance his choice of a college was naturally determined ; and though he was deprived of his relative and patron before he had finished his academical course, he must, as Dr. D'Oyly observes, be considered as peculiarly fortunate in having commenced it under such superintendence.

For he had not only to guard against the common dangers which assail every youth on his first entrance into life, but others to which he was more particularly exposed by the society, into which he was thrown ; as the college had, it seems, been long noted for the prevalence of puritanical opinions among its members ; and a young man of eighteen, of Sancroft's character, which appears to have been early marked by strong impressions of piety, and an anxious desire to fulfil his religious duties, might have been in some peril from the contagion of such examples. His college attachments however were formed with great prudence ; and his conduct clearly proves, that he was then, as during the whole of his subsequent life, steadily and zealously attached to the genuine doctrines of the Church of England ; and that he well knew how to distinguish their dictates from that morose and gloomy fanaticism, which was by too many mistaken for an improvement upon her pure and apostolic discipline.

The following extract from a letter to his father, written about the time when he entered into holy orders, expresses the serious feelings with which he contemplated the duties of the ministerial office ; and the deep sense he entertained of the awful responsibility incurred by those to whom it was committed.

“ “ I have lately offered up to God the first fruits of that call-

ing which I intend, having common-placed twice in the chapel: and if, through your prayers and God's blessing on my endeavours, I may become an instrument in any measure fitted to bear his name before his people, it shall be my joy and the crown of my rejoicing in the Lord. I am persuaded that for this end I was sent into the world; and therefore, if God lends me life and abilities, I shall be willing to spend myself and be spent upon the work.'" Vol. I. p. 15.

About the year 1642 he appears to have been elected a fellow of his college; and during his residence there, he discharged the usual collegiate offices, and was diligently employed as a tutor, in superintending the education of the junior members of the society. It is pleasing to observe the respect and veneration in which he seems to have been held by his pupils, with some of whom he long continued to correspond after they had been separated from him, and with others he preserved an uninterrupted friendship and familiarity throughout his life; so far was he from being what a partial historian has represented him, "a cold, dry, reserved, and peevish man, whom none loved, and few esteemed *."

"But the times in which Mr. Sancroft rose into life were times of confusion and alarm, pregnant no less with calamity and mourning to the whole nation, than with severe trial to the feelings of individuals, and detriment to their worldly prospects. More especially, were they times of sore anguish and tribulation to those who, being the authorized ministers of the Established Church, were called upon by feelings of duty and of conscientious attachment to defend it against assailants; but whose unhappy lot it was to behold its sacred institutions profaned, its fences rudely broken down, and the axe of desolation applied to its roots." Vol. I. p. 27.

His conduct under these trying circumstances was eminently prudent. He steadily refused to commit himself, by any compliance with the illegal requisitions of the now prevailing party; and he indignantly rejected the solemn league and covenant, declaring that he would cut his hand off before it should be lifted up to subscribe his name to such a document. His opinion of the character and conduct of those who were now rising into power was correctly formed, and feelingly expressed to his correspondents. To the ejected master of his college he writes thus:

"We live in an age in which to speak freely is dangerous, imò nec gemere tuto licet; faces are scanned, and looks are construed,

* *Barnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 323.

and gestures are put upon the rack and made to confess something which may undo the actor; and, though the title be liberty, written in foot and half-foot letters upon the front, yet within there is nothing but perfect slavery, worse than Russian. Woe worth a heart then oppressed with grief in such a conjuncture of time as this. Fears and complaints, you know, are the only kindly and gentle evaporations of burthened spirits, and if we must be bereaved of this sad comfort too, what else is left us but either to whisper our griefs to one another in secret, or else to sit down and sink under the burthen of them. I do not *para-tragædiare*; nor is my grief so ambitious as to raise fluctum in scrupulo. You know, I dare say, what it is that must needs make me cry out, since it touched me in the tenderest part of my soul. We live in times that have, of late, been fatal in abating of heads: proud Tarquin's riddle is now fully understood; we know too well what it is *summa papaverum capita demere*. But I had not thought they would have beheaded whole colleges at a blow; nay, whole universities and whole churches too; they have outdone their pattern in that, and 'tis an experiment in the mastery of cruelty far beyond Caligula's wish. Ah! Sir, I know our Emanuel College is now an object of pity and commiseration; they have left us like John Baptist's trunk when his head was lopped off, because of a vow or oath (or covenant if you will) that went before, or like Pompey's carcase upon the shore; so *stat magni nominis umbra*.—For my part, *tædet me vivere hanc mortem*—a small matter would prevail with me to take up the resolution to go forth any whither where I might not hear *nec nomen nec facta Pelopidarum*. Nor need we voluntarily give up our stations; I fear we cannot long maintain them. And what then? shall I lift up my hand? I will cut it off first. Shall I subscribe my name? I will forget it as soon. I can at least look up through this mist and see the hand of my God holding the scourge that lashes, and with this thought I am able to silence all the mutinies of boisterous passions, and to charm them into a perfect calm." Vol. I. p. 31.

But though he was determined not to comply with the unlawful injunctions of the usurping authorities; though he was firm in his refusal to take the covenant or the engagement; and could not be induced by any fear of personal losses to conform to the Directory, which in the prosecution of their favourite work of overthrowing the Church they had substituted for the Liturgy; he seems to have early taught himself to believe, that in his situation patient submission to the evil which was likely to befall him was his only duty. He suffered the stream to flow over him, without a murmur on his own account; he felt only for the calamities which it was bringing on the Church and nation; but though he scorned to bend to the current, he never thought of resisting its

course, or contributing, by strenuous personal exertions, to divert it from those objects, for whose safety he was much more nearly concerned than for his own.

“ I do not, I cannot, look upon this bleeding kingdom, this dying Church, with the same indifference as I would read the history of Japan, or hear the affairs of China related. I cannot consider a scattered and broken university with as reposed a spirit, as I would behold a tragedy presented on a stage, or view some sad picture in a gallery. I thank my God, who hath given me so tranquil and calm a spirit, as I do neither fret impatiently, nor cowardly despair. But yet I know full well that 'twere a grand mistake to practise a dull inapprehensiveness, instead of a generous patience. A stoical stupidity is far enough removed from an heroic constancy; and that sour sect, who sought to bereave us of the one-half of ourselves, and to free us, shall I say, or rob us, of our passions and affections, are so far from making a wise man or a Christian, that they have only raised a statue. To say no more, Sir, your spur was here more needful than your bridle; and, perhaps, a friendly jog to awaken me to a greater degree of solicitude had been more seasonable, than your dose of opium to charm my sorrows and lullaby my cares, which I fear will rather be found on this side the due proportion than beyond it.” Vol. I. p. 35.

But when called upon to decide upon his own conduct in this emergency, he chose that middle and safer course, which, while it refuses to comply with iniquitous commands, avoids irritating those in power by active opposition. “ I do not,” says he to the same friend, “ count myself obliged to go to chapel, and read common prayer, till my brains be dashed out.” And in a subsequent letter to his father, when the rebels had filled up the measure of their iniquity by the mock trial and murderous execution of their sovereign, he observes,

“ Now 'tis grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty,) to pray for kings and all that are in authority; the doors of the Church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot, without danger of a pistol, do what is more necessary, pray according to their duty. For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that exercise in public, till I may, with safety, pour out my vows for Charles II., the heir, I hope, of his father's virtues, as well as kingdoms. In the mean time there are caves and dens of the earth, and upper rooms and secret chambers, for a Church in persecution to flee to, and there shall be our refuge.” Vol. I. p. 44.

To his perseverance in this cautious line of conduct, not less perhaps than to the exertions of some individuals, who

employed their influence with the ruling powers to protect him, he owed his undisturbed continuance in his fellowship, while numbers of his contemporaries were ejected: and it was not until the middle of the year 1651, that his time of persecution arrived, and he was forced, as he said, to "sigh out a long and sad farewell to Cambridge." The following are the observations of his biographer upon Mr. Sancroft's behaviour during this arduous season.

"It is highly interesting to observe the firm and resolute line of conduct which Mr. Sancroft maintained during this season of trial to all loyal subjects and all faithful sons of the Church. It happened then, as it happens in all revolutionary times, that various hypotheses were started *, to make men's consciences easy under compliance, to induce them to truckle without scruple to the authorities which prevailed, and to measure their notions of what was just and right, by their feeling of what was most conducive to their present interests. The specious arguments which were invented on this side of the question, wrought upon many highly estimable persons, both amongst the Clergy and the Laity, who probably sincerely reconciled to their consciences compliance with all the oaths and engagements imposed by the government of the day. But Mr. Sancroft's conscience was formed of a firmer texture, and from less yielding materials. Bred up in loyal attachment to his sovereign, and ordained a minister of God's Church on earth, he had sealed his ties to the service of both, in the sight of heaven, by the most solemn of all engagements; and, having done so, he could not be induced by any earthly consideration to bind himself in allegiance to those by whom the monarchy had been torn up from its foundations, and the holy Church laid prostrate in the dust.

"His firm and inflexible behaviour at this earlier period of his life finely illustrates the motives from which he afterwards acted at the time of the Revolution. It shows that the scrupulous regard to the obligation of an oath which he then maintained with excessive rigour, sprang from no feeling hastily or suddenly contracted, but from a principle which was deeply rooted in his heart, which formed an original and integral part of his character, and by which, under all the varying circumstances of his life, he steadily directed his course." Vol. I. p. 62.

* "Among other books published about this time to induce men to comply with an unjust prevailing power, was one by Anthony Ascham, entitled, 'A Discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government.' 1643. An original letter of Dr. Sanderson's, taken from the same MS. collection of Archbishop Sancroft, is given in the Appendix (No. V. 2), in which, in remarking on this book, he lays down the true measure of that submission which should be made to an unjust usurpation, and shows, in very pointed terms, the evil of adopting the principle of general unlimited compliance with prevailing power, however unjustly established."

We are far from laying it down as a rule, that, in times of national peril, all are called upon, without regard to their habits, situations, or circumstances to array themselves in active opposition to the advance of such a torrent as then swept away the very foundations of our holy Church, and the main pillars of our constitutional monarchy. But we may be allowed to remark, that a much higher meed of commendation should be awarded to those, who thus "jeopardy their lives unto the death in the high places of the field," in defence of principles which they conscientiously approve; than to those who, like Sancroft, take refuge in caves and dens of the earth from the fury of the tempest, and satisfy themselves with patiently submitting to the infliction of illegal penalties, rather than comply with illegal demands. In the Church of England many at that time were found, who, with a noble contempt of personal danger, continued, in defiance of threats and injuries, publicly to celebrate her holy worship; and some, who could not even be deterred by the danger of a pistol, from praying according to their duty. To such heroic courage our highest encomiums are owing; and to such men should we look, as to those around whom the true friends of the Church of England would rally, if in the wise dispensations of Providence it should be determined, that a similar course of suffering were again preparing for her. At the same time we are willing to give due applause to the passive courage of a Sancroft, and to the disinterested integrity which would suffer every deprivation, rather than act illegally for the sake of present advantage. In such an hour it is no mean praise to have withstood temptation, and to have chosen rather to suffer evil, than to concur in it. But we are bound to place active exertion on a higher grade than mere passive fortitude; and to esteem those more highly who suffer for doing well, than those who endure affliction patiently, rather than violate their faith or their engagements. We speak not this invidiously, or with any desire to depreciate the real merits of the venerable prelate who is the subject of Dr. D'Oyly's eulogy; but we live in times when it will be our wisdom to prepare for the recurrence of the calamitous scenes he has alluded to; and if such a day should come, we trust that the Church of England will find among her affianced sons, and the ministers of her holy services, many who will defend her boldly, as well as suffer with her patiently; many who will not only reject with scorn the offers and the threats of her enemies, but will openly and firmly bear testimony to the truth, and, if need be, "resist even unto blood striving against sin."

Thus driven at last into retirement by the faction which had succeeded in establishing itself upon the ruins of the Church and the monarchy, Mr. Sancroft employed his talents in endeavouring, through the medium of the press, to guide the opinion of the public into a healthier course.

“ Two important publications proceeded about this time from his pen, which were extensively circulated, and read with great avidity; both admirably adapted as prescriptions to heal the distempers of the times, and to induce a more healthful state of the political body.” Vol. I. p. 65.

The first of these was a Latin dialogue, entitled *Fur Prædestinatus*, intended to expose those calvinistic doctrines which were then held, in all their rigour, both by the Puritans and the Independents; and were pushed by each of these conflicting parties to the extreme of Antinomianism. It is necessary to bear this fact in mind, in order fully to appreciate the merits and utility of the *Fur Prædestinatus*. We must consider Calvinism, not in the subdued and milder form in which it is now generally presented to us by those, who would reject not less readily than their opponents, the consequences which in this tract are ably deduced from it; but as it was then exhibited by the stern uncompromising advocates of the supralapsarian hypothesis, by the bold assertors of the horrible decree of reprobation in its most gloomy and repulsive form.

“ The dialogue,” says Dr. D'Oyly, “ is managed with great address and ability; and, what must have given it its greatest effect, the statements of the Calvinistic doctrines are made in the actual words of the principal writers of that persuasion, of whom not fewer than forty are quoted, and specially referred to, in the course of this short work. It may perhaps be deemed, on the whole, the most successful exposure, which has ever appeared, of the tendency of the Calvinistic doctrines when maintained in their unqualified strictness; as showing that, instead of nurturing and encouraging those feelings of humility, piety, and goodness, which are the genuine fruits of Christianity, they give birth to spiritual pride and self-satisfaction, give a free rein to licentious passions; bring the sinner to a hardened and impenitent state; and thus pervert the whole effect which this holy religion ought to have upon the human heart.” Vol. I. p. 67.

“ It should also be remembered that, at the time when this tract was written, the effects of these doctrines were exhibited to the eye of every observer in the most frightful forms. Under the assumed sanction of a perverted religion, the worst crimes had been perpetrated; all the sacred institutions of the country had

been torn up by the roots; hypocrisy and enthusiasm had, with a portion of the nation, whom the success of their machinations had raised on an eminence so as to be seen from far, usurped the place of genuine Christian feelings; and they who signalized themselves by the commission of the boldest enormities, had made their unhallowed boast that they were doing the work of the Lord. At such a time, the disease was so violent in its symptoms, and so fatal in its effects, as to admit of no sparing hand in the application of the remedy. This was no season for disguising the truth, or flattering with soft and smooth speech. But it became an imperative duty to pourtray, in broad and deep lines, the harsh and rugged features of a system from which these evils had, in great measure, flowed, in order that men might be led to a just feeling and judgment of the truth." Vol. I. p. 69.

The other tract was entitled *Modern Policies*: its object was to expose the hypocritical and wicked policy of the then prevailing party, by laying down in detail, as the principles on which a true politician should act, those false principles on which the leading agitators of the day had but too successfully conducted their designs; and then holding them up to the contempt and abhorrence of the reader, by the manner in which they are stated and illustrated.

"The tract is well worthy of perusal, as containing much valuable truth, happily expressed and applied, and as exhibiting a close and accurate knowledge of the human heart. It is to be contemplated, not only with reference to those times and characters, with a view to which it was more immediately written, but also as applying generally to all times in which similar delusions prevail, and similar practices are followed. Never indeed more than at the period to which it refers, were the ways of unsound and nefarious policy more successfully pursued; never was religion more used as a cloak for unhallowed ambition, and never were right and wrong more unhappily confounded. But, as long as the human heart remains what it is, so long, we may be too certain, will occasions recur, in which similar arts of policy will be, more or less, pursued; this exposure of them, therefore, can never be out of date, nor wholly without use in the application." Vol. I. p. 74.

This little work appears to have produced a considerable effect; for, within five years from the date of its first publication, it had reached a seventh edition. It has been republished within these few years, with a short preface and an appendix, its editor rightly considering, that he was justified by the occurrences of the present day, in presenting it to the reader,

"Not merely as a tale of other times, but as having this additional title to his regard, that it is besides accurately descriptive of

existing circumstances ; that it succinctly enumerates the maxims, and traces the progress of a system of intrigue, which have again been brought into very active and efficient operation in his own age and country ; and what is most material, gives him a foresight of its issue, not in the doubtful representations of inference or conjecture, but in the decisive language of fact *."

Both these tracts are now reprinted in the appendix to the volumes before us.

Dr. D'Oyly has given some interesting extracts from Mr. Sancroft's correspondence during this calamitous period ; whence it appears, that he was not only busily employed in administering such literary remedies to the diseases of the times, as his abilities could afford ; but that he also contrived out of his scanty income, to give liberal aid to several excellent fellow-sufferers, who were still more grievously afflicted than himself by the loss of their preferments. Among others to whom his purse was opened was Dr. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham ; and it is grateful to the best feelings of our nature to observe, that the assistance which he was thus enabled to give to this learned and excellent man, then in poverty and exile, laid the foundation of all his future advancements. For, when Dr. Cosin, at the Restoration was deservedly selected to fill a distinguished station on the Episcopal Bench, he did not forget his humble benefactor ; but immediately appointed him his chaplain, gave him good preferment in his Diocese, and was strenuous in recommending him to those in power ; until he saw him placed in a situation where his own character and abilities could be fairly appreciated, and his future promotion might be safely left to their influence.

In the year 1657 Mr. Sancroft, wearied and disgusted at the scenes which every where presented themselves in his native country, passed over into Holland ; and having remained there nearly two years, in the month of July 1659 he extended his tour into Switzerland and Italy, in the company of an opulent friend, who appears to have defrayed all the expences of the journey ; and he was summoned from Rome in May 1660, by the welcome news of the Restoration.

Mr. Sancroft was now appointed chaplain to his friend and patron Bishop Cosin ; and in that capacity he assisted in those alterations which were made in the Liturgy, after the termination of the Savoy Conference ; though it is not easy to ascertain on what particular parts of the work, or to what

* " Editor's Preface. Edit. 1817."

extent he was employed. The forms of prayer prepared for the 30th of January, and the 29th of May, have been sometimes attributed to his pen, but Dr. D'Oily is of opinion that this supposition rests on no competent authority.

Bishop Burnet accuses him of having drawn up these forms in so high a strain, that they were rejected; and of having, when afterwards Archbishop, procured the substitution of his own forms, in place of those originally adopted. But Dr. D'Oily has, we think, very satisfactorily refuted this charge. The form for the 30th January, stands now, with very immaterial exceptions, precisely in the same state as it did at first: and the office for the 29th May, which was at first composed with a view to the birth as well as the restoration of Charles II. both which events happened on the 29th May, was necessarily altered after his death, in order to make it commemorative solely of the restoration of the royal family.

"It is true," adds the biographer, "that some further alterations and substitutions took place at this time; and perhaps it may be allowed that mention is made in the new office of the rebellion, and those concerned in it, in stronger terms than had been done in the former office, and this is probably the foundation of Burnet's assertion, that an office was adopted 'of a higher strain.' These alterations were of course made under Archbishop Sancroft's authority, although the fact of their having been introduced by himself, rests only on the statement of Bishop Burnet *." Vol. I. p. 116.

Preferment now flowed in rapidly upon Sancroft. He was successively appointed chaplain to the restored monarch, Rector of Houghton le Spring and Canon of Durham,

* "In one of the prayers, in the present office for the Restoration of the Royal Family, is the following expression, which has been objected to from the studied alliteration: 'Such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction.' This expression, however, was not new, when first inserted in the Liturgy in Archbishop Sancroft's time, but was adopted from a work, called the *Rebels' Catechism*, published in 1643. The passage from which it is taken is as follows: "17 Quest. Is it not lawful to bear arms against sovereign princes for the preservation of religion? Ans. Yes, for those men who *place religion in rebellion, and whose faith is fiction.*"—See the *Rebels' Catechism*, composed in an easy and familiar way, to let them see the heinousness of their offence, &c. 4to. p. 12. This Catechism is understood to have been composed by some of Charles's more eminent divines, among others by Drs. Hammond and Gauden. Notwithstanding the opinion of Bishop Burnet, others have judged that the offices for January 30 and May 29, were improved under Archbishop Sancroft. 'The forms for the 30th of January and 29th of May were altered much for the better by Archbishop Sancroft, and some others, in James the Second's reign.'—See case of a Rector refusing to preach a Visitation Sermon, &c. by John Jobuson, Vicar of Cranbrook." London. 1721.

Master of Emanuel College, and Dean of York. The Mastership of his College was bestowed upon him in a manner peculiarly grateful to his feelings: for, as he states himself, it was quite unexpected, and he knew nobody in the College, his acquaintance being quite worn out. He seems to have owed the appointment entirely to the high estimation in which his character was held; and his conduct in the office justified the choice. For he appears to have applied himself diligently, and with characteristic prudence, to the restoration of the discipline of the house; anxiously considering the best means of filling it with respectable and learned inmates; and devising plans for the improvement of its buildings; to which, though he did not hold the Mastership long enough to carry his objects into effect under his own superintendence, he was afterwards a munificent contributor, having presented the College with nearly £600 towards the expence of erecting a new chapel.

He retained the deanery of York only ten months, when he was removed to the more lucrative and important station of Dean of St. Paul's: and, in this situation, he was employed in preparing for the substantial reparation of that ancient, and now miserably dilapidated Cathedral, when the great Fire of London completed the destruction of the venerable fabrick.

"From repairing an old and decayed church, Dr. Sancroft's attention and exertions were now to be directed to the more important design of erecting a new one; and it seems to have been owing at least as much to him as to any single individual, that the plan was ultimately adopted of erecting a proud and noble structure worthy of that great metropolis, of which it has ever since been the most distinguished ornament, under an architect who did honour to the age and country in which he lived." Vol. I. p. 139.

Dr. D'Oyly has extracted several letters from Wren's *Parentalia*, which shew the interest taken in the work by the Dean, and his anxiety that it should be undertaken upon a scale suited to the reputation of the city, and the wealth and power of the nation. The funds for the purpose were provided, partly by private subscription, and partly by an act of parliament, which appropriated to the building the proceeds of a tax to be levied upon every chaldron of coals brought to the port of London. Dr. Sancroft contributed no less a sum than £1400 to the private subscription. He also provided for the restoration of the Deanery, which had suffered from the fire in common with the Cathedral; and, under the authority of an act of parliament, which enabled

him to raise money by leasing out a portion of the ground connected with the site for a term of 60 years, he rebuilt the house and premises at a cost of £2500.

Dr. Sancroft continued at St. Paul's for thirteen years, attending with meritorious industry to the immediate duties of his station, and embracing every opportunity afforded him of promoting the interests of the church, and of religion in general; when, on the decease of Archbishop Sheldon, towards the close of the year 1677, he was raised very unexpectedly to himself and the public, to the archiepiscopal throne.

"It is the most probable supposition that he did not owe his exaltation in any great degree, if at all, to private favour or recommendations, but principally or entirely to his character, which pointed him out as the person best qualified to adorn the station, and to support its dignity. It is stated, and probably with truth, in a narrative of his life *, that his zeal, candour and learning, his exemplary behaviour in a lower state, his public spirit in so many scenes of life, his constancy in suffering, his unbiassed deportment, all concurred to recommend him as a fit governor of the church in that turbulent age." Vol. I. p. 151.

Bishop Burnet injuriously insinuates that Sancroft owed his elevation to the opinion entertained by the Court, "that he was a man who might be entirely gained to serve all their ends, or at least that he would be an unactive speculative man, and give them little opposition in any thing that they might attempt, when they had more promising opportunities†." But such remarks which call forth the just indignation of Dr. D'Oyly, reflect more disgrace upon the historian, than on the calumniated primate. We have hitherto found no action of his life recorded which induces us to believe, that any thing could have gained him over to serve an illegal purpose; or that he would so far forget the duties of his station, as to become an inactive spectator of designs tending to the injury of that Church, of whose interests he was now become the spiritual guardian. It is indeed probable that the Duke of York may have preferred him to others, whose situation in the Church had given them opportunities which Sancroft never enjoyed, of opposing the intrigues of the Roman Catholic faction at court. And as Bishop Compton who was personally obnoxious to the Duke on this account, had been named as likely to succeed to the vacant Archbishoprick, he might have been instrumental in

* "See Lives of English Bishops, by Nathaniel Salmon.—p. 60."

† "Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 392."

promoting Sancroft's elevation, rather with a view to the exclusion of an active opponent, than to the appointment of one whom he could hope to make the tool of his purposes. Certain it is, as Dr. D'Oyly observes, that, if the Duke of York, or any other person recommended him to the primacy under such a view of his character as Bishop Burnet represents, they were completely deceived: for it was afterwards sufficiently proved, that he was deficient neither in zeal nor in exertion; and that the government of the Church was intrusted to a watchful guardian of its welfare, and an intrepid defender of its rights and privileges.

Widely are they mistaken who imagine that the primacy of the Church of England is, at any time, a station of dignified ease or a mere splendid sinecure. Even in the most tranquil times, it entails upon its possessor duties of the most arduous kind; and a responsibility from which the firmest mind might be excused from shrinking. But Sancroft was raised to this perilous dignity at an hour of peculiar difficulty; when the reigning Monarch was deeply, and as it has since appeared, justly suspected of attachment to the superstitions of the Romish communion; and the presumptive heir to the crown was known to be a bigoted member of that corrupt Church.

It has been incontrovertibly proved, that Charles II. was at this time, not only himself in secret a member of the Romish Church, but that he was actually engaged in a plan to establish that religion in his kingdom. It is true, that the whole of the immediate and pressing danger was not then fully known; and that the fears of the nation were more excited by the open apostacy of James, than by the more concealed, and perhaps less sincere predilections of his royal brother. Charles had probably little serious intention of carrying the nefarious design into effect, for which he consented to become the pensioned hireling of a foreign despot. His primary, perhaps his only object was the acquisition of those sums which were necessary for the support of his guilty pleasures, and to maintain the herd of flatterers and profligates by whom he was surrounded.

But the Duke of York was in earnest in the cause he had undertaken; and he was sure of the connivance and secret countenance, if not of the open and active assistance of the King. Few situations could be less enviable than that of the primate; who had to maintain his ground, and support the cause of the Church, against the example of a licentious court on the one hand, which threatened to sweep away the very semblance of religion; and the indefatigable hostility of

popish emissaries on the other, who were striving to build up their own bloody and intolerant superstition on its ruins.

One of the first undertakings in which Archbishop Sancroft engaged after his elevation, shewed, that discouraging as were the prospects around him, he was not inclined to be an inactive observer of the measures of the Court; though, perhaps, it exhibited his Christian zeal in a more conspicuous light than his knowledge of human nature. His anxious desire to avert the evils, both civil and religious, likely to be entailed on the nation by the Duke's devoted attachment to the Romish Faith, induced him to make an attempt at his conversion. And having gained the King's permission, who suggested, that the aged Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Morley, would be a proper person to be associated with him on the occasion, he solicited and obtained from the Duke the favour of an audience for the purpose.

"We cannot suppose," says Dr. D'Oyly, "that, with the knowledge which he must have had of the Duke's character, he formed any sanguine expectations of succeeding in his purpose; but he probably felt it matter of conscientious duty, to try what he could effect in a matter, in which success would be attended with the most valuable and important consequences." Vol. I. p. 161.

Some hopes, however, the good Archbishop must have had, or he would not have engaged in so thankless and hazardous an office: and it seems more consistent with the simplicity and sincerity of his character to imagine, that he really conceived that the attempt might be made with reasonable prospects of success, and that the Divine blessing might render his hearty endeavours effectual to this very desirable end; than to suppose, that he undertook it merely to satisfy his own conscience by having made the experiment, and with little expectation of any other beneficial result from the conference. Dr. D'Oyly give us his address to the Duke at full length, from Clarendon's Appendix. It is earnest, zealous, and spirited; but more dogmatical than is consistent with persuasion. And, when at this distance of time we coolly peruse it; although we readily admit, that the most forcible of the Archbishop's expressions did not exaggerate the errors and enormities of that communion, which he was urging his Royal auditor to renounce; we can scarcely repress a smile, at the simplicity which endeavoured to convert a most bigoted Papist, by characterizing his adopted Church as the "proudest, the cruellest, and the most uncharitable Church in the world;" and stigmatizing his spiri-

tual advisers, whom, in the true spirit of his persuasion, he regarded with the most unbounded respect, and to whose counsels he seems to have yielded up the direction of his conduct with the most implicit deference, as men who had "put off at once all reason and common sense, all bowels of Christian charity and mercy, nay all common modesty and humanity itself." It certainly is creditable to the courtesy and forbearance of the Duke, that he listened to such an address, for nearly half an hour, without once interrupting the Archbishop; and that, when it was concluded, he answered him with temper, and dismissed him with civility.

Probably the earnest seriousness of the good Prelate really so far operated upon the Duke's mind, as to induce him to overlook the harshness of his language, in admiration of the evident sincerity of his good intentions. "It does not appear," says his Biographer, "that the Duke ever reverted to the subject with the Archbishop, or invited any further discussion of the points which formed the matter of his address." It was not, indeed, at all probable that he would. His Popish advisers were at all times around him: they were fully in his confidence, able to chuse their own time, and their own methods of confirming him in his opinions; much more intimately acquainted with his character, and much more ready to take advantage of its weaknesses, than the conscientious Primate would have considered becoming his station, or consistent with his duty as a minister of the truth, and an ambassador for Christ.

Dr. D'Oyly now proceeds to relate several instances of the zealous attention to the various duties of his high station, which the Archbishop seems uniformly to have displayed. He was anxiously desirous to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into Holy Orders; and to provide, as far as the circumstances of the Church permitted it, that all who officiated in her sacred ministry should be possessed of revenues sufficient, at least, for their decent maintenance. With these views, he issued judicious directions to his Suffragans, respecting testimonials to be granted to candidates for Holy Orders; and, in a Letter addressed to the Bishop of London in 1680, to be by him communicated to the other Bishops, he earnestly recommended an immediate and effectual compliance with the act of the 29th Charles II. c. 8., by which it was enacted, that

"Under all renewals of leases of rectories or impropriate tithes, where an augmented sum should be assigned for the maintenance of the minister, such augmentation should be perpetual." Vol. I, p. 187.

The measure which he thus pressed on others, he carefully pursued himself; and his Biographer has recorded six instances, in which benefices in the gift of the See of Canterbury were augmented by the liberality of the Archbishop. Nor was he wanting in vigour and firmness, when it became necessary to enforce the discipline of the Church. A remarkable example of this is mentioned by the author, in the suspension of Dr. Thomas Wood, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, from his episcopal functions, on account of his neglect of his diocese, and other misdemeanours. And, though the whole effect of this necessary act of severity, does not seem to have been produced; as the Bishop is stated not to have subsequently resided in his diocese, or paid due attention to its concerns; we presume that the immediate cause of scandal, the shameful waste he committed on the estates belonging to the See, and his refusal to rebuild the Episcopal residence, was removed; as, at the end of two years he submitted, and the suspension was taken off.

“ About the end of the year 1684, a communication was made to the Archbishop from Dr. Covell, then resident at the Hague, as chaplain to the Princess of Orange, at the suggestion and instigation of some persons there, recommending an attempt at the formation of a public league for the defence of the Protestant cause. Nothing more is known respecting the particulars of the plan, or the characters and motives of the persons who were forward in moving it, than is unfolded in the letter of the Archbishop to Dr. Covell, and Dr. Covell's reply. The Archbishop's letter exhibits a striking proof of that cautious wisdom, and sagacious insight into human characters, for which he was so singularly distinguished; and Dr. Covell's reply clearly shows, that the view which the Archbishop took of the motives which led to the communication was perfectly just.” Vol. I. p. 196.

The Archbishop's letter will be read with considerable interest. It shews, that he had not been an inattentive observer of the characters of those, with whom his elevated station had obliged him, now for six years, in a certain degree to associate; and it proves, that he was well aware of the utter hopelessness of any such project, under existing circumstances, as he was urged to recommend. The following anecdote which he relates of himself in this letter, may be amusing to our readers; and it affords an instance, that the Archbishop was by no means deficient in that readiness and self-command, which it is so requisite for persons in high stations to possess.

“ And now, upon this occasion, let me tell you an adventure which befel me some years since. There came to dine with me a

foreign ambassador from one of the Northern crowns, who, after dinner, threw this blunt and abrupt question at me; 'Why do you not persuade the King to put himself at the head of the Protestant league against France?' I answered him, as was meet, with questions: and why do not you, in order hereto, persuade your King, from whom it should begin, forthwith to adjust all differences with his neighbouring Kings? They are brethren of the same confession, worship, and discipline; nearest neighbours, yet most deadly, implacable enemies, that omit no occasion on either side of ruining and destroying one another. Since, therefore, you have put me on the why not; why do not they appoint the best and wisest men of both kingdoms, a committee *de finibus requirendis*, in the first place; and, in the next, to arbitrate all things in question between them; and, in fine, to establish, a firm, holy, and inviolable league, offensive and defensive, betwixt them and their kingdoms for ever. And, this being done, why should they not put over to the other side, and persuade into this blessed harmony, which one would think should not be difficult, those mighty princes on the opposite shore, with the rest all over Germany. And when you see such a body of a league prepared, it will be more seasonable to inquire, and more easy to find, who shall be the head. The ambassador answered not my question, nor was I any further troubled with his." Vol. I. p. 200.

The biographer adds nothing to the account which historians have given of the conduct of Charles II. on his death-bed. The behaviour of Archbishop Sancroft on that occasion is given in the words of Bishop Burnet; and, we presume, that no memoranda of what then passed were found among the Archbishop's papers; and that the diligent researches of Dr. D'Oyly have not led him to any new sources of information respecting that event.

(To be concluded in our next.)

ART. III. *A Geological Classification of Rocks, with descriptive Synopses of the Species and Varieties, comprising the Elements of Practical Geology. By John Macculloch, M.D. Longman and Co. 1821.*

THIS work is meant to form the link which shall connect together mineralogy and geology properly so called. The first of these studies, as every one knows, has for its object, the knowledge of minerals as individual substances, viewed separately, and without any regard to their use in the com-

position of rocks; whereas the last-mentioned branch of enquiry points to the order and distribution of those large stony masses which compose the elevated parts of the earth's surface, proceeding on a reference to the great natural agents supposed to have been employed in their formation and arrangement. A treatise on Rocks, therefore, describing their ingredients, structure, resemblance, and differences, and divested, as far as may be, of all hypothetical opinions and phraseology, was doubtless a desideratum in the present stage of geological science. Whether such a treatise might not have been executed upon a better plan than the one pursued by Dr. Macculloch, is a question which different readers will determine differently. We, ourselves, object principally to its great length and tediousness.

For example, the method which he has adopted of describing the varieties and species of the several rocks, under the head of *synopses*, is tiresome in the extreme. This plan of writing, we need hardly observe, was much in vogue in Germany about twenty years since; but it was carried by some authors, and particularly by Keim in his description of Thuringia, to such an extravagant length, and thereby manifested so completely the utter uselessness of all such details, that the scheme was abandoned by the unanimous voice of geologists, and has not since been revived, in that part of the world. Nor, as we think, will the present attempt at the hand of our author tend, in any degree, to reconcile the mineralogical student to the use of synoptical descriptions. Their prolixity is indeed intolerable.

As to the particular principle on which Dr. Macculloch has chosen to construct his Classification of Rocks, we are not much disposed to quarrel with him, although we think, that in rejecting the *transition* class, he has only sacrificed a material convenience to a vain simplicity. Our readers are aware that Geologists have usually divided rocks into the following five classes; namely, *primitive*, *transition*, *secondary*, *volcanic*, and *alluvial*. The first of these, to use the words of a popular author, are distinguished by their highly crystalline structure, and want of petrifications, or fossil organic remains. In some countries there is observed, resting upon the primitive, and even alternating with them, a series of rocks of which clay-slate is a predominating member, having less of the crystalline aspect, and containing fossil organic remains. Werner considers this set of rocks as interposed between the grand series of primitive and secondary rocks; and that, although it occasionally alternates on the one hand with the primitive, and on the other with some

members of the secondary class, still its characters are so well marked that he viewed it as a distinct class, to which he gave the name *transition*, from its forming, as it were, the transition or passage from the primitive to the secondary rocks. Although some mineralogists have abandoned this view, and now arrange the transition rocks along with those of the primitive or secondary classes, we are still inclined to consider these as deserving a separate place in the geognostic system. It is true that the transition rocks are but a continuation of the primitive, and, in a general view, might with propriety be considered as a portion of that series; but their imbedded fossil organic remains, their less crystalline aspect, and particular rocks, such as grey-wacke, appear to characterize them, if not as a distinct class, yet as a separate group in the grand series of rock formation*.

Nor does Doctor Macculloch seem to be aware of the immense tracks of country which properly fall under the denomination of *transition*; such as the great chain of mountains extending from St. Abb's Head across the whole island to the shores of the Irish Sea, and a large portion of the rocks of Wales, and of Devonshire, which are completely different, both from those of the secondary and of the purely primitive class. These ranges accordingly cannot be called either primary or secondary, without such a looseness of language as would destroy all scientific distinctions: and it ought to be remembered, that the main use of all such distinction is facility of arrangement, and precision of expression. The closest observer of nature cannot take upon himself to say, where the actual boundaries are to be fixed between the different orders of rocks which compose the crust of this globe; and, perhaps, in the progress of geological science, it will be found, that the whole, whether called primitive, transition, or secondary, are but one formation, coeval in their origin, consisting of the same mineral substances, and only modified by circumstances which at present remain to be brought to light. In the mean time, therefore, as every ground assumed for the basis of arrangement, must be allowed to be, to a certain extent, artificial, or at the best proceeding upon theoretical views, we can see no good reason for discarding the whole class of transition rocks, merely because they bear a strong resemblance to the primitive on the one hand, and to the secondary, or floetz, on the other.

The arrangement adopted by the author divides all rocks into two great classes, the primary and the secondary; the first of these terms being preferred to the more usual one of

* See Jameson's Manual of Mineralogy, p. 376.

primitive, as being merely of a relative nature, and leading to no improper associations of ideas respecting the formation of the earth.

Each of the two classes is again divided into *stratified* and *unstratified* rocks; distinguished, as the Doctor rather superfluously informs us, by that difference of disposition which is indicated by these terms. And here we have an instance of his great readiness to dogmatize on the narrow ground of his own observations; for not having himself seen serpentine stratified, in the course of his geological travels, he makes bold to question the authority of most other authors who have favoured the world with their investigations on this subject, and to pronounce that the rock just named is always unstratified. At page 78, accordingly, where he gives us a catalogue of the families or *genera* contained in his arrangement, we find granite and serpentine set down as the unstratified rocks of the primary class. A little additional knowledge, however, derived from an examination of a considerable track of the latter rock in Shetland, induced the Doctor, even whilst his book was in the press, to correct the statement given in the body of the work, and to construct a fresh catalogue, to be inserted at the end, wherein serpentine is made to appear in the list of stratified rocks. It will be admitted, indeed, on all hands, that serpentine is very rarely found stratified; but this unfrequency could furnish no apology to any individual, however active and ingenious as a collector of facts, for persisting in a statement which, at the best, had no higher a warrant than his own negative testimony.

Besides the two great classes of primary and secondary rocks, there is also a list of what the author is pleased to denominate *occasional rocks*,—a division which appears to us exceedingly absurd. Gypsum, siliceous schist, and conglomerate rocks, here included in that list, are unquestionably as well entitled to a place in the general system, as either granite or gneiss. All rocks are in a certain sense *occasional*, there being none that can strictly be called universal, or even such as are certain to be found in any given circumstances. It is to the same rage for innovation, too, that we must ascribe the whim which has led the Doctor to place coal in an Appendix, separated entirely from the mineral substances of which it is connected in nature. The rocks of the coal formation are some of the most interesting of the secondary class; on which account, if coal was to be noticed at all, it ought to have been allowed a place in the trap series, with which it is uniformly and closely associated.

It is true, the Author apologizes for the "presence of coal" in his system, as having no claim to the character of a rock; but immediately adds, "it is intimately connected with the strata in which it lies; and as it must also be treated of in any geological history of these substances, it could not have been omitted without inconvenience." Is not this a sufficient reason, why it should have been arranged and described with the strata with which it is so intimately connected?

So much for the principle of classification adopted by Dr. Macculloch. We have already said that we have no great fault to find with it; for where so much is still arbitrary, every man has a right to choose what he thinks least objectionable as the ground-work of his system; and where convenience is paramount to every other consideration, an author should be allowed the freest scope in his attempts to simplify the more intricate views of his predecessors. Innovation, however, when pursued for its own sake is bad; and in science, especially, all changes ought to be avoided but such as lead to certain and obvious improvement.

We come to the succession of the primary rocks, or the order in which they follow one another in their collocation as mountain masses. The first or lowest place in the series is unanimously assigned to granite; which rock, according to the Wernerian arrangement, is succeeded by gneiss: then comes mica-slate, which is followed by clay-slate, transition rocks, old red sand-stone, &c. A good example of this succession is to be found in Scotland, in the mountain-range, extending from Bræmur by the Spittal of Glen Shee, to Blair Gowrie; and several others, we have no doubt, are well known to the learned Author, who, we are tempted to suspect, has been led by his hostility to the doctrines of the German school, to abstain from introducing into his catalogue any section of rocks decidedly Wernerian. In several parts of his volume, indeed, Dr. Macculloch reminds us strongly of Voltaire in his criticisms on Shakspeare; throwing out sarcastic observations in regard to the tenets of the great professor of Freyberg, whilst the most valuable portion of his work is drawn from the treasures of the Saxon mineralogist.

After mentioning that the relative order among the stratified rocks of the primary class is inconstant, the Doctor observes, that "it is not improbable that a distinction may exist in this case between the larger tracts and the more limited collection of strata." It is, however, undoubted that in many instances there is no such distinction, but that even the largest masses or tracts occur in an uncertain order.

Thus, although the great tracts of argillaceous schist are most commonly found on the confines of the series of primary strata, they sometimes also exist below quartz rock, and micaceous schist; of which Scotland furnishes examples. "It must also be remarked, that it is in general only in the smaller tracts, or collections of strata, that the fact of alternation, or the nature of the relative position, can clearly be ascertained. In the larger masses, the connections are often invisible or unassignable; either from their dimensions and the great spaces which they cover, or from the impossibility of ascertaining truly what bed is uppermost, where the inclinations of the strata undergo a reversal, as they are found to do among the primary rocks." To assign an order in such cases, is beyond the reach of our powers.

"The following list contains, in confirmation of the preceding views, a few examples of the different orders of succession which occur among rocks. The examples are all selected from this country, partly for the purpose of increasing the authority of the statements by permitting them to be easily verified, and partly for that of facilitating the access of the student to a set of facts which are at variance with some of the received geological systems. The localities have been added for the former reason: and they might easily have been multiplied had it appeared necessary. Geologists have recently ascertained that similar uncertainties of arrangement exist in other countries, and the student may consult their writings. The examples are not quoted: as throughout this work, it has been deemed expedient to rely as far as possible on those facts respecting which the author imagines he has received that conviction which is founded on observation."

Succession among the Primary Rocks.

Granite	Granite
Gneiss	Primary sandstone
Limestone	Secondary strata with coal
Quartz rock	
In Glen Tilt.	In Sutherland.
Granite	Granite
Limestone	Gneiss
Quartz rock	Primary sandstone
Micaceous schist	In Sutherland.
Gneiss	Granite
In Glent Tilt. Hornblende also occurs in any part of this series.	Micaceous schist
	Secondary strata
	In Arran.
Granite	Granite
Argillaceous schist (clay-slate and fine grey wacke.)	Argillaceous schist
Gneiss	Secondary strata
In Iona. In Bamffshire.	In Arran and in Aberdeenshire.

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Granite	Granite
Micaceous schist	Gneiss
Quartz rock, or else the quartz rock next to the granite	Calcareous sandstone in- cluding shell and coal
In Mull and Glen Tilt.	In Morven and in Mull.
	Gneiss
Granite	Primary sandstone
Lowest (red) secondary sandstone	Conchiferous limestone: above the lowest (red) sandstone: lias
In Aberdeenshire; at Kil- drummy.	In Sky.
	Gneiss
Granite	Secondary sandstone (red, lowest)
Argillaceous schist (clay- slate a grey wacke)	Superior sandstone and limestone (lias)
In Cornwall.	In Inch Kenneth.
	Gneiss
Granite	Primary sandstone
Argillaceous schist	Quartz rock
Lowest red sandstone	Gneiss
In the Isle of Man.	In Sutherland.
	Gneiss
Argillaceous schist	Quartz rock
Gneiss	Limestone, bituminous, or containing organic re- mains
Argillaceous schist	Quartz rock
In Isla, and in Rossshire and Su- therland.	Gneiss
	In Sutherland.

The geological reader will be pleased to see such a variety of examples of the succession and alternation of primitive rocks, as proving that the more ancient part of the earth's surface begins to be better known than it was some years ago, when we were taught to believe that the primary strata were not only every where to be found in a primitive country, but also every where occurring in the same order. The disciples of Werner, misled by a premature induction, were disposed to maintain the entireness and regularity of the primitive formation to an extent which subsequent observation has not confirmed. On the contrary, it is now placed altogether beyond dispute that any one of the primitive rocks may be found in contact with granite, and that they may succeed it in any order whatever. Nay, in one of the above examples quoted from the volume now before us, we

find transition sandstone, or as Dr. Macculloch will have it, *secondary* sandstone, resting upon the fundamental granite. We give the author great credit for his research in this most laborious field of study, and congratulate him upon the important addition which he has made to our knowledge of facts. Still we cannot help repeating our astonishment that in the wide range of his geological travels, he should not have met with one single section of a mountain where the rocks were placed in the following order :

Granite
Gneiss
Micaceous schist
Argillaceous schist
Limestone, &c.

Next after the catalogue and succession of rocks come two or three very wearisome chapters, on the external and internal general characters by which rocks are distinguished. The only particular here which calls for notice, is the attempt made by Dr. M. to distinguish between the *structure* of a rock, and the *texture* of a rock—a distinction which we are quite unable either to perceive or comprehend. Under the former term, he arranges those modifications in which the component parts are either more or less distinctly separated, or are thus separable under peculiar circumstances. In the modifications arranged under the head of texture (we use the author's words) it must on the contrary be conceived that the mass is continuous, but that it is so constituted as to present analagous appearances to the former; these being generally, however on a smaller scale, and consisting of parts that cannot be separated. The texture, he continues, is thus an indication of an imperfect and minute structure. As it is scarcely discernible, except on a fracture, the accidents arranged under it pass thus, on the one side into those comprised under the term fracture, as they do, on the other hand, into those included under that of structure. The indefinite boundaries of the forms of nature do not be concludes, easily permit greater accuracy of language and arrangement; and there are cases moreover, in which the term texture is so convenient as to make us unwilling to part with it; independently of the claim which it has acquired from its use among mineralogists.

Of this laboured exposition we shall only say in the words of Dr. M. himself that it respects an *imperfect and minute* distinction without a difference.

The twelfth chapter is very important, particularly to the young geologist, and displays much research on the part of

the author. Its subject is, the associations and transitions which occur in nature between several different species, or families, of rocks. Nothing occasions so much perplexity and confusion to the beginner, when he first proceeds into the boundless laboratory of nature, as the indefinite character of the specimens which meet his eye, arising from the minute mixture of different rocks in one, or rather perhaps, from the transition of one species of rock into another of the same class. The instance of gneiss, given by the author which in losing its felspar, becomes micaceous schist, and of shell, which by an increase of its hardness, becomes siliceous schist, will explain the nature of these transitions among the families of rocks. Where the transition is thus completed, as in the case of these two rocks, there is no longer any difficulty, as the specimen can be referred to its proper place. But in the gradual change of character which precedes the perfect transition, it often becomes impossible to determine where such a rock should be placed, unless when decided geological evidence can be obtained to confirm that which, from its mineral characters, remained doubtful.

All the rocks in contact with granite are more or less modified by intermixture with it, assuming into their composition a greater or smaller portion of its ingredients, quartz, felspar, and mica. Gneiss in such circumstances becomes so extremely granitic, that it is impossible to distinguish it from the other: and even hornblende-slate, and clay-slate become so much altered by the incorporation of quartz and felspar as to lose their specific character and assume the appearance of gneiss, and even of granite itself.

“ Among the stratified rocks, one of the most prevailing associations is that of gneiss with hornblende schist. Between these two substances the gradation is so frequent, and often so perfect, that numerous examples are perpetually occurring which may with equal propriety be referred to either.

“ The association of gneiss with micaceous schist is also very common; and in this case when the felspar, or the hornblende of the former becomes very scanty; the rock, although in a rigid sense, still pertaining to gneiss, cannot without great care, be distinguished from micaceous schist.

“ In Scotland, at least, the association of gneiss and quartz rock is more common than the preceding; and the gradation here is not only frequent and perfect, but is effected with great facility by the loss either of the mica, or of the felspar, or of both.

“ Of a gradation between gneiss and primary sandstone, the Isle of Sky affords a very perfect example: and it is a highly interesting instance, as the latter is, in a great degree, a rock of

a decidedly mechanical structure. The process by which the change is effected, is the gradual substitution, first of the chlorite schist, and ultimately of mica; for the argillaceous schist which alternates with the layers of sandstone; which at the same time becomes gradually thinner, more indefinite, and more perfectly crystalline. The two rocks are in other places often associated in frequent alternation.

“A gradation between gneiss and argillaceous schist is not uncommon in Scotland: and as might be expected, this change takes place where the two rocks are found, as is not uncommon in alternation.

“Independently of the association which micaceous schist forms with gneiss it is intermixed with and passes, by similarly easy gradations, into the following rocks.

“With quartz rock it is so frequently associated, and in beds so thin, that the two cannot be distinguished in the general descriptions of a tract of country.—Where talcose schist occurs in union with micaceous schist, as it sometimes does, there is frequently an indefinite transition between the two; the mica either superseding the talc in the compound, or else the one mineral passing into the other. The passage from micaceous schist to chlorite schist is effected with equal facility; as the constituent minerals of both are so nearly allied; and that passage is no less common than the association between these two rocks. It is more rare to observe transitions between micaceous and argillaceous schists. Yet they occur in several parts of Scotland, both between the fine and coarse varieties, respectively, of each rock. But the association in position between the two is much more frequent than the transition; as it is most usual for them to be separated by a definite boundary.

We cannot transcribe all the instances of transition or intermixture of the primary rocks collected by the author. It is worthy of remark, however, that serpentine where it is associated with hornblende schist, is occasionally found to pass into that rock by an imperceptible gradation. It seems also in some rare instances, to pass into the basalt or green stone of the *overlying family*, according to the nomenclature of the present author.

We attach much importance to this view of the transition and consequent identity in a geological sense, of the several strata which compose the main part of the earth's crust. Instead of regarding these strata as formed one after another round a central nucleus, like the coats of an onion, or as Dr. Knight of Belfast expresses it, like so many wet clothes successively wrapped round a tea-urn; we come to contemplate the frame work of our globe, as Cuvier words it, as the

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product of crystallization, and the whole, if we except volcanic and alluvial rocks, as of contemporaneous origin. We have long ago seen good ground for relinquishing the *Wernerian formations* of primitive, transition, and secondary rocks, as proceeding upon the hypothetical notions of different states of the chaotic fluid, and successive periods of crystallization and deposition; and when we plead for retaining the terms derived from the theoretical illustrations of the *Saxon Professor*, we confine our views to their utility, as parts of a convenient vocabulary long familiarized to geological readers. As to the theory itself of successive depositions whether chemical or mechanical, it always appeared to us encumbered with so many postulates and conditions, and assuming so many arbitrary states and contingencies, all necessary to the accomplishment of its ends, as to bear very little resemblance to a philosophical interpretation of nature. The progress already made in this infant science has been sufficient to discountenance the more hypothetical part of the *Wernerian theory* of the earth: and we are not without hopes that the additions daily making to our knowledge of petrology, will soon place the enquiries of the geologist on a more rational footing, both as to fact and principle than they have hitherto been. It will be found, we think, among other things, that the stratified rocks composing the surface of the earth are all so intimately connected with one another, and exhibit at their junctions such a perfect blending and identity, as to preclude the opinion that they were successively deposited from a certain menstruum, which, in some inexplicable manner, changed its contents or adjusted their combination, as often as there were different rocks to form. The speculations of the geognost will be confined to those changes on the earth's surface which have been produced by the action of water and volcanoes subsequently to its original formation, and to those processes for repairing the ravages of time as well as of the powerful agents now specified, which are going constantly forward under our eyes, in the formation of alluvial land, and of certain kinds of calcareous rock or marble. Geology will prudently relinquish the magnificent but vain attempt to trace the operations of the first cause, in the elementary process by which the materials of our globe were evolved and combined, in the first moment of creation, and employ herself in explaining the order, distribution, and apparent connection of the mineral substances which compose its exterior parts. The words primitive and secondary will soon cease to have any reference to the supposed epochs of cosmogony. They will be used as mere

terms of art or convenience; descriptive of certain species of rocks but depending upon no theoretical tenets in geological science.

Even at present it is admitted that the characters of the primary class of rocks are not always such as to distinguish them clearly from the secondary. Inferiority of position cannot uniformly be claimed for the strata of the first-mentioned order. In some places large masses of the one are found in contact with the other; the relative positions of the two being such, says our author, as either to afford no evidence respecting the superiority of the one, or the inferiority of the other; or sometimes even indicating a relation which is discovered by an extensive set of analogies or comparisons to be false. The erect position of the strata, again, is not a more certain test than inferiority of situation in regard to the primary rocks. In many instances, as Dr. M. justly remarks, the primary strata occupy very low angles and even assume the horizontal position; while the secondary are frequently found elevated to angles of considerable inclination. Nor is the mineralogical character of the two classes always so distinct and well marked as to warrant the assertion that these classes are of an entirely different origin. There are as every one knows strong proofs of crystallization even in the newest rocks as they are usually denominated; whilst few of those reputed the most ancient are free from tokens of mechanical or secondary deposits.

But we must come to a close with our author at present, in the hope of meeting him soon in the more interesting and debateable ground of geology. We have already said that his synoptical descriptions are extremely tedious and wearisome. That the reader may however, judge for himself we give the following specimen, chosen for this purpose chiefly because it is one of the shortest.

Synopsis of Siliceous Schist.

First Division.

Primary.

- A. Simple in appearance, and resembling clay slate, but distinguishable by its extreme hardness.
- B. Containing mica, and distinguishable in the same way from the micaceous schists, or micaceo-argillaceous schists, (gray-wacke) which it otherwise resembles.
- C. Containing quartz sand, but similarly characterized by its extreme induration.

“ These varieties present but trifling distinctions of colour, resembling the several schists from which they are derived. As they

vary in the degree of induration so they also pass gradually into the ordinary micaceous and argillaceous schists.

Second Division.

Secondary

A. With an earthy dull fracture and the aspect of shale; distinguishable only by its hardness.

B. The fracture somewhat glossy; more indurated.

These two varieties retain the laminas structure of shale.

C. More highly indurated, more brittle and glossy: the laminas structure disappearing, and the fracture splintering and small anechoal.

The three preceding varieties are either black, or of different shades of grey. The different colours are sometimes also interlaminated. They are frequently also interlaminated with chert, or with granular limestone, for reasons already described.

D. Extremely brittle, hard, and shining; the fracture large or small conchoidal, and the fragments sharp and cutting.

This is the Lydian stone of Mineralogical writers, and is almost always of a pure black.

E. With an internal spheroidal structure, producing a botryoidal surface on weathering.

This variety differs in hardness and in colour: the latter is black or grey.

These five varieties being derived from the shales which accompany the coal strata, occasionally contain minute shells, sometimes compressed and deformed as already mentioned.

F. Laminar, with alternate colours, and forming some varieties of the striped jasper of mineralogists. The colours are commonly shades of red, brown, yellow and purplish black, and these kinds appear to be derived from the coloured shales.

G. Containing imbedded crystals of quartz, and of a porphyritic aspect.

All these substances as might be expected, and as already noticed, pass into the different rocks from which they are derived.

On the whole, Dr. Macculloch's book makes a valuable addition to our stock of works on this thriving science. But it is too long; tediously drawn out in many parts; clogged with repetitions, and loaded with wordiness. The doctor is not content unless he says every thing he knows on all his subjects, and that too, in rather a pompous roundabout way. He takes long journeys in quest of mineralogical knowledge, and he seems to think it incumbent upon him to write long books. He is wrong in this; for even on geological subjects, brevity is the soul of good writing.

ART. IV. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. By Sir Robert Ker Porter. With numerous Engravings of Portraits, Costumes, Antiquities, &c. 2 Vols. 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d. Longman & Co. 1821.*

IN some new edition of Bonnycastle's Arithmetic we shall, ere long, expect to find an appendix of problems in literary numeration—"If three months residence in the mountains east of Rome gives a moderate octavo, how many immoderate quartos will three years travels in the neighbourhood of Caucasus give?" If, however, we are to measure the *lengthiness* of the journal by the comparative altitude of the mountains visited, perhaps Sir Robert Ker Porter does not exceed his due proportion; and we willingly concede him some licence, from our very partial acquaintance with the present state of the countries on which he treats.

Sir Robert Porter left St. Petersburg in August 1817, for Odessa on the Black Sea, intending to embark at that port for Constantinople, and thence proceed to Persia. The Russian *Steppes*, over which his course lay during much of the first part of his journey, are not Desarts in a literal acceptation of the word. They are boundless tracts, as far as the eye can reach, of open country, spotted with corn fields and innumerable windmills. At Odessa the accounts of the plague then raging at Constantinople were so terrific that Sir Robert Porter changed his route, and determined to enter Persia *viâ* Georgia. On his return to Nicolaeoff, in passing through Koblinka, he witnessed, though fortunately at a distance, one of those calamities so overwhelming and so common among the farms of the Ukraine, a grass fire. It generally occurs from the carelessness of bullock drivers or the followers of caravans, who after halting for the night on the open plain, neglect to extinguish their fires when they resume their march. The hot embers, if brought in contact with the high grass of the *Steppe*, rapidly burst into flame, and advance with a fury almost unquenchable. That which Sir Robert Porter saw soon extended over a space of 40 wersts, (two English miles comprise about three Russian wersts) and continued its ravages for many days, consuming in its devastating path, ricks, hovels, outstanding corn, and every thing which the flames could envelope. A second, which he afterwards encountered more

closely, must have been a scene of most horrible magnificence. During the night,

“Near the town of Youchokrak, we got into the midst of another of those grass-fires I before mentioned. This spectacle was even more awful than the one I had formerly witnessed. Then we viewed it at a distance: here we were in its very centre. The actual road was free from conflagration, having nothing for the burning element to feed on; but all around, the whole surface of the earth was covered with a moving mass of flame. The effect produced was an apparently interminable avenue, dividing a sea of fire. The height of the flame could not be more than two or three feet from the ground: and on either side of our path, the smoke was so light as to enable us to discern this tremendous scene stretching to an endless distance. Not a breath of wind disturbed the atmosphere; hence it eat its devastating way over the face of the country, with the steadiness and majesty of an advancing ocean. During the course of my journey afterwards, I observed many blackened tracts, from fifty to sixty wersts in length, which had been so marked by one of these calamitous ignitions.” Vol. I. p. 20.

At New Tcherkask, the capital of the Donskoy country, Sir R. Porter was the guest of the celebrated Platoff. This city was founded by the venerable Attaman himself, and in the short space of ten years (during four of which three parts of the population were serving in the field) already covers nearly four miles of ground. Some of its houses are splendid. Two triumphal arches, the works of an Italian architect, front the Moscow and Rostow entrances, and the same hand was employed on a cathedral, and a palace for the Attaman. Count Platoff has established a school, and laboured indefatigably to introduce the civilization of Western Europe.

The Grand Duke Michael visited New Tcherkask during Sir R. Porter's stay. He was received with distinguished honors. The Attaman, on his arrival, presented him with the national welcome, bread and salt on a golden salver. Though he did not reach the town till nightfall, he rode instantly to the cathedral, and during the performance of divine service, the whole town was illuminated. On the following morning he reviewed the troops of the town, who performed a number of Cossack manœuvres to the *melody* of a Kalmouk band, “chiefly composed of variously discordant trumpets, kettle drums, and a huge tamborine, which played all the while such inharmonious music, and with so tremendous a noise, that I can only compare it to the roar-

ing of elephants under the goad of merciless keepers." A dinner and a ball concluded the ceremonial of the imperial visit.

The caravan to which Sir R. Porter annexed himself in the passage of Caucasus, consisted of the post, fifty chariots of salt, as many of European merchandize, ten or twelve travellers on horseback, half-a-dozen *bristchkas*, and one *calèche* besides his own. To protect this convoy was attached a force of 100 Chasseurs, 40 Cossacks, and a six-pounder. They moved regularly by beat of drum at break of day. The gun and a party of infantry in advance, the Cossacks thrown out in front and flank to prevent surprize, and the merchandize with an adequate number of chasseurs in the rear. Such precautions were by no means unnecessary against the lawless banditti of these fastnesses. But it is chiefly to the activity, observation, and promptitude of General del Pozzo that Russia is enabled to maintain her communications through the defiles of Caucasus with any degree of security. This extraordinary man, though an Italian by birth, having passed the greater part of his life in the Russian service, is intimately acquainted with the bearings of the country, and the nature of the various tribes which inhabit it. Being in secret communication with many native individuals in each, he not unfrequently anticipates their schemes of depredation, and has been eminently useful in the redemption of prisoners. Some years since he passed twelve tedious months of captivity among the *Tchetchinzi*, the most savage and warlike marauders in the range of Caucasus. The hardships which he endured were great, but his life was saved, because his importance was known and a large ransom was expected. Even while loading him with severities, there were occasions on which the barbarians applied to his acknowledged superior wisdom to decide upon matters affecting their general interests. During this compulsory residence he acquired a knowledge of their language and manners, and formed connections among them which since his deliverance have proved highly advantageous. Ten thousand roubles was the price demanded and paid for his freedom. At the moment of Sir R. Porter's passage, the General was employed in negotiating the ransom of an unfortunate European lady, who had been captured by the *Tchetchinzi*: she was travelling with her husband (a Cossack officer) and two servants. They were all three murdered, the husband by the side of the wife; she herself was carried up to the mountains, and sold to a chief who was going farther into the interior. General del Pozzo, by his secret

channels of intelligence, had secured the principal actors in this sad tragedy, and retained them as hostages for the lady's safety.

At Wlady-Caucasus, the key of the celebrated pass into Georgia, the road becomes direct into the heart of the mountains; and here it was necessary to abandon the piece of artillery and the heavier part of the convoy. The escort was reduced to forty soldiers, an officer, and a few cossacks; and the strictest orders were issued to keep together. The road has been constructed by the present Emperor since 1804, and is a superb monument of the powers of human art and labour. The river Terek runs through the defile amid the wildest and most sublime scenery, and to increase the awfulness of the march, different parties of banditti were several times seen scrambling among the rocky pinnacles. The average height of the whole range, east and west, does not exceed 4000 feet, but Elborus is calculated at not less than 14,400 above the level of the Euxine.

It was now October, and the snows had commenced. The thermometer was nine degrees below freezing, (Reaumur,) and not a trace of road appeared upon the level whiteness; but the Cossacks knew the hidden path, and trod it securely, though steep and winding. Near the extreme height, not far from the desperate track which is called the high road, stands a cottage much superior to the common huts of the country. It was built by the Emperor Alexander, on the plan of the *hospices* of Switzerland, and wants only a similar breed of dogs to be useful to the same extent as those establishments. The passage of the Good Gara, a mountain which occurs in the descent, is more terrific than any which precedes it. The path is not more than twelve feet in width round the whole circuit of the cone; and in the depth of winter appears almost perpendicular with the side of the mountain. In that season it is only attempted on foot; a string of soldiers advances in front to clear the road: the first is fastened by a rope round his waist, which is held by the others at different lengths; but, in spite of this care, numbers are yearly lost on this dizzy and perilous steep.

At Annanour an unnecessary quarantine of four days is to be performed in a most filthy hovel. We remember Klaproth's lamentations on the same pitiable detention in 1807, and the lapse of ten years does not appear, according to Sir Robert Porter's account, to have diminished the miseries of the unfortunate traveller who is exposed to it: windows without glass or shutters, the ground damp, noisome, and overgrown with beds of mushrooms as a floor, and a night

concert of vast droves of wolves and jackalls, "baying the moon," and looking after itinerant flesh, did not assist in wooing sleep. But the persons in authority, when applied to, assured the unreasonable complainant that it was the best apartment of the range, that many general officers had recently performed quarantine in it, and that being pre-eminently comfortable, it was always reserved for travellers of rank.

Tiflis, the metropolis of Georgia, is a dirty collection of low, flat-roofed dwellings, built of dun brick mingled with stones and mud: the doors and windows are exceedingly small, and the latter covered with paper, unoiled. Sir R. Porter's curiosity led him through the whole range of baths appropriated to both sexes, and, as it seems, without any of the fearful consequences

"Visæ sine veste Dianæ."

There was little, however, to repay the danger of his trespass. The bath was a vast cavern-like chamber, gloomily lighted, and smelling most potently of sulphuric evaporations. An old woman played the sibyl, and the nymphs appeared undisturbed by the violation of their grot. It is said (but perhaps the *on dits* of Tiflis rest on as slight authority as those of Paris or London) that there are days in the week on which any lady may engage the bath for a tête à tête ablution. Whatever may be the fate of an intruding stranger on these occasions, there can be little doubt that the husband at least (if there be one) is doomed to play the part of the luckless son of Autonoe.

Elborus is the grand feature of the north western horizon at Tiflis: there is a tradition that Noah's ark, while floating to its place of final rest at Ararat, smote the head of this mountain with its keel, and made the cleft which still remains in it. We should feel less doubt of the truth of this legend, if Elborus were not much lower than Ararat. It is quite certain, however, that Prometheus was chained to it, and it is still said

"By the natives who reside in the valleys of Elborus, that the bones of an enormous giant, exposed there by Divine wrath, are yet to be seen on its smaller summit. Indeed the story is so much a matter of firm belief with the rude tribes in that quarter of the Caucasus, that people are to be found amongst them, who will swear they have seen these huge remains. Marvellous as the story is, it seemed so well attested that, some time ago, an European general officer thought he might make it a ground for penetrating farther than had yet been attempted, into the interior of the mountains; and, accordingly, I was told he set forth on this

expedition, with a party of two hundred men and a light piece of artillery, to ascertain the truth of so extraordinary a tale. However, the moment was not yet arrived for a European eye to behold the remains of this dead Colossus; for scarcely had he penetrated any distance into the recesses of the mountain, when a dreadful avalanche rolled in fury down its side, and overwhelmed the whole party, excepting its leader, and two or three soldiers. There was now no doubt amongst the natives, that the intention of the expedition was to have given charitable sepulture to the unburied corpse, and that the accident happened in consequence of the vengeance of the spirits of the mountain, who had the mysterious relics in charge; thus to show that the doom of their being left to bleach on that unsheltered rock for ever, should never be reversed. So far, the judgment of the spirits of the mountain! But it is more credibly believed by the persons who told me the story, that the real object of the expedition, which set forth under this mask, was to reconnoitre ground for the establishment of some good positions in the mountains." Vol. I. p. 128.

Here also Medea drugged her baths; here, in Arabian story, was the abode of Genii; and here still, in popular belief, every rocky height is the eyrie of some spirit, who denounces tortures and death as the punishment of any rash intrusion on his haunt.

The vicinity of Tiflis abounds in the richest products of nature. The hills around it are profusely covered with wood, intermixed with wild fruits of the choicest flavour. Its wines are celebrated for their softness, lightness, and delicacy of taste. Hemp, flax, rice, millet, barley and wheat, are almost the spontaneous gift of the valleys. Pheasants, wild fowl of all kinds, antelopes, deer, sheep, and domestic cattle, are found on its pastures. The rivers swarm with fish, and the climate is luxuriant. Yet in few parts of the globe is the human animal, under whose dominion all these treasures are subjected, less able to appreciate their value, or to apply them to their fitting uses.

A short time before Sir R. Porter quitted this neighbourhood, news arrived of a disaster not uncommon in the defiles of Caucasus, whenever the wet season commences early at Tiflis, and the snow is at the same time falling deeply in the higher regions. The avalanche occasioned by this joint action of heavy rain and melting snow, occurs on an average about once in seven years, and the devastation which it works is most terrific. In 1776 the course of the Terek was stopped by one of these masses, which had been disengaged from the mountains, till the waters rose to the height of 258 feet, and in a moment, when the pressure

could be no longer supported, they tore their passage through the barrier. In November, 1817, the summit of Kasibek was seen to move abruptly on the side which shelved into the dark valley, between Derial and the village named after the mountain. Huge masses of rock accompanied its fall with a most astounding noise, and every living or lifeless object in its course, villages, valleys, and people, was overwhelmed. The depth of snow which rolled down was 186 feet, its extent more than four English miles. But this was not the close of the destruction. The Terek was again checked, and the overcharged stream fell back on its bed, and formed itself into a huge lake. Nearly twelve whole days elapsed before it had sapped through the consolidated snows, and then the scene of ruin was renewed. Every thing contiguous to its path was washed away by the fury of the torrent.

The ruins of Anni, one of the ancient capitals of Armenia, drew Sir R. Porter some little from his direct road, and amply repaid him for the trouble of his deviation. They lie not far within the Turkish frontier, and appeared to be most magnificent.

“The western and northern fronts have been defended by a double range of high walls and towers of the finest masonry. Three great entrances present themselves to the north. Over the centre gate was sculptured a leopard or lion-passant; and near it, on the flanking towers, several large crosses were carved in the stone, and richly decorated with exquisite fretwork. On entering the city, I found the whole surface of the ground covered with hewn stones, broken capitals, columns, shattered but highly ornamented friezes; and other remains of ancient magnificence. Several churches, still existing in different parts of the place, retain something more than ruins of their former dignity; but they are as solitary as all the other structures, on which time and devastation have left more heavy strokes. In the western extremity of this great town, in which no living beings, except ourselves, seemed breathing, we saw the palace, once of the kings of Armenia; and it is a building worthy the fame of this old capital. Its length stretches nearly the whole breadth, between the walls of the city on one side, and the ravine on the other. Indeed, it seems a town in itself; and so superbly decorated within and without, that no description can give an adequate idea of the variety and richness of the highly wrought carvings on the stone, which are all over the buildings; or of the finely executed mosaic patterns, which beautify the floors of its countless halls. Near the centre of the city, rise two enormous octagon towers of an immense height, surmounted by turrets. They command all around them, even to the citadel, which stands to the south-west on a high rock, and at the edge of a precipice. The farther I went, and

the closer I examined the remains of this vast capital, the greater was my admiration of its firm and finished masonry. In short, the masterly workmanship of the capitals of pillars, the nice carvings of the intricate ornaments, and arabesque friezes, surpassed any thing of the kind I had ever seen, whether abroad, or in the most celebrated cathedrals of England. I particularly observed a religious edifice, of less dimensions than some of the others, but of exquisite architecture. It stood very near the octagon towers; and its high arched roof was a beautiful specimen of mosaic work, enriched with borders of the pure Etruscan, formed in red, black, and yellow stone. The pillars, and all ornamental parts of the building, were as sharp and fresh, as if but the erection of yesterday." Vol. I. p. 172.

Ararat has never yet been ascended, and the distance from the commencement of the icy region to the summit, forms an insurmountable obstacle. About half way down the north western face of the greater head, is a deep and peculiarly black chasm presenting volcanic appearances. Dr. Reniggs, indeed, has affirmed, that during January and February, 1783, an eruption took place: but the fathers of the monastery at Eitch-mai-Adzen, deny the fact positively. They shew a register of the phenomena of the mountains, kept by their predecessors and themselves, for upwards of eight hundred years, in which no tendency to eruption is noticed; and several residents of more than forty years, declared, that not even smoke had been seen to issue during that period. We need scarcely say that this monastery is in possession of a veritable plank of Noah's Ark.

Tabreez is the residence of Abbas Mirza, the present enlightened heir to the throne of Persia. It is a place of military importance, and is daily improving under the hands of the prince. Sir R. Porter was invited to a state dinner, soon after his arrival, by Mirza Bezoork, the Kyme Makaum, or prime minister, a noble of cultivated mind, and dignified manners. The entertainment was in the following order: Kaliouns (the national pipe) coffee, without cream or sugar, in very small cups; Kaliouns repeated, and tea. After a few minutes conversation, several servants entered with a long narrow roll of flowered cotton, which was spread up to the knees of each guest. Every person was then presented with a thin cake, to be used both as plate and napkin, more from custom than from œconomy, for the succeeding bill of fare will sufficiently remove the classical apprehension, lest

"Fames ignota ad litora vectos
Accisis cogat dapibus consumere mensas."

A tray was then placed between every two persons, containing two bowls of sherbet, two dishes of pillau, composed of rice soaked in oil, boiled fowls, raisins, and saffron; two plates of sliced melons, a dozen kabobs of dry boiled meat, and a fowl roasted to a cinder. At a given signal the party fell to plying the right hand with the utmost activity from the dishes to the mouth, till all the viands disappeared. At the conclusion a silver jug and bason was carried to each visitor with water to cleanse the right hand, beard and mustachios, but towels were wanting. Tea between two more Kaliouns concluded the banquet, which was rendered somewhat troublesome by the cross-legged position, the want of knives and forks, and the etiquette which enjoins the covering of the head as a matter of good breeding, and which obliged the Europeans present to dip in their troughs with cocked hats and feathers.

The season was now severe, but the Persians put on no additional clothing; scarcely a day passed without one or two being frozen to death. The gates of all towns throughout the empire are closed from sunset to sunrise; and this regulation occasionally is the destruction of benighted travellers. One who had performed a long journey on his own horse, found himself under the walls of Tabreez just after the gates were barred—the night was one of the most inclement that had been known, and with the vain hope of preserving himself, the poor sufferer determined to sacrifice his horse, an animal which in these countries is esteemed a member of the family. He ripped up the belly of the faithful beast with his dagger, and sheltered himself in this horrible cavity, but he was found lifeless in the morning.

Abbas Mirza invited Sir R. Porter to accompany him in his suite to Teheran, whither the King had ordered him to repair to celebrate the feast of the Nowroose. One hundred and fifty horsemen preceded as an advanced guard. Then followed the Prince with some members of his family, and his European friends. The khans, ministers of state, and domestics closed the march, indiscriminately mixed with six hundred *goolams*, a sort of irregular militia used both for civil and military purposes, well dressed, armed and mounted. Among the servants are a class called *Peshkidmats*, who have charge of the smoking apparatus. The Kalioun and its provender are carried in leather cases resembling holsters; on the left flank of the horse, suspended by a chain below the belly, hangs a pot of live charcoal, and on the opposite side a leathern bottle of water. Two huge bags complete the equipage, and thus heavily and grotesquely laden,

the *Peshkidmats* are obliged to serve the Kalioun at a moment's notice, which having a conducting tube of several feet in length, is smoked by the master on the march, and held respectfully by the servant in his rear.

A singular ceremony was performed on the entrance of Bosmeech. A cow was slaughtered at the feet of the Prince's horse, a compliment with which Abbas Mirza would willingly have dispensed, but which is always paid on the arrival of the Sovereign at any considerable town in his dominions. Besides this, another act of respect consists in breaking a vessel, containing sugar and honey, in his path.

Maundeville, our English Mendez Pinto, mentions a town "lying in the way from Thauriso (Tabreez) towards the east, where no Cristyan man may long dwelle, ne enduren with life in that cytee, but dyen within short time, and no man knowethe the cause." Sir R. Porter imagines the town to be Mianna, and that he has discovered "the cause." This place and the villages in its neighbourhood, are infested with a poisonous bug, resembling in size and shape those of Europe, though somewhat flatter, and of a bright red colour. Its bite produces death in eight or nine months, and is *mortal only to strangers*. These ancient and modern knights errant differ in one important respect: Sir John Maundeville clearly does *not* believe all the wonders which he recounts, Sir R. Porter does.

No light has hitherto been thrown on the unhappy fate of Mr. Browne, (B. C. July, 1820. p. 44.) near the spot of whose murder, Sir R. Porter's route happened to lie. It is generally attributed to the ferocity of a roving band of Kurds, and the false conviction of security which induced Mr. Browne to decline the attendance of a Mehmandar. Not a shade of suspicion attaches to the Persian government, from which this singular and unfortunate traveller received every assistance during his researches, and every due honour after his decease.

Ali Nackee Mirza, governor of Casvin and a younger brother of Abbas Mirza, came out to meet the travellers about two miles from his capital. His children next joined the group, and at the gates of the town the whole population was assembled to greet the arrival of the royal brothers. The Lion and Sun floated on countless banners, and the air re-echoed with shouts: a group of wrestlers exercised themselves in the crowd, and twelve young men, naked to the waist and bald-headed, unceasingly whirled about their own heads and those of their neighbours, two huge wooden clubs called *meals*, in shape like a paviour's rammer, and not much

lighter in weight. This feat was for the most part performed (after the manner of Mr. Dymoke's horse) with their faces towards the Prince, unless when they relieved themselves by an occasional *pirouette* in unison with their clubs.

At Sleymonia, one of the last stages in the route to Teheran, the astrologers waited upon the Prince with an earnest request that he would quit the town soon after midnight, in order to enable him to reach the capital three hours after sunrise, that, according to calculation, being the most fortunate moment of the day. Teheran boasts no magnificence of building. Sir R. Porter had an audience in it of Mirza Sheffy, (prime minister to the late and present king) of whom he relates a whimsical anecdote. The station of this officer near the Sovereign makes his notice of high value to humbler individuals: one of these, who had long attended the minister's levees without attracting attention, finding him alone one day, expatiated upon the advantage which he would derive if, at his next assembly, his excellency would only condescend to rise a little on the suitor's entrance. For this act of grace he offered one hundred tomauns, a sum not much exceeding twelve guineas, but yet a sum which no Persian minister would despise. The bargain was struck, and on the appointed day the courtier appeared in the circle, big with ambitious hope. Mirza Sheffy, "half raising himself from his seat by his knuckles, and fixing his eyes gravely on him, to the no small astonishment of the rest of the company, exclaimed 'is that enough?' " We need not add the confusion of the expectant courtier, nor Sir R. Porter's just commentary, that the smiles of the minister became of still higher value when it was proved that he thus set them above price.

The ceremonials of the feast of Nowroose are very gorgeously described. This festival commemorates the beginning of the new Year, on the 21st of March; and its institution is ascribed to Jemsheed, sixth in descent from Noah, and fourth Sovereign of Persia. As a mark of honour, Sir R. Porter was presented with a *kaalat* or shawl, and conducted to the presence of the Persian monarch by the chief executioner, the attendance of this minister being considered as one of the greatest manifestations of respect which could be offered. A discharge of swivels and the bray of trumpets announced the approach of the Great King; but the most singular accompaniment was the bellowing of two huge elephants, who are trained for the especial purpose of announcing the royal movements by their roar. Fetteh Ali Shah is described as the most majestic of beings in his carriage. In

dress he was one blaze of jewels ; a tiara of three elevations (qu?) composed entirely of diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds covered his head ; aigrettes and plumes of black feathers waved above this : his vesture was of gold tissue, thickly studded with precious stones ; across the shoulders was a double band of enormous pearls, and on his arms were two resplendent bracelets, “ the mountain and the sea of light ” framed of the choicest diamonds which Nadir Shah had plundered from Hindostan. A beard black as jet which fell over his chest, and partly shaded the diamond hilt of his dagger completed the array of the royal person. The whole assembly bowed as he mounted the throne, and the solemn silence which ensued was only broken by a volley of words which burst at once from all the Moullahs and Astrologers in an heraldic enumeration of his titles, dominions, and heroic acts. After a few sentences in return from his majesty to the courtiers, and a gracious welcome to the British visitors, a delicious sherbet was handed to the last, and they were presented with some pieces of gold and silver as a largess. With this the audience finished.

The feast continues for six days, and during these the King receives vast presents. Not long after its celebration a horse race occurred, which was not much after the taste of English jockeyship.

“ The rival horses were divided into three successive sets, in order to lengthen the amusement. They had been in training for several weeks past ; going over the ground very often during that period ; and when I did see them, I found so much pains had been taken to sweat and reduce their weight, that their bones were nearly cutting the skin. The distance marked for the race, was a stretch of twenty-four miles ; and, that his Majesty might not have to wait when he reached the field, the horses had set forward long before, by their three divisions, from the starting point ; (a short interval of time passing between each set ;) so that they might come in, a few minutes after the King had taken his seat. Hence these high-mettled coursers had been galloping all night ; and in regular order, the different divisions arrived at the goal ; all so fatigued and exhausted, that their former boasted fleetness, hardly exceeded a moderate canter, when they passed before the royal eyes.” Vol. I. p. 334.

From Teheran Sir R. Porter's route lay to the southwest. Some of the districts through which he passed, had been severely visited by famine ; and the horrible scenes of Jerusalem had been repeated at Kashan ; two female infants were devoured by their maddened parents, and in the

bag of a woman who expired by the road side, were found the mangled remains of her only child.

Ispahan, the Parthian Hecatompylos, raised by Shah Abbas, in the plenitude of his magnificence, to be the emporium of the Asiatic world, is at this moment a scene of desolation. Its streets, bazars, palaces, and caravansaries, are silent; and over the wide range, which was once tenanted by a population of a million beings, scarcely one tenth of that number is now thinly scattered. Such was the merciless rage of its Afghan conquerors. The *Chehel Setoon*, or palace of forty pillars*, the favorite residence of the latter Sefi kings, approaches near the marvellous descriptions in the Arabian nights. In the winter palace, attached to the domain, Shah Thamas, the son of the murdered Shah Hous-sain, was nominally restored to power by the usurper who had slain his father. As the young monarch retired to one of the interior apartments, he was met by a female slave in the meanest attire, who embraced him with transports of affection. It was his mother, who had disguised herself on the capture of Ispahan, by Kouli Khan; and who, for seven years, had performed the lowest offices, in order to escape the ignominious fate of the other Sefi ladies, and to watch, unsuspected, over her captive husband's safety.

One of the gates of Ispahan is crowned with an apartment which Sir R. Porter dignifies with the title of *Mirador*, but which the ears of the groundlings will more easily recognize under the homely name of *Gazebo*. In a saloon out of this are two whole length portraits of a lady and a cavalier habited à la Vandyck; it is more than probable that these are likenesses of Sir Robert and Lady Shirley, who resided at the Sefi court during the reign of our James I.

Notwithstanding all the reports of robbery and assassination which surrounded him, and which in many cases were too unhappily verified, Sir R. Porter appears to have travelled unscathed, and with little difficulty; sometimes, indeed, the curiosity of the peasants was amusingly troublesome; when an uncouth boor would thrust his head over his shoulder "to see how a *Frangee* ate!" or when another, still less

* The term forty, it seems from another passage, (p. 511.) is used to express any indefinite number; though we by no means can admit that this usage is illustrated by a reference to the story of "the forty thieves." Forty was a goodly troop, and quite enough for the captain's purpose; and all the events of the voracious legend of Ali-Baba, assure us from the accuracy of their detail, that we need not imagine the given number to be symbolical.—Ed.

considerate, peeped under his curtains “to see how a *Frangee* slept!

His guide on one occasion (he had been taken from the thievish village of Daly Nazir) admitted that if an opportunity occurred he should always attack and rob a single traveller, adding, “we of our village would do the same, and so would all the plain.” But imaginary evils now and then threw greater impediments in the journey than real dangers; a sudden sneeze from one of the party at the moment of starting, prevented all advance for the day on which it occurred; and no argument could dissipate the terror created by this dreadful omen.

We have not space to follow Sir R. Porter on his route to Persepolis, and it would be unjust to abridge his minute descriptions, either of the ruins of that magnificent city, or of the bas reliefs at Nakshi Roustam, the mountain of sepulchres, both of which are materially assisted by the spirited engravings which accompany them. On all occasions the natives assured him that the wonderful places which he investigated, were the works either of the devils or of Solomon. Shiraz is described to be a pleasant rather than an imposing town. It was spared by Timour for the sake of Hafiz, and the anecdote is too elegant to be omitted.

“It is related, that when that conqueror entered Shiraz, red with the blood of Ispahan, in the sweeping fury of his humour he sent for Hafiz, who was in the town, and demanded how he dared to dispose of two of the Tartar’s richest cities, Samarcand and Backhorah; which, in an amatory stanza, he had said he would give for the mole on his mistress’s cheek.—‘Can the gifts of Hafiz ever impoverish Timour!’ was the reply; which changed the monarch’s indignation into favour, and produced reward instead of punishment.” Vol. I. p. 691.

The tomb of the Poet still exists, but in neglect and almost in ruin. That of Sadi, the Socrates of the East as he has been styled, has yet one distinguished mark of respect paid to it. Within its vault runs a crystal stream, which tradition assigns as his favourite spot of retirement. The fish of this water are even now protected by his memory.

“Inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis,
Nec violant timidi piscibus ora Syri.”

We ourselves have tasted the wine of Shiraz, and though it was at a board of high authority, we suspect we were unlucky in its quality, for to us it seemed “a muddy syrup, but

not sour." Its flavor when good, it seems, should resemble dry Madeira.

Sir Robert Porter is evidently a keen observer, and he travels over a country highly interesting and little known. His faults are want of compression, and occasional inflation; putting these aside, we shall rejoice in the appearance of his promised second volume.

ART. V. *The Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom, for the Year ended 5th January, 1821. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, March, 1821.*

IN the time of peace, nothing is so interesting to the British Public, as the state of the National finances. It is entirely different in a period of active hostilities. Whilst fleets are at sea, and armies in the field, the mind is completely occupied with the fortunes of war—with the momentous occurrences which are, every day, either falling out or expected. The great stake at issue; the lives of our countrymen, and the honour of our country, engross all the interest, and employ all the conversation at table as well as at the coffee-house; and in such circumstances the resources of the kingdom are freely called into action, and even largely anticipated; liberal grants are made and extensive credits voted with the most enthusiastic forwardness, and, sometimes, it may be added, with an uncalculating profusion. For example, in the year 1815, when Buonaparte, now a mere historical reminiscence, returned from Elba, there was placed in the hands of the Executive the command of a sum of money surpassing in amount the annual revenue of the half of Europe besides; and as long as the din of preparation was heard, and the armies of the North and of the South were hastening to the field to determine by a most mortal arbitrement the mighty claims at issue, not a word was heard in Parliament, or out of it, in regard to the immense expenditure which those proceedings were known to occasion. But the day of reckoning was at hand. The conflict at Waterloo secured peace to Europe, and turned the minds of politicians from the study of iron to that of gold.

Since the year 1815, accordingly, the spirit of patriotism and the heat of faction have alike been expended on questions of finance. Those who formerly harangued on the policy of the hostile attitude so long maintained by England, or on the

mode in which the war was actually carried on, by land or by water, have since the period just specified exerted all their eloquence against the Estimates of the Minister, and declaimed Session after Session on the extravagance of the peace establishment. The arena of parliamentary gladiators and party disputation was all at once changed. The press too, in all its departments, sympathized with this new expression of public feeling; and newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and reviews, marshalled themselves according to their several prejudices or persuasions, to second the endeavours of their leading financial combatants in the great Council of the Nation. Nor is this war of figures and pound-notes yet brought to a close. Charge after charge, and challenge after challenge, have been sounded and accepted; the ground has been occupied, the gauntlet boldly pledged, and triumphs gained; but the vanquished still rallies, the defiance is repeated, and the strife bids fair to become perpetual.

To quit this trifling, however, we need hardly remark that by far the most interesting subject discussed by public speakers or writers, at the present day, is the financial condition of this great Empire. It is a topic, which, bandied as it has been by factious and ignorant persons in various ranks of life, has not attracted more of the public attention than it justly merits; for as the strength of every country may be measured by the precise amount of that portion of her annual produce which can be set apart for public purposes, whether of ornament or defence, no system of policy can be regarded with indifference which is calculated to affect the proportion of that amount viewed in reference to the amount of the whole produce. Under this impression we proceed to lay before the reader a very few details drawn from the "Account" mentioned at the head of our article; stating, as we go along, those circumstances which seem to mark with most clearness the true nature of national prosperity, as well as to suggest that particular line of financial proceedings which appears best fitted to promote and perpetuate the public well-being.

The first thing that strikes the reader as not less wonderful than gratifying, is the immense sum of money raised yearly for the public service in this country; being not less than sixty-three millions of gross revenue. Even after deducting all the drawbacks and bounties given for the encouragement of foreign commerce, as well as the expence of maintaining those numerous establishments necessary for collecting the public income, in its various branches of Custom, Excise, Stamps, Post-Office, &c. the sum applicable to national objects or payable into the Exchequer, amounts to

upwards of fifty-six millions per annum. The *national objects* here alluded to, as distinct from Exchequer receipts, are bounties for promoting fisheries, linen-manufactures, and other branches of domestic trade—navy and army half-pay—the expence of the civil government of Scotland. With all these deductions then, and leaving out at the same time, the war-duty on malt, and arrears of property tax, the amount of the *net* revenue, paid into the Exchequer, for the last six years, is as follows :

1816	—	£54,821,228.
—17	—	48,990,657.
—18	—	49,347,718.
—19	—	53,011,415.
—20	—	52,235,675.
—21	—	53,991,934.

It will be observed, that since 1816 there has been a gradual increase in the amount of public income; and this indication of national prosperity would appear still stronger, were we to restrict the survey to Great Britain, independently of Ireland; in which latter division of the Empire the revenue has recently rather fallen off. For the years above specified, the income derived from England and Scotland, deducting as before the property and war-malt tax, is as we now set it down, viz.

1816	—	£49,335,770
—17	—	44,593,155
—18	—	44,899,451
—19	—	48,330,895
—20	—	47,904,608
—21	—	50,255,896

When on this part of the subject we cannot refrain from making an observation, which forces itself upon the mind while perusing the financial documents, in regard, namely, to the very light taxation imposed upon Ireland compared with that paid by the other parts of the United Kingdom. The whole of the net revenue for Ireland, in the year ended January, 1821, is £3,705,256, being hardly equal to the corresponding payment made by Scotland. In several articles, indeed, such as Excise, Stamps, and Postage, the balance is decidedly in favour of the latter; indicating a degree of trade and prosperity highly creditable to the industrious habits and enterprising genius of our northern neighbours. As to the item of Customs, the revenue of Ireland exceeds that of Scotland—a fact altogether irreconcilable with the statement just made in re-

gard to the Excise, Stamp and Post Office, were it not well known that one of the richest and most populous districts of Scotland is chiefly supplied with foreign commodities through the London market. The city of Edinburgh itself, for instance, as well as the thriving counties which surround it, derives its supply of sugars and other colonial produce with all the minor articles which minister to luxury, from the grand mercantile depot which the immense capital of the London merchant has established on the Thames; and such is the lowness of freight in the packets trading between the metropolis to the eastern shores of Scotland, that goods can be conveyed from London to Edinburgh, at as cheap a rate as between the latter place and Glasgow.

There is something wrong in the condition of Ireland, which seems hitherto to have escaped the most sharp-sighted of our politicians. It is a country with a population three-fold that of Scotland, and with capabilities in every respect immensely greater; and yet, whilst the expence of keeping it is six times greater than what is required for the other, the public revenue obtained from it is hardly equal. An Irish Journalist, in reference to these facts, makes the following striking observations, which well deserve the attention of the economist.

“ It appears” says the writer just referred to, “ that Scotland possesses only 1,804,864 souls, or about one third part of the supposed population of Ireland; and yet in the year 1813 (the year Sir John Sinclair’s Statistical Report was drawn up) the people paid £4,204,097 7s. 9d. of net revenue, exclusively of the expence of management and drawbacks. This comparatively immense sum amounts to within half a million of the net revenue of Ireland; and it exhibits most clearly this important fact, namely, that the people of Scotland are able to bear a rate of taxation exceeding that of Ireland in the proportion of three to one; or in plain language, a Scotchman pays three pounds to the State for every one paid by an Irishman;—and by the same rule, Ireland, instead of paying only £4,822,264 13s. 10½d. which was the amount in the year 1813, ought on this account alone, to afford £14,466,798 1s. 10½d. annually, without burdening the people more heavily than they are in Scotland. But Ireland enjoys local advantages superior to those of Caledonia, in as far as her soil and climate are more favourable to the productions of the earth. But in comparing the circumstances of the two countries, there is another consideration of the utmost importance that bears upon the question. The total extent of Scotland includes nearly 19,000,000 of English acres, of which only 5,043,000

are fully or partially cultivated. The total extent of Ireland may be estimated at more than 20,000,000 of English acres, of which 15,000,000 are fully or partially cultivated. Here we find that the people of the latter country have the superiority over those of the former, in the proportion of nearly three to one, in all that relates to the products of the soil which are, in fact, the primary sources of national wealth.—In regard to the quality of soil and climate, Ireland possesses an advantage over Scotland, that may be estimated in the proportion of three to two: in reference to her capabilities for manufactures, she may be esteemed equal; but in reference to facilities for commerce, she again has the superiority; and without calculating minutely, it may be fairly stated, that the resources of Ireland exceed those of Scotland, as *three to one*, in regard to population—as *three to one* in respect of *productive soil*—and as three to two in the *quality* of that soil. It therefore follows, that if the capabilities of Ireland were equally well brought into action as those of the sister country, the revenue of the former should amount to about six times the revenue of the latter, or to something about twenty-five millions sterling, without the people of Ireland being more heavily loaded with taxes than those of Scotland. Without, however, carrying the statement to the full amount it might seem to bear, we shall renounce a great part of the sum, and say that Ireland could have afforded from twelve to fifteen millions of net revenue, if her moral and physical resources had been properly employed.” See Dublin Journal for 1817.

Ireland somehow has been, and appears still destined to remain the opprobrium of politicians. With a fine soil, and an active people, she continues to exhibit much poverty, and a great degree of actual wretchedness; yielding to the Government but a small return for an expensive administration of her affairs and a painful unremitting watchfulness over her property and peace. Of Scotland, on the other hand, the natural wealth is very limited, the improvable portion of the soil being small in quantity and not very generous in its products: but, to make amends for this, the people, generally speaking, are easily managed, and if they add little to the resources of the State, they make no heavy claims upon its expenditure. During the latter part of the French war, when there were constantly 20,000 regular troops in Ireland, there was not, north of the Tweed, a single battalion of the line, and not more than one regiment of cavalry. Speaking of revenue, however, the main source of it is to be traced to the fertile fields and prosperous trade of old England; for of the

£54,000,000 paid into the Exchequer, more than £45,000,000 are drawn from the soil and industry of South Britain.

It is pleasing to observe, too, as a proof that the resources of this country remain still unexhausted, that the main articles on which the revenue has augmented are those excisable commodities, the use of which indicates, in a very intelligible manner, the comforts and even luxuries enjoyed by the great mass of the people. The bad crops of 1816 and 1817, had a very sensible effect on the national income in the following years; the amount of the Excise in 1818 having fallen as low as £19,794,397. In 1819, however, when the abundant harvest of the preceding year had again supplied the wonted means of enjoyment, the Excise rose to

	£22,894,450
In 1820	23,184,378
1821	26,364,702

It ought to be observed, indeed, in order to prevent all possibility of mistake or exaggeration, that about two years ago several articles were transferred from the Customs to the Excise; which, of course, had the effect of raising the latter at the expence of the former. The most certain way, then, of arriving at the truth, in regard to the increase or diminution of trade and the use of taxable commodities, is to take the Excise and the Customs in one aggregate sum for a certain number of years.

In one of the Papers now before us, there is contained an account of the total net produce of these two branches of the revenue, in Great Britain, for the last eight years, excluding as well as including, the war duty on malt. We give the results throughout exclusive of the said war-duty; and these are as follow;

1814	—	£32,155,278
—15	—	33,570,412
—16	—	34,259,377
—17	—	30,040,990
—18	—	29,487,777
—19	—	32,884,080
—20	—	33,525,957
—21	—	35,006,149

We have gone into these details principally with the view of shewing that the native strength of the country remains not only unexhausted, but unimpaired; that there is no ground whatever for the peevish wailings so often heard on the supposed decline and fall of this great nation; and consequently, that the individuals who indulge in these lamen-

tations, are either very ignorant, or have very bad designs. There is one point, indeed, concerning which we ourselves are by no means satisfied, and the less so that we observe it sinking, year after year, into comparative unimportance, both with the government and with the public, we mean, the very slow progress made, since the peace, in paying off any portion of the national debt. We intend to make a few remarks on this subject in the course of this article, and will return to it, as soon as we have exhibited an abridged view of the exports and imports during the last year, as well as of the amount of tonnage employed in carrying on our foreign trade. We shall first set down the official value of *imports* in the undermentioned years,

1811	—	£28,626,580
1812	—	28,595,426
1813	—	Documents destroyed by fire at the Custom House
1814	—	36,559,788
1815	—	35,989,650
1816	—	30,105,566
1817	—	33,965,232
1818	—	40,135,952
1819	—	33,625,740
1820	—	36,517,262

From this statement it is manifest that there has been no national falling off in the import trade of the country; for, excepting the years 1814 and 1818, the amount of goods imported last year, is the greatest that has taken place since the famous period of the Milan and Berlin decrees, and our orders in council.

The exports for the same years are as follows; including, of course, not only the produce and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland, but also colonial and foreign merchandize, exported from British ports.

1811	—	£32,409,671
1812	—	43,657,864
1813	—	Documents burnt, as above
1814	—	56,624,229
1815	—	60,978,309
1816	—	51,243,574
1817	—	53,123,202
1818	—	56,851,319
1819	—	46,912,491
1820	—	51,730,616

The sums now stated, we need not add, denote only the

official value of the merchandize exported; the actual or declared value being in many instances different, and in general, much higher. In 1811, for example, the official value of British and Irish products exported was 21,131,736*l.* whilst the declared value of the same amounted to 34,917,281*l.* being a difference of more than ten millions sterling.

The following Table contains a succinct view of the number of vessels, the amount of tonnage, and the number of men, all British, employed in conducting our commercial transactions with the countries beyond seas.

INWARDS.				OUTWARDS.			
Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1811	12,908	1,522,692	94,740	1811	12,774	1,507,353	96,739
1812	13,869	1,579,715	96,371	1812	14,328	1,665,518	105,004
1813	Documents for this year destroyed by fire at Custom House.						
1814	16,065	1,846,670	114,049	1814	16,654	1,875,855	116,564
1815	16,851	1,993,150	120,027	1815	17,884	2,088,029	129,091
1816	16,754	1,996,890	119,779	1816	17,383	1,987,794	123,733
1817	18,707	2,240,675	131,901	1817	19,754	2,249,206	136,947
1818	20,401	2,457,779	143,800	1818	19,791	2,401,067	142,476
1819	19,851	2,413,019	142,160	1819	19,424	2,263,650	138,154
1820	18,586	2,270,400	139,195	1820	18,177	2,207,663	134,323

It is hereby rendered perfectly manifest that, since the peace in 1814, a very considerable increase has taken place in the number of men and amount of tonnage, engaged in foreign trade; a fact, however, which, when we call to mind how much of our commerce was carried on by means of foreign ships during the latter part of the war, does not establish an actual increase, to the same amount, in our exports and imports themselves. It simply proves that we now carry a larger proportion of our own products to the foreign market, in our own bottoms, than we did during that unnatural state of things which was brought on by the anti-commercial policy of Napoleon.

So far all appears well. The trade and manufactures of the country are much more extensive than the most sanguine person could have expected to find them, when exposed to the competition of so many ingenious and active neighbours, who not only endeavour to supply themselves with mercantile commodities, but even to supplant us in a variety of markets of which we have long enjoyed the undisputed advantage. But our financial concerns are by no means so prosperous as we could wish to see them. Our public debt does not diminish: that mill-stone, so fast tied to our necks, continues as heavy as ever, and cannot possibly be viewed but with a

well-grounded apprehension by every one who considers how essential a free revenue is to the prosperity and safety of nations.

We have said that the national debt is not diminished by all the financial operations and projects which, from time to time, are set in motion for that important object; and we found this assertion upon the Parliamentary papers at present under our eyes. The only correct measure of the debt in question, it is obvious, is the annual charge upon that portion of it which is still unredeemed; and it will appear from the following statement that this charge, or in other words, the yearly interest, so far from being lessened, continues rather to increase. We go back only to the peace, or the year 1815, as we wish to avoid loading our pages with unnecessary tables, and as the financial proceedings of the last seven years apply the most strictly to the argument in hand.

Annual Charge.

1815	—	£27,638,902
1816	—	30,032,819
1817	—	29,423,070
1818	—	29,900,307
1819	—	29,529,976
1820	—	29,623,692
1821	—	29,990,915

The same appears, if we recur to the Capital or Stock instead of the Interest, the increase there being equally obvious. We give the amount of the unredeemed debt for the last three years, viz.

1819	—	£786,184,689
1820	—	789,510,302
1821	—	796,324,531

It may be said that the liquidation of our public debt has been effected chiefly in the *unfunded* department, and that a large amount of Exchequer, Navy, and Ordnance bills has been discharged since the peace. We do not mean to deny that some little progress towards national relief has been accomplished here; still, when we place the increase of the funded debt against the diminution of that which is unfunded, the difference will be found much less than the friend of his country could wish. For instance, the addition made to funded stock in the course of last year is about seven millions, whilst the payments of exchequer bills, &c. do not amount to eight millions; and even making allowance for the difference between money and stock, the actual liquidation

amounts to a small matter. Every one knows that there was a loan contracted for, last year, to the amount of seventeen millions and upwards; so that the Chancellor found himself paying with one hand and borrowing with the other—clearing off old debts by incurring new ones. In short, very little progress, if any, has yet been made in subtracting from the enormous mass of public obligations.

We respect Mr. Vansittart highly as a sincere well-wisher to his country, and also as a most indefatigable labourer in the arduous duties of a financier: but we have to lament in him a slight tendency to mysticism in all his official proceedings,—a love of intricate, complex, round-about methods, when a much plainer system would answer the public service much better. There is, perhaps, a little allowable quackery in all trades; and the profession of a financier since the days of Monsieur Ricard and Dr. Price, has had no small affinity to the thaumaturgical days of the magician, or to the manipulations of the practitioner in *leger de main*. Indeed, a Chancellor of the Exchequer is almost universally regarded as a kind of money-magician; when he puts a penny into his pocket, every one expects to see it come out a shilling at the least, or perhaps a pound. Since the period, in short, when philosophers spoke of an ounce of copper being converted, by mere dint of compound interest, *into five hundred millions of earths, all of solid gold*, nothing in the line of finance-dealing has been thought strange: and we have amongst us people who still talk of the Sinking Fund as if it were something little short of miraculous,—a piece of fiscal mechanism, of which no man can exactly either fathom the principle or calculate the power.

To come to the point with this worthy functionary, we have to lament, that he still finds it necessary, or thinks it expedient, to entrench himself behind the cumbrous outworks of the Sinking Fund, when he has, in fact, abandoned all the objects meant to be realized by that famous, but very nugatory piece of financial apparatus. Not that we imagine he does any mischief, or meditates any deep delusion by his tenacious adherence to a set of forms and words, of which he perfectly appreciates the utter inanity, and has shewn by his actions, that he perceives all the absurdity. We regret that he pursues, in appearance, a system which he has abandoned in reality, only because such double dealing has the effect of puzzling all the world on a point where it would be well that every one saw clearly, and of rendering excessively intricate every statement vouchsafed to the public, concerning the national income and outlay. Hence the monstrous discre-

pancies and blunders which appear in almost every journal which presumes to hazard a single observation on financial matters. We are told, for example, in a certain set of periodicals, whose principal object it seems to be to make an Englishman despair of his country, and curse the hour of his birth, that whilst the revenue of the kingdom does not exceed £53,000,000, the annual expence of the public debt is upwards of £46,000,000, leaving, of course, less than £7,000,000, to meet the expences of a peace-establishment, which in all somewhat exceeds £20,000,000: and if we venture to question the *bona fide* accuracy of this representation, or undertake to explain how matters really stand in regard to the public expenditure, the parliamentary papers are at once cast in our face, and we are silenced by a reference to the Chancellor's own *Exposé*. Upon looking into the document quoted against us, we do indeed find that our adversary has the advantage of us, in regard to the avowed and authoritative declaration of the Exchequer, which plainly asserts, that "the total annual charge respecting the debt" for the year 1821, is £46,435,261.

Now every one knows, that of the above sum of forty-six millions, not less than sixteen millions fall under the head of the Sinking Fund; that is to say, this latter sum is the amount payable to the commissioners for redeeming the National debt, according to the scale of annual payments graduated in 1813, but which is neither actually paid, nor intended to be paid. The £16,435,261, in short, here spoken of, is what the country should pay this year, if they were inclined and could afford it; but not being inclined, or thinking they cannot afford it, the payment stands over till a more convenient season, and not a single farthing of that large sum, strictly considered, will be forthcoming. The whole proceedings regarding the Sinking Fund have now become altogether imaginary, or similar to those transactions in law which are denominated fictitious. Words and forms are employed which have relation to a state of things only supposed to exist, and which have no meaning but upon the ground of that supposition. The Sinking Fund expired in 1819; and there is, at present, no such thing, taken in the acceptance of Mr. Pitt and Dr. Price.

If Mr. Pitt's scheme, as remodified in 1802, had been allowed to operate, the annual payment to the commissioners for redeeming the public debt, would, this year, have amounted to about £25,000,000; which, with £29,000,000, as the interest of the unredeemed debt, would have swallowed up the whole revenue of the country, leaving not a

farthing for the current services of the nation. In seven or eight years hence, the same claim on the part of the Sinking Fund would amount to forty millions; and a few years after that, it would exceed the double of the national income; and all things considered, we can see no good reason why the scale of payment now specified might not be introduced into the public accounts as well as the one which is actually introduced, for both are equally relinquished in practice. In fact, they were both impracticable. The sole object which such a machine is fitted to accomplish is, not to *enable* the country to pay its debt, but to *measure out certain yearly sums*, in such a given ratio of increase, as would, in a determined period, effect the liquidation of the whole. It is a plan to exact a compulsory payment, without any regard to the ability to pay. It is exactly the same, as if a country gentleman, with a fixed income, were to bind himself to pay off his debts, at a rate increasing in geometrical progression, without taking notice that in the sixth or seventh year, the annual payment would exceed his whole annual revenue. Or it is like the determination of a school-boy to put into his porcelain bank, a halfpenny to-day, a penny to-morrow, and three-halfpence the next day, and so on till Christmas, without once thinking whence all the halfpence were to come.

We do not, therefore, find any fault with Mr. Vansittart for giving up the absurd and expensive system of borrowing and paying, to which he found himself condemned by the provisions of the Sinking Fund. We blame nothing but the use of a language which is only calculated to mislead, which introduces a needless complexity into the public accounts, and which is, moreover, excessively puerile and ridiculous. For example; he talks of borrowing £13,000,000, from the Sinking Fund for the service of the year 1821;—a manner of speaking which would lead a hasty reader to imagine, that there were somewhere within the reach of the Exchequer, an actual sum of money to the above amount. It is, however, altogether a fiction, and it is to be understood as follows:—The Sinking Fund, *if it had been kept in operation*, would this year, as we have already said, have required about £16,000,000 to answer its claims. It was found, however, that the country could not pay such immense sums annually; and therefore, in 1819, it was agreed by Parliament to give up the farce of mere nominal transactions, and to confine the Sinking Fund to the surplus of the public income above the outlay,—the only sinking fund that will ever pay debt. It is this sum, then, which Parliament resolved *not to raise* for the said fund which Mr. Vansittart speaks

of *borrowing* from it: exactly on the same principle, as if the country gentleman, mentioned above, finding that his scheme of payment engrossed all his income, were, after relinquishing it, to apply the greater part of his revenue to the purposes of his establishment, and say that he had *borrowed* so much money from himself. Or, as if the boy with the porcelain depository, after perceiving that his halfpence did not come in, so as to accomplish his arithmetical accumulation, were to give up the project, and spend his pocket-money on his wonted amusements. Would he be thought to speak rationally, if he said that he *borrowed* from himself the coppers which he had formerly intended to lay up in store?

This may appear a species of logomachy altogether unworthy of the subject, and not at all justified by the transactions to which it alludes. In answer to such a remonstrance, we have only to refer the reader who is disposed to make it, to the parliamentary papers, periodically issued for the information of the country, and ask, whether the intricacy and technicalities with which these documents abound, is at all conducive to a clear understanding of their contents.

We bring this brief article to a close, by expressing an earnest hope, that the resources of the country will henceforth be applied to a much greater amount than they have hitherto been, to the liquidation of its debts. It is a serious consideration, that the annual income of the nation should be mortgaged to the extent of thirty millions; and that after seven years peace, the relief accomplished should not equal, in capital actually redeemed, the interest of six months. Nay, we cannot perceive any evidence for consoling ourselves with the belief, that the public debt has been at all lessened since 1814: for when we compare the funded and unfunded debt of that year with the same as they stand for 1821, we find the balance is considerably against the latter.

1814 Funded debt £733,360,466	1821 Funded debt £796,324,531
Unfunded do. 59,265,329	Unfunded do. 34,728,691
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total 792,626,795	Total 831,053,222
<hr/>	<hr/>
	792,626,795
	<hr/>
	Difference against 1821 £38,426,427
	<hr/>

We are not of those who are sharp-sighted only to see what is amiss or unpromising in the state of public affairs. We regret, however, that administration have yielded so much

to popular clamour in the way of repealing taxes: because as the time of peace is the time to pay debt, taxation should continue in full force till the arrears of war be nearly all discharged. There is an "ignorant impatience of taxation," which makes men bawl for present relief at the expence of future safety and independence. Whatever reductions, therefore, may be made in our establishment, no reduction ought to be made in the amount of our taxes, as a surplus revenue is absolutely necessary to defray a portion of the public debt, and thereby to secure the strength and influence of the country at home and abroad. Nay, we would even recommend, that the peace-establishment were somewhat cut down, with the express view of forwarding the process of liquidation. A few millions steadily applied every year to the purchase of stock, will do more to alleviate the burden which presses upon the country, than all the financial projects for paying debt, which have been devised and successively abandoned from the days of Sir Robert Walpole down to our own.

ART. VI. *Philosophical Transactions.* 1820. *Miscellaneous Papers.* Nos. 9. 15. 18, 19. 21.

IN our last Number we presented our readers with an abstract of two Papers, by Mr. Brande and Mr. Davy, respecting some chemical experiments which, however, appeared not to possess in themselves any great novelty or importance. We now resume our notice of the Transactions contained in this volume; and the Papers which we are now about to consider will better repay our trouble.

Those which we have selected for review in the present article are on detached subjects; and some of them contain an account of discoveries and experiments, which appear to us to throw considerable light on different departments of enquiry, and also to lead to some practical advantages; they have at the same time the recommendation of not being of an abstruse nature.

No. 9, is a Paper on the adoption of a new principle of construction in the frame work of merchant ships by Sir Robert Seppings, to whom this country is so highly indebted for his various important improvements in ship building.

That part of naval architecture, which is here brought

under consideration, is the mode of joining the several pieces of timber, which form the ribs, springing from the keel, and being the supports of the sides of the vessel, and by the form of which the necessary curvature is given to the bottom and sides of the vessel.

The author first exposes the faults and objections attaching to the old system, and then proposes a new method, and details the advantage gained by it. This invention, like many other useful inventions, is so simple, that we only feel surprised that it has never been adopted before.

By the new method, the number of pieces required to form the length of one rib may be greater than by the old. Thus each piece may be less curved, and consequently less grain-cut; they are infinitely stronger from the method of joining the ends of these pieces; and the mode of connecting the lower timbers is better adapted, in the event of a ship's grounding, to give support and strength to the fabric. The plan of connecting the ends of the timbers is simply to drive into each the opposite ends of a strong iron pin.

"We learn," says the author, "from Mr. Wood, that the same method has been observed in joining together the separate pieces of the shafts of the stone columns in the ruins of the temple of Balbec. Little more of this great edifice (says he) remains, than nine lofty columns supporting their entablature. It is remarkable, that the shaft of these columns consists of three pieces most exactly joined together without cement, which is used in no part of the building, they being strengthened with iron pins received into a socket. How much this method contributed to the strength of the building is remarkably seen in the most entire temple, where a column has fallen against the wall of the cell with such violence, as to beat in the stone it fell against, and break part of the shaft, while the joinings of the same shaft have not been in the least opened by the shock."

The advantages of this system have been tried in the ship *Thunderer* (now *Talavera*), and its superior strength was allowed by a report from the officers of the yard at Plymouth. The frame of this vessel was by this means formed of smaller pieces of timber than would otherwise have been employed, and the adoption of the plan will thus prove of national advantage.

The author proceeds with several details, in which we do not mean to follow him, to shew the superior accommodation thus gained in point of room; and the greater facility of freeing the hold from water; from the manner in which the timbers are united at the bottom, the loss of the

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planks attached to the keel, or even of the keel itself, will likewise not be fatal as it was on the old plan. He sums up the advantages obtained thus :

“ The principle now recommended will cause a decrease in the consumption of materials, and the difficulty of procuring the necessary curvature will be obviated. It also affords protection from worms externally, and vermin internally. Leaks may be more easily discovered and stopped than by the old method ; and in point of additional strength there can be no doubt.”

The Paper is illustrated by plates, which are indeed absolutely necessary for understanding the details, and therefore we have not entered into them.

The next Paper we shall at present notice is No. 15, on the errors in longitude as determined by chronometers at sea, by Mr. Fisher, well known as astronomer in the former arctic expedition. He commences by observing,

“ The determination of the longitude at sea by time-keepers is so exceedingly easy, from the simplicity of the observations and calculations employed, and from the general practicability of the method, as to render chronometers, in the present improved state of navigation, almost indispensable articles in the equipment of ships for foreign service ; and I shall feel happy if the following observations may, in any way, contribute to the more accurate determination of the longitude by this method. The sudden alteration in the rates of chronometers, when taken on board ships, has been frequently observed by intelligent seamen, and is generally ascribed to the motion of the vessels. Before, however, I attempt to account for this alteration, I shall first prove that it actually takes place ; and in order to do this, shall relate the circumstances connected with the chronometers on board the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, commanded by Capt. Buchan, which occurred during the late voyage to the North Pole.”

Soon after the arrival of the ships on the coast of Spitzbergen, the chronometers on board the *Dorothea* were found to be rapidly gaining on their former rates, as determined in London, previous to the ship's sailing. This appeared by a comparison of the longitude, as determined from the chronometers and from lunar observations.

An opportunity soon afterwards occurred, of observing the effect produced upon the chronometers by removing them on shore. They were landed on an island, where a temporary observatory was erected ; and here it was found that the acceleration immediately ceased. In some of the instruments the alteration was very sudden, and in all very considerable ;

and when taken on board again, they quickly regained their accelerated rates.

This acceleration is not peculiar to these high latitudes ; it was observed very soon after the chronometers were put on board in the river ; and upon arriving at Shetland it was also very remarkable. Several other instances of the same thing are recorded, as having been observed by different navigators ; but they seem to have been at a loss to discover the cause.

That the acceleration does not arise from the motion of the vessels is evident ; since it was observed in the instruments on board the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, when the ships were firmly beset with ice ; also when the experiment of taking them on shore was performed, the ships were riding at anchor close to the shore without any perceptible motion. The temperature and pressure were constantly registered ; but their changes had not the least correspondence with the change of rates. It appeared therefore to Mr. Fisher, that the acceleration arose entirely from the magnetic action exerted by the iron in the ship on the inner rim of the balance, which is made of steel.

Experiments were then tried by placing magnets of twelve inches in length, in different positions, at the distance of two inches from the balances of several excellent chronometers, and in the plane of the balances. The North and South poles were applied alternately at each quarter of the circumference, and the rates in each instance compared with an accurate clock regulated by observation. The results are given in tables, and it appears that in almost all positions the chronometers gained considerably. The magnets were likewise placed in different positions out of the planes of the balances ; the results were similar, differing only in quantity. Upon placing the magnets very near to the rim of the balances, the acceleration was extremely rapid.

Mr. Fisher says in conclusion, P. 206,

“ Upon the whole it appears, that chronometers will be generally accelerated (particularly if their balances have not received polarity by the too near approach of any thing magnetical) on ship board. It appears probable, likewise, that the force of the balance-springs is affected in the same way ; since it is well known, that chronometers having gold balance-springs, although more difficult to adjust, yet keep better rates at sea than the others.”

He then observes, that at sea, the rates determined on shore must not be trusted to. If the rates are determined on board, the chronometers must be kept in the same place and position with respect to the ship.

“ If these precautions are not attended to, land will appear to be considerably to the westward of its true position. This is particularly exemplified in the observations of the Hon. Capt. Phipps : from which, nearly the whole line of coast on the West side of East Greenland has been placed nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree too much to the westward, by reason of the acceleration of his chronometers. The same circumstances would have occurred with the chronometers in both of the ships, Dorothea and Trent, in the late voyage, had not the longitude been otherwise determined. It is therefore highly requisite, that attention should be paid to a circumstance so much connected with the improvement of geography, as well as the safety of the seaman.”

As an Appendix to this Paper, there is given a communication from Mr. Coleman, teacher of navigation, containing a detailed account of a number of similar observations made by himself and others in various ships. The cause however does not appear to have been suspected.

No. 18, is a paper by the Rev. F. J. H. Wollaston, giving an account of some observations made with his thermometrical barometer for measuring elevations. This beautiful and ingenious instrument was first described by its inventor in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1817, Part 2; and for the sake of such of our readers as may not be perfectly familiar with it we will briefly describe the principles of its construction. Under a less pressure, or which is obviously the same thing, at a greater height in the atmosphere water boils at a lower temperature than 212° ; observing therefore the boiling temperature on any eminence, its height may be calculated above that of some other place where the boiling temperature is also known. This is to be effected by having some rule to shew the correspondence of variation in the boiling point with the variation of the barometer;—and for small heights these variations correspond equably or nearly so. Mr. W. found that a difference of one degree Fahrenheit, in the boiling point, was equivalent to a difference of 0.605 inch of the barometer nearly; and for small heights the same quantity continues for each successive degree of depression in the boiling point; the height may therefore be calculated by known rules as if deduced from observation of the barometer.

The instrument here employed is nothing more than a thermometer constructed so as to be applicable to the very accurate measurement of these particular heats; its peculiarities are chiefly these: A very large bulb and a very small tube thus shewing the expansions to much greater delicacy.

A short length of wider tube close to the bulb to receive all the expansion between the common heats and boiling.

At the top of the tube a small receptacle in which a small quantity of mercury may be contained, but which will not run down the tube unless the mercury below be expanded so high as to join it, in which case the whole or any part of it may be skilfully detached and brought into the tube. The use of this is to increase or diminish the quantity of mercury, so that on boiling, it may stand at any required height in the tube, which will be different according to the different elevations to be measured.

The scale of the instrument is arbitrarily graduated, and the value of the parts found by comparison with a common thermometer. In the first instrument which Mr. W. described in his paper in the *Transactions*, 1817, Part 2, 1^o Fahrenheit was equal to 233 parts of his scale. In that described in the present paper, it was equal to 225.

In the present paper the author describes a trial of the instrument as applied to the measurement of considerable heights, his previous observations having been confined to very small elevations. And in cases of this kind there are additional considerations to be attended to which are not necessary in the others. Of these we proceed to give a short outline.

In a considerable range of pressures, the boiling points will not vary uniformly: but their rate of variation may be easily found, on this consideration; that the barometrical pressure under which water will boil at a given temperature, is the same thing as the elastic force of vapor at that temperature, and this is a quantity which may be readily determined; several philosophers having given rules for that purpose; the latest and probably the best is that proposed by Dr. Ure in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1818, Part 2; and this is that which Mr. W. has assumed as the basis of his calculation, for supplying this necessary correction in measuring heights by his instrument.

Dr. Ure's law is this, that the elastic force of vapor at 212^o of Fahrenheit's thermometer being thirty inches, for every successive 10 degrees lower, the last elasticity must be divided by 1.23, 1.24, &c. increasing the last figure by unity.

For the present purpose it was necessary to calculate for temperatures intermediate between each 10th degree, and a table is given of the result from 214^o to 202^o to which are annexed the corresponding elevations deduced from the differences of the logarithms of the pressures by known rules.

Another operation was necessary for comparing the indications of the particular instrument employed with those of the barometer. At a mean pressure, a difference of 1° Fahrenheit in the boiling point was found to correspond to a difference of 0.605 of the barometer; also one inch of the barometer to 372 parts of the scale of this instrument, and consequently 1° Fahrenheit to 225 parts. A table is given shewing the heights corresponding to the different points of boiling, as shewn by the scale of this instrument; and by a simple proportion they may be applied to other instruments of the same kind, of greater or less sensibility.

Mr. W. then proceeds to detail his observations on the height of Snowdon, and observes,

“As the instrument I was about to employ had a scale of only four inches, or eight hundred parts, and could therefore scarcely measure at its utmost limits 1900 feet, it was necessary on a height of 3550 feet to divide the whole measurement into two, or for greater security into three lengths, and it became therefore a fair trial of the practical use of the instrument in every respect.”

The height of Gregory's New Inn at the foot of the mountain above Carnarvon was first ascertained to be 299.5 feet, and to the quay 11.25 feet more.

A position was taken nearly half way up, where the instrument stood on boiling at 792, and at the summit at 86; descending again to the half way point it boiled at 785 $^{\circ}$ therefore the mean between this and the former, 788.5 was taken.

The adjustment of the instrument (at Gregory's) having been accidentally deranged in ascending, it was necessary to take a new measurement in descending; the mercury was therefore expanded out of the tube into the cup at the top, and as much of it detached as caused it to stand at 146 on boiling: on taking it down to Gregory's after this adjustment it boiled at 695. From these the total difference of the boiling points at the summit, and at Gregory's was 1251.5 parts; then according to the table before described, the elevation corresponding to this difference was readily found to be 2985.5 feet; to this a correction was to be applied for the expansion of the column of air between two stations at different temperatures. The rule for doing this was given by Gen. Roy, *Philosophical Transactions* 1777; to save trouble however a table formed from his rule is given in this paper. The correction to be applied in the present case made the height 3235.5 feet from Gregory's to the summit, and adding the height from thence to the quay at Carnarvon,

the whole height was 3546.25 feet trigonometrically; Gen. Roy found it 3555.4, and barometrically 3548.9.

A similar set of observations were made on Moel Elio, another mountain near Snowdon.

The author also describes some improvements in the construction of the instrument and the convenience of using it.

No. 19, consists of a number of curious observations on sounds inaudible by certain ears, by Dr. Wollaston. His observations do not relate to that mere general dulness to impressions of all kinds of sound, which constitutes ordinary deafness, but to certain peculiarities which he has found with respect to partial insensibility, in different states of the ear, and in different individuals. He has found that an ear which would be considered as perfect with regard to the generality of sounds, may at the same time be completely insensible to such as are at one or the other extremity of the scale of musical notes, the hearing or not hearing of which seems to depend wholly on the pitch or frequency of vibration constituting the note and not upon the intensity or loudness of the noise.

He found by experiment, that when the mouth and nose are shut, the tympanum may be so exhausted by a forcible attempt to take breath by expansion of the chest, that the pressure of the external air is strongly felt upon the membrana tympani, and that in this state of tension, his ear became insensible to grave tones, without losing in any degree the perception of sharper sounds. He found that his ear could thus be rendered insensible to all notes below F marked by the bass cliff. He perceived the sharp sound produced by tapping the table with the nail, but not the deep sound occasioned by beating it with his hand; and enumerates other cases of the same kind. A similar tension of the ear is produced in the first immersion of the diving bell, and the same effects observed. Having thus considered the effects produced by artificial tension, he proceeds to observe the insensibility to certain sounds in the natural and healthy state of the ear; the general account which he gives of these phænomena is as follows:—

“ In the natural healthy state of the human ear, there does not seem to be any strict limit to our power of discerning low sounds. In listening to those pulsatory vibrations of the air of which sound consists, if they become less and less frequent, we may doubt at what point tones suited to produce any musical effect terminate; yet all persons but those whose organs are palpably defective, continue sensible of vibratory motion, until it becomes a mere tremor, which may be felt, and even almost counted.

“ On the contrary, if we turn our attention to the opposite extremity of the scale of audible sounds, and with a series of pipes exceeding each other in sharpness, if we examine the effects of them successively upon the ears of any considerable number of persons, we shall find (even within the range of those tones which are produced for their musical effects) a very distinct and striking difference between the powers of different individuals, whose organs of hearing are in other respects perfect, and shall have reason to infer, that human hearing in general is more confined than has been supposed, with regard to its perception of very acute sounds, and has, probably, in every instance, some definite limit, at no great distance, beyond the sounds ordinarily heard.”

He then proceeds to enumerate several instances of persons insensible to acute sounds, chiefly those which constitute the cries of several sorts of animals, and are above the ordinary range of musical notes. The lowest limit to acute hearing, which he has discovered, is in a person who was unable to hear the chirping of the sparrow, which is estimated at about four octaves above the middle E of the piano-forte. The next step is deafness to the chirping of the house-cricket, which is several notes higher: this deafness is less rare than the last, though by no means common. Inability to hear the squeak of the bat is not very rare: this is probably an octave higher than the sparrow. The chirping often heard in hedges during a summer's evening, and which is ascribed to the *Gryllus Campestris*, is inaudible to many persons; and there is a cry of some other species of *Gryllus* probably, which is still more generally inaudible, and was never heard by Dr. W. himself, when his friends noticed it: this and some other sounds may probably reach an octave higher than the bat.

From the numerous instances in which the author has witnessed the limit to acuteness of hearing, and from the distinct succession of steps which he could enumerate, he is inclined to think, that at the limit of hearing, the interval of a single note between two sounds, may be sufficient to render the higher note inaudible, although the lower note is heard distinctly.

“ The range of human hearing comprized between the lowest notes of the organ, and the highest known cry of insects, includes more than nine octaves, the whole of which are distinctly perceptible by most ears, although the vibrations of a note at the higher extreme are six or seven hundred fold more frequent than those which constitute the gravest audible sound.

“ Since there is nothing in the constitution of the atmosphere to prevent the existence of vibrations, incomparably more frequent than any of which we are conscious, we may imagine, that animals

like the Grylli, whose powers appear to commence nearly where ours terminate, may have the faculty of hearing still sharper sounds, which at present we do not know to exist: and that there may be other insects hearing nothing in common with us, but endued with a power of exciting, and a sense that perceives vibrations of the same nature, indeed, as those which constitute our ordinary sounds, but so remote, that the animals who perceive them may be said to possess another sense, agreeing with our own, solely in the medium by which it is excited, and possibly wholly unaffected by those slower vibrations of which we are sensible."

No. 21, is an enquiry into a long agitated question in Natural Philosophy, by the ingenious inventor of the method of multiplying engraved plates. "Having believed for many years," says Mr. Perkins, "that water was an elastic fluid, I was induced to make some experiments to ascertain the fact." His experiments were conducted on the following principle:—a strong water-tight cylinder, had a rod sliding into it at one end, so secured that no water could enter with it, and having a ring sliding on the rod, which on its being pushed in, and then recovering its former position, would mark the distance to which it had been forced in; this was contained in the tube of a cannon, fixed vertically in the earth; the mouth being upwards, and securely stopped, except at one aperture, to which was fixed a small forcing pump, by which water could be forced in; there was also another small aperture, having a valve kept close by a lever, with a weight attached, and by the weight necessary to keep it closed, the degree of pressure was estimated.

Water being forced in till the valve indicated a pressure of 100 atmospheres, the inclosed instrument (which Mr. P. calls a piezometer) was taken out, and by the place of the ring, the rod had been forced in eight inches,

"shewing," says Mr. P. "a compression of about one per cent. We have seen, by repeated experiments, that to be able to produce this degree of compression, three per cent. must be pumped into the gun. This fact proves, either that the gun expands, or that the water enters the pores of the cast-iron; it is probable both these circumstances contribute to produce this effect."

The experiment was varied by sinking the piezometer to the depth of 500 fathoms in the sea, a pressure equal to about 100 atmospheres. When drawn up, the ring indicated the same pressure as before.

A strong bottle, tightly corked and sealed, was let down 150 fathoms, and no change was produced.

When let down 220 fathoms, the pressure forced a small quantity of water into it through the sealed coverings.

On being drawn up from 300 fathoms, only a part of the bottle remained attached to the cord; the cork was compressed into half its length, and the coverings torn; the water under that great pressure must have been forced in, and that in a very condensed state, so that on bringing it up into an ordinary pressure it expanded, burst the bottle, and compressed the cork.

Another bottle, tried in a similar way, at 270 fathoms, came up nearly full of water, which when poured out effervesced.

A strong bottle, with a cemented glass stopper, in a canvass bag, was let down to 500 fathoms, and when drawn up, had been crushed to pieces.

Another had the cork driven in, and was nearly filled.

Mr. P., however, considered, that for an exact measure of the compression this piezometer was insufficient, owing to the increased friction upon the rod, caused by the collapsing of the leather collar through which it moved, from the great pressure. He constructed, therefore, another instrument, which under the same circumstances indicated double the pressure: this new piezometer was a cylinder, having at the top an aperture, closed by a valve, opening inwards, through which water might enter; the cylinder was somewhat flattened about the middle; it was filled with a quantity of water, whose weight was accurately known, then submitted to the action of a powerful hydraulic press, under a pressure of 326 atmospheres; and on being taken out and weighed, there was found an increase of water amounting to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the flattened part of the cylinder yielding to the expansion of the water when taken out of the press: the water had been previously boiled, and was kept at the temperature of 48° during the experiment.

Mr. P. concludes by promising some further experiments made by a machine which will produce a much greater pressure than the hydraulic press; and thus the ratio of the compressibility of water will be ascertained to much greater precision than has hitherto been done.

ART. VII. *Journal of a Tour in the Levant. By William Turner, Esq. In Three Volumes, with Plates. 8vo. 3l. 3s. Murray. 1821.*

THIS journal has now been published some little time; and when we remember the ability which is displayed by the

writer, and the lively and permanent interest which attaches to the countries which he describes, we think that some apology is due to him, for not having taken an earlier notice of his book. While we admit that, in the mean time, many publications have been praised by us, whose intrinsic merits are inferior to those of the volumes before us, in justice to ourselves, we must also state, that we doubt whether there have been many of such formidable dimensions. Three large well-filled octavo volumes, containing upwards of 1500 pages, offer a prospect, to a reviewer particularly, who reads merely in the way of his trade, which it requires some strength of resolution to encounter. After being once fairly embarked with our author, we cheerfully acknowledge, that we continued to accompany him without any violent effort of resolution; because he is a man of considerable talents, and of a very agreeable temper, and writes with great ease and sprightliness; but otherwise, there is sad lack of solid matter in his journal, compared with its length, or rather a sad abundance of nothing at all in it. We open, for example, completely at random in the first volume that is under our hand, and we meet with the following diary.

“ [Thermometer 86, midnight 78.] *Friday, July 14th.* In the morning I paid a visit to Mr. Aziz, at whose house I found Mr. Sourour, and my friend Pandazi, who were just arrived from Damietta, and mean to stay here ten or twenty days. I dined at the convent, and wrote till supper, which I took, as usual, with Mr. Bogos. In the evening I received a letter from Mr. Vondiziano, to whom I had written from Jaffa, to know in what state of health was Cyprus, as I much wished to pay it another visit on my return. He replies, that this year there is very little fever, but adds, that July and August are the worst months for it, so that I fear to visit it. He adds, that the French Consul of Cyprus had been mad enough to mount the *cocarde tricolore*, which, however, he has been forced to take down again.”—Vol. II. p. 385.

Surely Mr. Turner must suppose that the public have a most impertinent curiosity respecting him and his affairs, if he imagines that they will pay their money to be put in possession of such particulars as these. It is very well for travellers to publish their journals; and we admit, that in many respects, it is perhaps the most agreeable form in which books of travels can be written; but such details as we have just now quoted, (and there is hardly a page in any part of the volumes in which similar details are not recorded) belong not to the journal of a man's travels, but to a diary of his life; and without imparting either profit or pleasure to the reader,

serve no other end except to make waste paper. Had the work before us, instead of being protracted to three volumes, been contracted by one half, and published in consequence, at one half of its present price, we think it very likely that it would have obtained extensive popularity. As it is, we do not believe that its circulation has been considerable; and we cannot but hope, that after a few more examples of this, which we are convinced, is a very common effect, both booksellers and authors will at last learn, that if they mean to consult their own respective interests, they must also consult the patience and the pockets of the public.

But, however, notwithstanding the vast variety of undesirable information which these volumes contain, there is still enough of other particulars in them, to justify us in recommending the work to our readers, as exhibiting a very lively, and certainly a faithful picture of the different countries which it describes. These countries possess, at the present moment, a peculiar interest from political circumstances; and with reference to these last, we know not any book which the reader could consult with more advantage. Mr. Turner's motives in visiting the several places of which he has given an account, were, it is true, of a general nature; and originated, probably, from the effects of a classical education, more than from any other single cause; but the capacity in which he went abroad, as secretary to our ambassador at the Porte, appears to have made him more alive to the political relations of the people among whom he travelled, than he might otherwise have been; and the consequence is, that without forgetting the principal attraction, which the towns and islands of the Levant must always possess in the mind of a scholar, he still keeps his eye, very steadily, upon the feelings of the people, the character of their governors, the state of their agriculture, commerce, religion, and other particulars of a similar nature, which just at the present moment, may almost be said to supersede, in our imagination, even those classical recollections, which at any other time would form the predominating object of our curiosity, in taking up a book of travels, such as the present. In the extracts which we propose to make from Mr. Turner's Journal, we shall rather endeavour to impart a general idea of the character of its contents to the reader, than of those particular parts of it that may seem to throw light upon the probable issue of the present contest; for after all, the information it contains, as to this point, is by no means sufficient to form any foundation for opinion on this subject; and if our extracts be desultory, they will, on that account, only convey

a more just notion of the work itself, which, from the very form of it, is necessarily without any systematic arrangement.

Mr. Turner left England in 1812, in the suite of Mr. Lister, and did not return till 1817; so that the present volumes are the result of five years absence passed in the Ionian Islands, in Greece, Constantinople, the Grecian Archipelago, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor; after having given this summary of the theatre of action, we shall at once proceed to notice, in the order in which they occurred to us, as we read the volumes, a few of the incidents or remarks, which we noted down as most remarkable. And here the first person of whom we shall speak is Lord Byron. Every thing connected with his Lordship is considered as matter of public interest; and we were therefore a good deal mortified to find, that what we had always considered as the most praise-worthy action of his whole life, turns out to be nothing more than what we ourselves, in our younger days, could probably have performed.

"I took the opportunity of this visit to the Dardanelles, to try the historical probability of Leander's exploit. This had excited my curiosity more than ever, since the experiment of Lord Byron, who, when he expressed such confidence of having proved its practicability, seems to have forgotten, that Leander swam over both ways, with and *against* the tide, whereas he only performed the easiest part of the task, by swimming *with* it from Europe to Asia. For the tide does not here run strait down, parallel with the banks, but having been dashed violently into the Bay of Maito, is by the re-action thrown to the opposite shore lower down; and thus in the narrowest part of the gulf, flows transversely from the European to the Asiatic coast, whence it is again thrown off with vehemence into the Archipelago. Whatever, therefore, is thrown into the stream, on this part of the European bank, *must* arrive at the Asiatic shore. Both the emulators of Leander quoted by Lord B. did only this *. I attempted to swim across from Asia to Europe, starting from the northerly side of the castle: but the current was so completely in my teeth, that with the most unremitted and violent exertion, I did not, in twenty-five minutes, advance more than one hundred yards, and was then obliged to give it up from utter exhaustion. Having been accustomed to swimming from my childhood, I have no hesitation in asserting, that no man could have strength to swim a mile and a half, (the breadth † of the strait in the narrowest spot, a little nor-

* Dr. Clarke says, that the servant of the Imperial Consul, swam over both from Asia to Europe, and from Europe to Asia. As, however, his authorities were probably the Jews of the town, who, in relating it to me, only mentioned his having swam from Europe to Asia, it may be permitted to doubt their statement.

† If Herodotus be correct in assigning seven stadia, (something less than

therly of the castle) against such a current ; and higher up or lower down, the strait widens so considerably, that he would save little labour by changing his place of starting. I therefore treat the tale of Leander's swimming across both ways, as one of those fables, to which the Greeks were so ready to give the name of history. *Quidquid Græcia mendax audet in historid.*" Vol. I. p. 43.

From Lord Byron, the transition is easy to the Grand Turk. The present Sultan, Mahmoud, seems to be so exactly constituted by nature, to form one of those heroes whom his Lordship is fond of recommending to the admiration of our countrywomen, that we cannot resist the opportunity which Mr. Turner has afforded us, of making an appeal to the feelings of our fair readers, in his favour ; especially at a moment like the present, when his power seems to be in jeopardy. A man of more determined resolution in the pursuit of his ends, or more reckless of the means by which he obtains them, would not easily be found. He assassinates those who stand in the way of his passions or his power, by wholesale, or publicly impales them, with a remorselessness which, in poetry, would be sublime ; for he has the blackest hair, and the palest cheek, and the sternest frown, and the most majestic port, and is the greatest admirer of the ladies withal, of any Turk in his dominions. The traits of this man's barbarity and fanaticism occur in almost every part of these volumes ; and his courage seems to be upon a par with his vices. We have a long account of the ceremonial of introduction to his presence, to which our ambassador submitted ; but we can only afford room for the following extract.

"The Sultan was sitting at one end of it, on a throne formed like a four posted bed, and superbly decorated. The seat, of black velvet, was covered with strings of fine pearls, and from the top were suspended many ostrich eggs, gilt and scattered with diamonds. The dress of the Sultan was also magnificent. His turban was surmounted by a splendid diamond aigrette and feather ; his pelisse was of the finest silk, lined with the most valuable sable fur, and his girdle was one mass of diamonds. I thought him the handsomest Turk I had seen : his features were regular, his eyes piercing, and his countenance bore the character of fierce determination, which has since marked his conduct ; it's deadly paleness was strongly contrasted with the deep blackness of his ample beard, produced probably by artificial dye ; his age was then twenty-eight. The ambas-

three quarters of a mile, if ten stadia be a mile, and something more, if eight,) as the breadth of the Strait in the time of Xerxes, it must have widened considerably since. This may perhaps have been effected in time by the violence of the current.

sador, standing close before him, recited his speech in French, which the dragoman of the Porte translated, and the reply was spoken by the kaimakam, and rendered in French to the ambassador, by the same interpreter. All this time, the Sultan scarcely moved, and only turned his head twice, but his eyes were very busy. All his attendants, not excepting the kaimakam, stood immoveable, with their hands before them, and their eyes fixed on the ground." Vol. I. p. 59.

In fact, viewing this man as a Turk, that is, abstractedly from all considerations of morality, (of which the professors of Mahometanism appear to lose even the idea,) his character is well calculated to strike the imagination. In existing circumstances, his better qualities will probably only hasten the crisis to which the Ottoman dominion in Europe seems to be rapidly advancing; had he lived, however, a few years earlier, he would probably have saved the empire. Our author tells us, (and he had means of knowing) that Mahmoud is possessed of powerful abilities and a most active mind, and is remarkably obstinate in the pursuit of his objects. He has a strong feeling of his own personal superiority, and of the sanctity which belongs to his elevated station; while the success which has hitherto attended his administration, has impressed upon his imagination the sentiment of his predestined invincibility. His policy for the restoration of his authority in the provinces, has been resolute and unvarying; submitting to circumstances up to a certain point, but beyond that, firm and inflexible, and never retracting any steps which he has once taken, or compounding upon any terms with open rebellion; but the great object of his soul, and that upon which all his faculties are bent, is the destruction of the Janizaries; and the measures which he has pursued, would have been fatal to any other Sultan, and would, indeed, long since have been fatal to himself, except that being the last adult of his family, his destruction would necessarily place upon the throne the Tartar race, whom the Ottomans hold in detestation.

Our author estimates the number of the Janizaries at about 150,000. Most of them have no other military employment, except merely to attend upon the sovereign on some state occasions. They are composed of the tradesmen, boatmen, and mechanics of the capital; and their power consists merely in their union, and the enthusiastic jealousy with which they regard the slightest invasion of their privileges. In spite, however of numerous insurrections, and repeated attempts to set fire to Constantinople (the usual mode to which the Janizaries resort, in order to terrify the divan,) Mahmoud

has persisted for years in his determination to suppress them. He first tried fair means, endeavouring to win over the chiefs; but this failing, his present plan is that of seizing a certain number of them nightly, hurrying them off in boats to the castles on the Bosphorus, where they are secretly strangled. At the same time, private orders have been sent to the different pachalics, instructing the Pachas to resort to similar means for clearing the empire of these turbulent troops; and the number that has been destroyed in this last way is large. But to suppose that the institution can be put down by such means is plainly absurd. It only evinces the hatred of the Sultan against these Prætorian hands, and the courage with which he is prepared to resort to any extremities rather than submit to their dominion.

No city in the world has been more frequently or laboriously described than Constantinople, and the topographical accounts which we have of its buildings and site, in various authors, are, we believe, extremely exact. The description, however, which Mr. Turner has given us of the impression which a first view of this capital makes upon the imagination of a European is extremely lively.

“ Amid the novelties that strike the European on his arrival, nothing surprises him more than the silence that pervades so large a capital. He hears no noise of carts or carriages rattling through the streets, for there are no wheeled vehicles in the city, except a very few painted carts—called *arabaks*—drawn by buffaloes, in which women occasionally take the air in the suburbs, and which go only a foot's pace. The only sounds he hears by day, are the cries of bread, fruits, sweetmeats, or sherbet, carried in a large wooden tray on the head of an itinerant vender, and at intervals the barking of dogs disturbed by the foot of the passenger.

“ Attracted by the beauty of the prospect, and the advantages promised by the situation of the city, he is bitterly disappointed on walking through it, to find himself in streets roughly paved, if paved at all, encumbered with filth, and crowded with lazy ugly curs, of a reddish brown colour, with muzzles like that of a fox, short ears and famished looks, who lie in the middle of them, and only rise when roused by blows*. He is amused by the endless

* These dogs are such intolerable nuisances, that even the Turks are sometimes roused from their apathy to adopt measures for diminishing their numbers. —In the reign of Achmet I. (in 1613) the physicians having recommended their removal, lest they should communicate yet more widely the infection of the plague, at that time raging in the city, the Sultan consulted the Mufti on the lawfulness of killing them; but on his replying, that each dog had a soul, and therefore it was not lawful to take their lives, these admirable casuists collected them, and transported them to a desert island near Scutari, where they were starved to death. —*Mignet's History of the Ottoman Empire.*

variety of turbans worn by the Turks he meets, (whose different situations are marked by the form and colour of their head-dress), and by the shapeless figures of the women, who are all covered with a large wrapper of crimson, blue, or green, cloth, and with folds of linen on their heads, which so completely hide the whole of their face, except the eyes and nose, that a Turk may pass his wife without recognising her.

"The contrast between Constantinople and an European city, is still more strongly marked at night. By ten o'clock every human voice is hushed, and not a creature is seen in the streets, except a few patrols and the innumerable dogs, which being regarded as unclean animals by the Turks, have no other shelter than they can find under gateways and benches in the streets, whence at intervals they send forth such repeated howlings, that it requires practice to be able to sleep in spite of their noise.—This silence is occasionally and frequently disturbed by a fire, which is announced by the patrol striking on the pavement with their iron-shod staves, and calling loudly *Yangewar*; "There is a fire," on which the firemen (mostly Janizaries) assemble, and all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the conflagration are immediately on the alert. If it be not quickly subdued, all the ministers of state are obliged to attend, and if it threaten extensive ravages, the Sultan himself must appear, to encourage the efforts of the firemen.—The Turkish women who are assembled in crowds, choose this opportunity to reproach him for the faults of his government, and frequently even launch out into violent personal abuse of him." Vol. I. p. 81.

We have before mentioned that it is the custom of the Janizaries, whenever their demands are resisted, to obtain satisfaction by firing the city. In another part of the volume, our author describes the several fires which have taken place within the last ten years in that capital. The number and extent of them, will convey some idea to the reader, of the comforts of a life spent at Constantinople. In September, 1812, a fire broke out which destroyed 3000 houses. On the 6th of October, another fire took place in a different quarter of the city, destroying 1000 houses. In 1810, 30,000 houses were burnt down in Pera. On the 15th of August, 1816, 3000 houses were destroyed; to say nothing of some half dozen other occasions, which we forbear to mention, as the damage was comparatively slight, though in London it would have been thought far otherwise.

Soon after our author's arrival in Constantinople, the plague made its appearance; and the account which he gives us of its ravages, is indeed appalling. Its existence was fully ascertained in the latter end of July, and before the end of the year, it had carried off in Constantinople, and

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the neighbouring villages alone, no less than 320,955 persons of whom 220,000 were Turks, and only twenty-five were Franks; the rest were Greeks and Armenians. It was dreadful, our author tells us, to visit the city after its ravages had ceased. Whole streets were depopulated, and the smell of the tombs, and the sight of the rats creeping in and out, powerfully affected the imagination, as well as the senses.

That part of our author's travels which gave *him*, we have no doubt, most pleasure, is, we think, not the most entertaining to the reader. Athens and Thebes, and Argos and Plataea, are places which we would most gladly visit; but they are no longer interesting in description. Besides, it is difficult to convey in writing, an idea of things and places; we have no doubt that the Panorama of Athens did more to impart to the untravelled spectator, a true notion of that renowned city and the scenery around it, than all the accounts of all the travellers who have ever published. As to Ali Pacha, whom our author visited, and by whom he was treated with much civility, he has been so long a standing dish with travellers in Greece, and besides, we have so lately had occasion to notice Mr. Hughes's account of him, that our readers will probably praise our forbearance in not again reverting to that extraordinary personage; but we must do him the justice to extract the flattering report which Mr. Turner makes of the superior prosperity of the country under his rule, when compared with the general aspect of the country, in other parts of the Turkish dominions.

"I certainly have never yet seen a country that afforded such profusion and such variety of beautiful prospects; and its appearance of cultivation was a delightful relief to an eye that had so long been disgusted by the barbarous sterility of the land near Constantinople. Of its superior civilization, pleasing proofs were constantly afforded by the marked cheerfulness of the inhabitants, by the number of neat stone villages, whose beauty was improved by the contrast that the verdure round them afforded, with the rocky heights of the tremendous mountains, at whose base they stood,—by the rich fertility of the fields,—by the superior appearance of the houses, each of which, without a single exception, had a fire-place *, (an improvement unknown among the Turks of Constantinople, whose houses are of wood), and, above all, by the superior education of its inhabitants, nearly all of whom can read and write the Romaic, the priests daily teaching the boys of the towns or villages in the churches." Vol. I. p. 164.

"The people of Albania eminently deserve the character given

* The houses in the Morea too have nearly all fire-places.

by Thucydides to the inhabitants of the north of Greece, of being ungovernable, for each family built their houses on separate heights of the mountains, from whose positions they were constantly fighting in pursuance of their hereditary feuds. The roads were formerly most dangerous from the number and audacity of the robbers, who first murdered the traveller, and afterwards plundered *; but the severity of the present Pasha has rendered them tolerably safe. Great praise is due to him for the watchfulness with which he protects the property of the labourer, in consequence of which, the land is generally in a high state of cultivation (which, near Arta particularly, could not be surpassed in England), and, at the time of my visit, he had in his granary the produce in corn of ten years. It must, however, be confessed, that the industry of the people is immoderately taxed." Vol. I. p. 167.

If such be the natural resources of the country, that it flourishes, or did flourish, even under the rule of Ali Pacha, what might be expected from Greece under still more favourable circumstances? For ourselves, we know what politicians may think of seeing the Turkish dominions in Europe under Russian influence, but if they can only be liberated from the oppression of their present tyrants, we shall most heartily rejoice. If the Emperor Alexander would agree to acknowledge the independence of Poland, upon condition of receiving in return Constantinople and Greece, we think that all parties would be benefited by the compromise. Indeed nothing is more curiously significant of the character of the times, than the apathy which appears to prevail in the public mind respecting the issue of the contest now commencing between the Greeks and Ottomans, the Christians and Mahomedans of Europe. Because the poor Greeks are not fighting for the liberty of the press and a representative form of government, but only for their religion, and lives, and property, and for all that every nation in Europe except themselves possess, their cause excites no sympathy in the breasts of modern philanthropists. If any thing could demonstrate the cant and quackery which is at the bottom of all that chatter about liberty, of which we have latterly heard so much, it is the different feeling which was excited by the Neapolitan insurrection as compared with that of the Greeks at present. We do not blame people for having taken an interest in the short-lived revolution at Naples, but why were our ministers to risk a war to assist

* In this also their ancient and modern character agree. Thucydides dwells repeatedly on the piratical character of the inhabitants of Epirus, saying, that in his time they always wore arms (as they do now) and were the most warlike people of Greece.

the cause of Italian independence, and of Italian independence only? Is the Emperor of Austria a greater tyrant than the Emperor of Turkey? or are the people of Italy more oppressed than those of Greece? To be sure, the present Sultan is not a legitimate monarch, for he was placed upon the throne by the acclamations of the soldiery, and succeeded to a post that had just been vacated by the massacre of his brother;—but we pretend not to understand the grounds upon which our lovers of “civil and religious liberty all over the world,” profess to reason; and we do not believe that we should be much wiser if we did: so, after this long parenthesis, we shall once more return to the volumes before us.

From Greece, our author returned to Constantinople, from whence he made an excursion to Egypt and Palestine. We pass over the particulars of his journal during the time of his residence in Egypt, not because they are in themselves uninteresting; (for, on the contrary, many parts of his Egyptian journal possess great interest, especially the account of his visit to the convent on Mount Sinai;) but Egypt and the Pyramids have now become almost as familiar to our ears as ‘household’ objects, and may be omitted, we think, with advantage, in favour of the description which Mr. Turner has given us of his enterprising visit to the river Jordan and the Dead Sea.

A few years ago, the pilgrimage to the Jordan was so general both among Roman Catholics, Armenians, and Greeks, that at the stated season of the year, when the pilgrims arrived at Jerusalem, scarcely any were left in the holy city, except the Turkish women and children. But now this pilgrimage is made only by the Greeks; and to them our author attached himself. The pilgrims were from all parts of the Levant, and were all distinguished by the respective dresses of the countries to which they belonged; and a very lively account of the whole *cortège* is given us by our author. We pass over the incidents of the journey, till they arrived within sight of the sacred river. The stream, our author found to be extremely rapid, and about fifty feet wide, though very shallow and muddy, and the waters exceedingly ill-tasted, and appears, as might be expected, to exhibit nothing remarkable in its appearance. When they arrived upon its banks, it was not yet daylight, but the pilgrims rushed in promiscuously, the women in their shifts, and the men in their drawers, every one shouting and crossing themselves, and each carrying away a vessel of the water. After remaining three or four hours near the Jordan, the pilgrims

left it, at about a quarter before seven in the morning, to return to the encampment which they had quitted. Our author, however, accompanied by a Corfiote and eight Turkish soldiers, as a protection, set out to visit the Dead Sea. The scene which this last exhibits is much more striking than that of the Jordan.

“ At ten minutes before eight, we alighted at the northern coast of the Dead Sea. Not a tree had we seen on the plain, but all was barrenness and solitude; the only building to be seen was a Greek convent, founded, the Greeks told me, by Helena, but now deserted, and falling to ruins.

“ The western and eastern coasts were light-coloured mountains, entirely barren: the southern extremity I could not see with my spying-glass. The water tasted as bad as any medicine I ever took, was very salt and bitter, and biting the tongue like pepper. The thermometer in the sea stood at 78, though the sun was not by any means hot. On the shore were lying great quantities of salt, with which indeed the whole plain was scattered. It is said that the sea contains no fish, and that those which are forced down by the current from the Jordan, (where they abound,) die immediately. The latter part of the proposition I think very probable, but the former is very doubtful. Never did I see such an universal desolation as surrounded me here: not a house, not a tree, not a sign of a human being, was to be seen. I did not even see an insect. Ourselves and our horses were literally the only live creatures within the scope of the eye.”—Vol. II. p. 227.

At Jerusalem, our author witnessed one of the most extraordinary scenes in the history of those pious frauds which have at various periods been imposed upon mankind—the holy fire, as it is called, which the Armenian and Greek bishops strike within the supposed tomb of our Saviour; and which the ignorant and credulous crowd of worshippers are taught to believe, descends annually from heaven at a stated time of the year, when pilgrims from all parts assemble to witness the miracle. The scene, of which we are about to make an extract, has been described by Maundrell; but his account is much more tedious, and very inferior in point of effect to that which Mr. Turner has presented us. This anniversary is held within the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The collective building is very large, though the particular part of it in which this disgraceful cheat is played off, contains not more than about 7000 people, who pay for their admission, and are accommodated according to what they can afford. Our author was placed in the gallery of the Roman Catholic monks—for all sects of the non-reformed church, Armenian, Greek, and Roman, have their places respectively

assigned them. We can only afford room for a few fragments of the many curious particulars which Mr. Turner has related, but they will be sufficient to convey to the reader some general idea of the exhibition.

“The Greek and Armenian galleries overlooking the dome were filled with female pilgrims of those nations, enthusiastically looking towards the Sepulchre, and crossing themselves. Below me, the whole church, and particularly the circular apartment containing the dome, was absolutely crammed with pilgrims, men and women, hallooing, shouting, singing, and violently struggling to be near the Sepulchre, while the Turkish soldiers were driving them back with their whips. One man I saw in the contention, had his right ear literally torn off. The place immediately near the windows, whence the fire is given, was occupied by the richest pilgrims, who, for this precedence, pay to the Greeks and Turks 200 and 300 sequins. One old woman sitting on the door of the Greek church, had kept that place (a Roman Catholic monk who was shut in told me) since yesterday morning at ten, without moving, and had paid two dollars to get it. A ring was kept as well as the tumult would allow, by the crowd round the Sepulchre, round which, pilgrims (sometimes a single one, sometimes four, sometimes six, together in a circle) were carried on other's shoulders, singing religious songs * in Arabic and Greek; while at other times, a party of ten or twelve ran rioting round it, knocking down every one that stood in their way, and shouting as loud as they were able. The Greek and Armenian bishops were shut up in the Sepulchre at ten o'clock with a single Turk, who is well paid to declare that he sees the fire descend miraculously, or at least to keep silence.”—Vol. II. p. 197.

“All wore, except, of course, the women who had long veils, the common cap of the Greek priests. They walked, singing loudly, three times round the tomb, preceded by six banners, representing the nativity, passion, and crucifixion of our Saviour. As the time approached for the coming of the fire, the crowd became more tumultuous, and rolled in a wave towards the window, whence no efforts of the Turks, and of the happy ones who had secured a place there, exerted in curses, blows, kicks, &c. could drive them. At length, at twenty minutes past two, the fire was given from the window, and was received with a tremendous and universal shout through the whole church. On its first appearance, the torch was seized by a boy near the window, who rubbed

* While thus carried round, the Greeks ridiculed, by the movement of their fingers, the sprinkling of holy water by the Roman Catholic priests, and their striking a light to renew the fire annually on the altars, which these deluded people believe to descend on *their* altars from heaven; and placed their hands behind them in contempt of the Armenian Patriarch, who stands behind the Greek bishop in the tomb, when the latter pretends to receive the fire from heaven.

it against his face, head, and neck, with such vehemence as to extinguish it; for which he was well beaten by those near him. Eight different times was the fire given from the window, and as every pilgrim carried candles in his hand (in bunches, some of four, some of six, some of eight, some of twelve, and some a single one, according to their purse), in ten minutes the whole church was in a flame, and in five more, nearly every candle was extinguished. But what enthusiasm! the men rubbed them against their heads and faces, their caps and handkerchiefs; and the women uncovered their breasts, directing the flame along their heads, necks, and faces, and all crossing themselves during this operation, with the utmost devotion and velocity. The candles, when a little of them is burnt, are carried home, and ever afterwards preserved as sacred. Messengers with lanterns, stand ready at the door, who immediately carry the fire to the Greek convents of Bethlehem, of the Cross (at Sullah), and of Saint Saba, near the Dead Sea. Immediately after giving out the fire, the Greek bishop, coming out of the Sepulchre, was carried by the crowd to the Greek church, immediately opposite to the door, holding in each hand torches of the fire, from which the pilgrims scramble to light their candles."—Vol. II. p. 199.

Our extracts hitherto have been all of a grave character; but that is by no means the character of the work. Mr. Turner tells a story, as it is called, remarkably well, and seems to have a genuine relish for what is odd as well as for what is new, in the character of the people whom he mixes with. We select at random, two or three anecdotes which made us laugh, while they suggested, one of them at least, more serious reflection. And with them we shall conclude.

"I was much amused this evening at supper, by the opinion my host Papatopolu involuntarily betrayed of English porter, of which I had a bottle with me. He drank off the glass I gave him, as I thought, with gratification, and in returning me the glass, asked me quite seriously, '*What complaint it was good for?*' taking it for medicine." Vol. I. p. 160.

"A few years ago an English sailor at Smyrna went into an open mosque at the time of prayer: seeing the Turks kneeling and bowing, he flung down his hat and knelt down too. After prayers they seized on him, and took him before the Cady as a convert to Mahometanism. As he could not be made to understand their questions, the dragoman of the English consul was sent for, through whom he was asked if it were his wish to become a Turk. 'No!' he said, 'he would see them —— first.'—'Why then did you go into the mosque?'—'Why, I saw a church-door open, and I thought any body might go into a church. I have not been in one for three years before, and —— me if I ever go into one again, if I can't do so without turning Turk.' It was not

without great difficulty that the Turks were dissuaded from putting a turban on him by force.—Vol. III. p. 373.

“ On the 13th December, 1815, while in the house of the Archbishop of Cos, I witnessed a disgusting proof of the sordid brutality of the Greek clergy; a Greek woman, very poor, who was in her last agonies, sent to the archbishop, begging him to send a priest to confess her: he refused to do it unless she previously sent him 500 piastres, a sum utterly out of her power to raise; she sent for the Codgià Bashi (the magistrate, by whom all questions between Greeks are settled, if possible, without reference to the Turkish tribunals), and deputed him to speak to the archbishop; I was present when he came to make the bargain; he soon convinced the archbishop that such a sum as 500 piastres was out of all question, and the demand was accordingly dropped to 100; the Codgià Bashi said the poor woman had not above fifty; ‘ Then let her sell her furniture and ornaments,’ said this pious dignitary of the church. ‘ But there is no time,’ replied the other, ‘ She is dying.’ Never shall I forget the tone of cold barbarity with which the archbishop replied, ‘ —Ε καλὰ ὡς ἀπέθανη—καταβύδιον τῆς.’—‘ Well, let her die; a good voyage to her. At length the Codgià Bashi retired, refusing to give more than fifty, but on his return to the woman, her fear of dying unconfessed overcame every other consideration, and she sent her ornaments, and the little money she wore about her neck, and the archbishop, after having leisurely considered and weighed them, and assured himself of their being worth the sum he had demanded, sent a priest to confess her. These scenes are so common, that a relation of the woman, who accompanied the Codgià Bashi, and had preceded him in bringing the first unsuccessful request, expressed no sort of indignation, but bargained as if he had been buying corn. The woman was of bad character, having had three husbands, all Turks, of whom, she had abandoned one, and the other two had abandoned her. Yet this archbishop, though a great gourmand, and fat with gluttony and idleness, would never, on any account, violate his fasts, and regularly read a part of his church service every morning.”—Vol. III. P. 509.

ART. VIII. *The Church and the Clergy, exhibiting the Obligations of Society, Literature, and the Arts to the Ecclesiastical Orders, and the Advantages of an Established Priesthood.* By George Edmund Shuttleworth. 8vo. 318 pp. 8s. Rivingtons. 1820.

IT was, says the author of the entertaining and useful work before us, amidst the ruins of the Capitol, that Gibbon first conceived the idea of writing a history of the “ Decline and

Fall of the Roman Empire." In the depths of the Highlands, between Anoch and Glensheals, we are still using the words of our author, Johnson experienced a similar excitement. "I sat down," says the author of the Rambler, "on a bank such as a writer of romance might have delighted to feign. I had no trees to whisper over my head, but a clear rivulet streamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air soft, and all was rudeness, silence, and solitude. Before me and on either side, were high hills, which by hindering the mind from ranging, forced the mind to find entertainment for itself. Whether I spent the hour well, I know not; for here I first conceived the thought of this narrative." Mr. Shuttleworth tells us, and we have no doubt, tells us truly, that nothing can be farther from his thoughts, than any idea of placing himself or his work in competition with the celebrated names to which we have just now been alluding; but in order that the reader may at once enter into the nature and spirit of his book, we are informed that it was in the majestic aisles and romantic cloisters of our cathedrals, amidst the shrines of the sainted, and the tombs of the renowned, that he first projected the work which he now presents to the public.

To say that the Clergy of the Establishment are under obligations to Mr. Shuttleworth for the service which he has performed, would be paying him a barren compliment; but, we can say with truth, that in the prosecution of his task, he has produced an extremely agreeable book; and collected together, with great judgment and uncommon taste, an almost innumerable variety of particulars, all bearing upon one point, which the reader may indeed find elsewhere, for the most part, but for which, however, he would be obliged to extend his researches through no small number of volumes.

After some preliminary pages on the subject of the unjust and senseless clamour which interested individuals have so studiously endeavoured to raise against the influence of the Clergy and the burthen of tithes, Mr. Shuttleworth proceeds to make a sort of ecclesiastical tour through England. The first objects which engage his attention, are the ruins of monastic edifices which lie scattered up and down the country. From them he proceeds to our cathedrals; and having related various interesting particulars respecting the history of their respective foundations, their external appearance, antiquities, and so forth, he next proceeds to our Universities. The different colleges are examined by him, one by one; and then, by an easy transition, he passes to the several names, as connected with his subject, which these venerable seats of

learning—which owe by far the largest portion of their revenues to the munificence of the clergy—have produced in various ages of the Church, to ornament and defend her.

As the work before us forms a very moderate sized octavo, of course it was not possible, while treating of a subject so extensive, to do more than merely point at the several objects which deserve attention, by relating some characteristic trait of each. It is the liveliness and tastefulness of the manner in which this is done, that principally recommends the book, rather than the novelty of the materials of which it is composed. The edifices which are described, like the individuals who are mentioned, are all of them names that hold too large a place in the history of the country, to admit of the supposition that any thing that was before unknown concerning them, should now be discovered; but this very fact is only a proof of our author's proposition: that whether a traveller casts his eyes upon the ornamental or the useful, in our public institutions, more especially as connected with learning and religion, still it is to the Church that the country is indebted for whatever is proverbially splendid and magnificent. Our cathedrals, our colleges, even our churches, have all of them been principally built and endowed out of the revenues and by the generosity of the Clergy. This is what Mr. Shuttleworth has undertaken to prove; and in proving it, he has produced a book which we can safely recommend to the general reader, for qualities which are quite independent of the interest they may take in the particular truth which it successfully establishes.

As a specimen of the kind of facts, selected by Mr. Shuttleworth, and of the compressed manner in which they are related, we shall present our readers with an extract from his account of what the Church once was, in Roman Catholic times; not that we consider the passage as peculiarly illustrative of the usual character which belongs to the information contained in the book; but because in itself, and taken separately, it affords a view of a subject; whereas it is only as parts of a whole, that detached passages in other parts of the work would be likely to interest the reader.

“ From the description of Leland, Bury St. Edmunds could scarcely have been eclipsed by the city of Babylon; it partook as much of the character of a fortress, as of a religious edifice. It was encompassed by lofty walls, flanked with towers, and shut in by brazen gates, and ponderous portcullis’.

“ The abbot was mitred, and a peer of parliament. One hundred and eleven servants, in addition to various subordinate of-

ficers, waited upon the brotherhood. The abbot had exclusive jurisdiction in the town; and for a mile round, he had the authority of chief magistrate, and the power of inflicting capital punishment. He was free from all ecclesiastical supremacy, except of the pope, and was exempt from excommunication, and interdicts, unless expressly specified in the papal bulls. Fountains, vineries, bowling-greens, dove-cotes, and fish-ponds, were amongst the decorations of St. Edmunds Bury; there were stables for a large stud, accommodations for carriages, hawks, and hounds. The abbot possessed a magnificent mansion in the metropolis; four granges, or summer houses, with extensive manors and fisheries. Kings, popes, and prelates, vied with each other in endowing this monastery; and so prodigious were its estates, royalties, immunities, exemptions, franchises, and liberties, that it was esteemed one of the brightest stars of the ecclesiastical orders, not only in England, but throughout Christendom.

"It was protected and enriched by thirty-three distinct bulls and charters, each confirming some novel or precious privilege. It possessed the right of coinage; its benefactors were without number; the gifts and oblations, which decorated its shrines, of incalculable value. Its estates have been estimated worth, in present money, a rental of 400,000*l.* per annum. The spoils of the abbey at the dissolution, amounted to 5000 marks of gold and silver, besides vestments and jewels; and the plate, bells, lead, timber, and other materials, produced 5000 marks to the king.

"The vestiges of Malmsbury Abbey, are treated by antiquarians, as so many exquisite specimens of ancient architecture; the buildings are stated to have covered forty-five acres of land, and the revenues computed upon the same scale as Bury St. Edmunds, must have amounted to nearly 200,000*l.* per annum.

"The estates formerly attached to Glastonbury, now produce 300,000*l.* per annum, and the donations of pilgrims, the munificence of princes, and the offerings of devotees were immense. The silver plating of the chapel, weighed more than 2640*lbs.* On the altar there were 260*lb.* weight of solid gold; and the Church plate was incredibly magnificent. The privileges of both the last mentioned abbeys were similar to those of Bury St. Edmunds."—
P. 25.

We now take our leave of Mr. Shuttleworth; our notice of his book has been short, shorter perhaps than its merits deserve. But we have said enough, we trust, to prove that our respect for its author is not to be measured by the length to which our notice of it has extended.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.**DIVINITY.**

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THE
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FOR AUGUST, 1821.

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πρόσθεν ἀνής, ὀπίθεν δὲ γυνή,

yet whether the *preux Chevalier* himself,

“ the wandering Knight,
Hight of the burning pestle”

disserts gravely, by especial desire of his less severe spouse on “ Law, Statistics, Literary Disputes, or the State of Medicine;” or the “ *Lovely Ladie*” who “ rides him faire beside”

* No Englishman likes to be mistaken for an American. Every American is proud of being mistaken for an Englishman. We need not inquire how far the worthy *Baronet*, who genuinely writes himself *Sir Charles*, is pleased with the *Perkin Knight*, who affects so to write himself at the expence of his proto-Baptismal name.

in more easy and familiar discourse rings the changes on Arts, Poetry, Politics, Religion, Dress, Scandal, Morals and Metaphysics, the lack of the associate who reposes is felt by the reader in neither case. For, like the twin brothers who sprang from the Mythological Poultry-yard, though each of them by turns retires below ground, the constellation which they illuminate, notwithstanding their alternate secession, continues to shine steadily, with undiminished brightness.

Without seeking then to appropriate to either that degree of praise which, in our consciences we honestly believe, appertains in nearly equal portions to both, we hold ourselves entitled to consider this work, though by an act of gallant courtesy it is published under a single name, as containing the joint creed of these two eminent philosophists. Philosophists, we fear, we must be content to call them both indiscriminately, in spite of their corporeal distinction of sex; unless, we may be permitted to invent a word, which perhaps carries about with it somewhat of cockney termination, but which, for want of a better, may suffice more correctly to mark the distribution of gender: then indeed we would name Sir Thomas as the most eminent of philosophists, and his helpmate no less the most eminent of philosophistesses.

The faithful portraiture of the mind of a great man, and of a great woman also, when sketched by themselves, is worth all they can say about other people. It is this which gives their immortality to such words of Socrates as Plato has inserted in his Dialogues; which by a thousand incidental touches respecting self, heightens the interest of so many passages in Milton; which keeps the ear suspended on Lord Erskine's oratory; which compels maiden ladies to read Don Juan in spite of their blushes; and which secures extensive circulation to last dying speeches at the gallows. It is this which we shall attempt to collect from Lady Morgan's work; and we know not how we can better aid the progress of illumination, the downfall of political and superstitious despotism, the propagation of illegitimacy (for which the Lady seems particularly anxious) the march of reason, the cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world, or the countless other similar benefits which her pen seeks to render to mankind. Our Review therefore will be rather synthetic than analytic. We shall put together a mosaic work of dogmas, which otherwise must be sought for in detached portions; and rejecting all superfluous ornament, all the *arabesque* of anecdote on the best authority, piquant bon-mot, private memoir, confidential disclosure, and rhetorical flourish, we shall endeavour to embody a valuable *corpus* of sound and solemn OPINION.

That Lady Morgan and her husband (ὁ καὶ ἡ) had extraordinary opportunities of sounding the shallows and the depths of society in Italy, we are bound, on many accounts, implicitly to believe. First of all we are assured of the fact in daily newspaper advertisements from her publisher. Secondly, it is repeatedly implied or asserted in the body of her work by herself. Thus at Milan, "their *known political principles*," the fame of which it seems had outrun their post horses, did not prevent their introduction to the *Casino Nobile*; nor do we imagine that these principles would prevent them from drinking tea at the Cumberland Gardens when at home. At Como, they were ranked among "highly recommended foreign visitants," and therefore absolutely lived in a real Italian "Villa," without paying for their victuals. At Florence, being again "properly recommended, and, above all, known to be of *liberal principles*, and to possess a literary name," they had a suite of apartments, supplies of books, two opera boxes, and job horses, like Cinderella, at a wish.

"On this side th' Alpes we're nothing but mere drolleries,
Ha, Italy for my money!"

There also "the ministerial doors of embassy flew open to guests, whose *known political opinions* elsewhere would have barred their entrance." The Swedish Envoy asked Sir Thomas to dinner. Lady Morgan chatted *à demi voix* with Madame d'Albany at her coteries, and by these fortunate whippers found that the "character of her sojourn was materially influenced." Again, in order to come "in close contact with the population," they travelled without a courier; an omission which answered three less ostensible purposes, it enabled them to save money, to lament the inconveniences of the road, and to rail to their hearts' content against *Douaniers* and *Sbirri*. Sir Thomas moreover frequently enjoyed the choice society of spirits, professionally or constitutionally congenial to his own; for he informs us, that the apothecaries in the north of Italy have 'their medical "attainment mixed with no inconsiderable portion of philosophy and general information." One gentleman, indeed, at Naples, must particularly have delighted him, as the writer of an interesting work of "some apparent and perhaps real paradox:" it is an *Essay on the inutility of History*. This excellent Signor has also "made himself acquainted with the leading facts of physiology, as a means of studying to greater advantage the *moral and social nature of the species, and for ascertaining the physical basis of those abstract notions which have most divided philosophers*." (Vol. I. p. 233.)—In other words, we

suppose, he is employed in the grand work of infidelity, and engaged like the ingenious author of "Sketches of the Philosophy of Life," in proving that man has no more than a "theological soul." We trust that he will labour with equal success, and acquire as much praise and profit.

But there is yet a third reason which induces us to give full credit to Lady Morgan's claim to a knowledge of the various classes of society in Italy. Besides the noble names which she has catalogued among her associates, she speaks with familiarity of sundry *Ciceroni*, from whom she frequently derived "*curious information not to be had in the salons of palaces, or the studies of the learned.*" (Vol. I. p. 267.) Her work is so saturated with information of this kind, that it is evident she knew how to profit to their full extent by these accurate gentry. Nay, more, we may state without fear of contradiction, that Lady Morgan *did* live with all classes. Letters of introduction are seldom denied to importunity. On a first visit, the doors of the great will not often be barred; on a second, *sometimes* they will not be very willingly opened. —And then *facilis descensus*—the vomit of a *Nobile* is the feast of a *Cittadino*.

To begin with religious opinion. Of her general clear notions of Christianity, we can afford but one specimen; and this we shall leave to furnish its own comment. It is the reflection which occurs to her on the sight of the Medicean Vase, which represents the sacrifice of Iphigenia, "the innocent victim offered to appease the gods, and dispose them favourably to her murderers. *Always a sacrifice! Gods in anger! and man in vengeance! it is a fearful picture!*" (Vol. II. p. 69.) But that Lady Morgan is well read in Scripture, cannot be denied; for she refers to the "xiii protocanonic Epistles of St. Paul," and "*the Canticles of Job.*" (Vol. I. p. 239.) to be sure through the officious blunder of a meddling printer (if the Devil can ever be supposed to dabble in Holy Writ, without malice) we are instructed in the errata to read "the Lamentations of Jeremiah," instead of these other imaginary songs of joy. As far as we can see *n'importe*; either runs equally well with the context, and the lady may be permitted to have her choice. Reading only however is nothing, Lady Morgan "marks" also, "learns and inwardly digests." In a comparison of the Romish and Protestant Sunday, and a reprobation of the "half heathen, half Catholic but most unchristian," model which *we* follow in the celebration of the Sabbath by our abstinence from civil affairs, we are informed that, "THE SCRIPTURES HAVE COMMANDED NO SUCH ABSTINENCE." (Vol. II. p. 192.) Now in our edition of the

Old Testament, the IVth Commandment is not yet expunged, perhaps it may be in that *purgato e rifatto*, which contains the "Canticles of Job."—But there is still more which we must renounce. "The Last Supper—the only one (rite) left by our Saviour, who never practised NOR IMPOSED THE CEREMONY OF BAPTISM." It will be useful therefore at once to cancel the prophecy of the Baptist, (Matt. iii. 11.) the warning of Christ to Nicodemus, (John iii. 5.) his last positive injunction before his Ascension, (Matt. xxviii. 19.) and sundry other stubborn passages in the Apostolical writings which have a direct tendency to mislead the unwary on this point.

Having stripped the Sabbath of its repose, and the water of Regeneration of its sacramental virtue, we will turn to a piece of criticism on Sacred History. A picture of the departure of Hagar and Ishmael, is thus described.

"The scene is the court of a plain, rude, pastoral building. The principal figures, an elderly man in an Arabian habit, a young woman, and a little boy. The face of an old quean is seen scowling from behind an half-open door. The head of the young woman is not that of Raphael's divine Madonna, lovely, passionless, and angelic. It is the head of a woman of exquisite beauty, but a frail woman, of one devoted and betrayed, of one who expressed in every quivering muscle of a face all soul and life, that she had been the victim of cold, calculating seduction, and of base jealousy and unfounded vengeance. This face (a master-piece of nature) is turned over a finely formed shoulder in the attitude of one, who though forced to go, yet lingered to reproach. Indignation, deep-seated and acute, mastering every other passion, distorts the trembling lip: but from beneath humid eye-lids, seared with tears, escapes a look of fond, weak hope, which perhaps belongs to the child, whose hand she rather crushes than holds. The rounded cheek is saturated with drops that chafe it; every pore weeps, but weeps in vain. The richly-turbaned Arab, who sternly urges her departure, exhibits a determination evidently resulting from feebleness; the sharp, shrewd eye that gleams on him from the virago face from behind the door, renders him 'firm of purpose.' " (Vol. I. P. 86.)

Now if Guercino painted Ishmael as a "little boy," *he* is answerable for the mistake; for the plain chronology of the history will scarcely allow the little boy to be much less than nineteen at the time of the weaning of Isaac: but what shall we say to the Connoisseur, who discovers "feebleness," in the "friend of God," "the strong in faith," at the moment in which he was achieving a conquest of paternal feeling to obey a suggestion of the Most High: who was evincing by this act a faith but few degrees less confirmed than that which he afterwards manifested in the sacrifice of Isaac: who knew that by this

reluctant expulsion, he was releasing the son of the bond-woman from servitude; and, according to the divine prediction, making of him a great nation. Hagar herself also, "the victim of cold, calculating seduction, and of base jealousy and unfounded vengeance." She who, from a hope of the promised Messiah, had *been given by Sarai*—"the sharp, shrewd virago"—"to her husband Abram to be his wife," at a time in which polygamy had not yet been forbidden. Truly the Scriptures are but ill authority for such commentaries as these, and act upon plain comprehensions in other ways than they do upon gigantic understandings; but then it should always be remembered, that "your giant is not so soon converted as us ordinary people."

"Church and State Despotism" always feels a jealousy of the sciences which "treat directly of moral and social existence." (Vol. I. p. 311.) We beg pardon; this passage belongs exclusively to Sir Thomas: at least we presume so; for it occurs in an Appendix, in the course of which the obstetric preparations at Florence are treated of, and a very salutary medical custom, not wholly new to Cambridge ears, is veiled, for the sake of attraction, in the semi-opacity of a learned language. (Vol. I. p. 328.) But the lady shall by no means be defrauded of her share. "Arnold of Brescia preached the Gospel against the Church." This was a mistake on Arnold's part, though we are sorry he was burnt for it: but how came Lady Morgan to neglect the glorious opportunity which it afforded her of reviling the single *English* Pope who committed this heretical reformer to the secular arm! with what double zest would she have anathematized him as a Briton born! We would not willingly mortify her by pointing out this unfortunate omission, but she may profit by the hint when Mr. Colburn has paid the expences of his first edition, and having eaten his often advertised renunciation, prints a second in octavo.

"The sin of those systems of which a priesthood forms the basis"—(inasmuch as they are establishments) is "rather to exclude than to admit the progressive illumination of successive ages." (Vol. I. p. 41.) "Aristocratical prejudices" and "Religious zeal," which we suppose may be translated into fearing God, and honouring the King, had so bigoted the Archduchess Beatrice of Modena, that "she beheld the remote dawn of social and political emancipation with a religious horror, and opposed it with pertinacity and virulence," (Vol. I. p. 141.) "The Church and State all over the world alike under the domes of St. Sophia, St. Peter, and St. Paul, still hold their Inquisition, and pay well their familiars." (Vol. I. p. 235.)

Such was not the case with Paganism.

“ The worshippers of Apollo and Minerva were not persecutors. The internal evidence in the nature of man is all against such fables; for where power and policy, the interests of Church and State, do not interfere to inflame zeal, or to kindle persecution, such horrors have never been committed. *Contemporary historians are all silent* upon these histories, which are rendered still more improbable by their palpable contradictions of the known usages of antiquity. The first well-authenticated martyrdoms occurred only after the establishment of a *paid* hierarchy, fired by interests which are not those of society at large. Then it was that intolerance stalked forth in all her virulence, that the faggot was kindled and the axe raised; and that the Cranmers who burned their victims under one interest to-day, were burned in their turn to-morrow under another.”

“ The punishment of fanatical inroads upon the established religious worship of the country, or of tumultuary outrages against the public peace, have been falsely coloured as persecutions, by the writers on this subject; and these form nearly the whole of the well-authenticated cases of Pagan violence.” (Vol. I. p. 234.)

We have read however in Suetonius * of the expulsion of the Christians under Claudius, and their executions under Nero; we have learnt from Tacitus the contumelies and cruelties which they patiently endured; how they were exposed to dogs after having been sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, how the flesh was torn piecemeal from their mangled carcasses, how they were left to expire in slow agony upon the cross, or were besmeared with inflammable matter and set on fire, as torches, at nightfall. We need not quote the threat of vengeance against the libeller of Tigellinus, nor the allusion to the “ pitched shirt,” to corroborate this assured fact. We need not cite the Imperial Rescript from one of the mildest sovereigns of Rome, which authorized Pliny to pursue the work of death. Eusebius has recorded the ten years persecution of Diocletian in a touching detail of horrors, many of which he was compelled to witness. Sozomen has translated his unpretending narrative of the cruelties of the Persian Sapor, from memoirs of such Christians of Syria and Edessa, as survived his fury. The *mitigated* edicts, as they are called of Severus (Hist. Aug.) sufficiently evince what extremities were to be dreaded from a prince of more active hostility. That of Maximin almost on his death-bed, by the anxiety which it exhibits to cast the guilt of barbarity upon others,

* It would be an idle cavil to contend that Suetonius and Tacitus were not contemporary with the events affecting the Christians, which they relate. Suetonius was secretary to Adrian not much more than fifty years after the persecution of Nero. Tacitus was born in the reign of that tyrant; thus they lived sufficiently near those times to obtain unquestionably correct information; and their fidelity has never been doubted.

furnishes unintentionally the strongest proof of its existence. Be it remembered here also that we have contented ourselves with citing undisputed authorities ; and that, however far distant we may be from refusing assent to much which is contained in the direct Church historians, we have (unless in the instances of Eusebius and Sozomen for the selection of whom our reasons are too plain to need detail) studiously avoided any but collateral evidence. With the highest respect therefore for Lady Morgan's accuracy, we are not wholly prepared to admit the absence of all contemporary testimony to the persecutions of the Christians. If she will take the trouble of reading once again the xvth chapter of Gibbon, she will perceive that the deduction which she has been contented to draw from it, is precisely that which the historian intended to palm upon his readers, but by no means that which after a profound investigation of original authorities he had formed for himself. Gibbon indeed never fails from lack of learning : no one ever manufactured his raw materials into so close a tissue. In the words of a revered and consummate scholar, who well knew how to appreciate his merits and defects, "What would he not have been if the dog had but *not* been a philosopher !" But the lively ladies and puzzle-pated 'pothecaries, who cook their theology in his *cuisine*, for the most retain nothing of their purveyor's solid nutriment in the second day's fricassee which they are tossing up as their own from his broken scraps ; and present us only with a weak dilution of his *sauce piquante* of infidelity.

So much for the Church in general ; a few words concerning our own Church in particular.

"The more one considers the Churches of England and Rome, the more their resemblance is apparent." (Vol. II. p. 253.) Again. "St. Paul's in London differed but in degree from St. Peter's at Rome, and Canterbury in his palace, and Durham on his throne, were but modifications of the Pontiff of the Vatican, or the Patriarch at St. Petersburg. The Church was still the same, whether Greek, or Roman, or English—gorgeous in its forms, exclusive in its principles, and arrogant in its pretensions." (Vol. II. p. 276.) Again. "Let not the followers of Luther and Calvin. . . . exclaim against the errors and folly of the Catholic (Roman Catholic) faith. . . . Let them remember that the *Protestant government of England* has assisted more than any other to, &c. &c. &c. serve the cause of ignorance, plunge back humanity," &c. &c. &c. (Vol. II. p. 421.) Again. "Between the dignified Clergy of the two Churches of Rome and Canterbury, there is scarcely a shadow of distinction." (Vol. II. p. 9.) Again. "What monument will ever rise to commemorate the reformation of another Church ?

Canterbury! and York! and Durham! princely, if not infallible Pontiffs! can ye tell this?" (Vol. II. p. 204.) And again, once for all, speaking of Popish votive shrines and chapels. "For these voluntary donations *the exorbitant tithes* of the Church of England are the substitutes; (what say the Canonical sages from Selden to Mirehouse?) and however forms and names may differ, the rich Abbot of Saint Francis of Bologna was but a poor and unaccommodated personage compared to that puissant ecclesiastical Prince the Protestant *Bishop of Durham*, whose revenue exceeds that of any ten Catholic Bishops in modern Italy, and was rarely equalled even by the incomes of the Episcopal Barons of the middle ages.... Protestant Bishops and their flocks are pretty much in the present day what Catholic ecclesiastics and their's were in the olden times." (Vol. I. p. 287.)

"Therewith she spewed out of her filthie mawe
A floud of poyson horrible and black,

* * * * *

Her vomit full of bookes and papers was."

But it is not quite new to us. Lady Morgan assures us that she was "constantly lent the Examiner" while she was at Naples, and if she has not contributed to the columns of that veracious newspaper, it is at least evident that she has borrowed from them.

But if Bishops are but brigands and banditti, Kings and Emperors are little better; mere constables and catchpoles: and the union of Church and State is only set a thief to catch a thief. We proceed to the head of Politics.

"England upon all occasions is the political scavenger of Europe, performing all the dirty work with which more crafty cabinets contrive not to sully their character. But far beyond the folly and wickedness of such acts is the hypocrisy by which they are accompanied." (Vol. I. p. 48.) Again. "Kings who lavish *privileges* cannot give *rights*; it is the people that must take them: Sovereigns who can bestow honours, cannot ingraft Constitutions; it is the people that must demand them." Vol. I. p. 139.

The remedy for these political defects is close at hand, and more than once is pretty clearly suggested. "The English Commonwealth and Revolution expanded the range of ideas, and (*risum teneatis*) forced upon nations an *extensive vocabulary* and a *richness of expression* which far surpassed the utmost stretch of Greek and Latin civilization." (Vol. II. p. 129.) It has been our good or evil fortune to become not ill acquainted with the richness of expression and the extensive vocabulary of sundry very popular writers during the civil wars and the Commonwealth; and assuredly in call-

ing hard names, these highly civilized authors possessed an almost unbounded extent of vocabulary ; and as the language of Scripture, however perverted and misapplied, *usque ad nauseam*, still must retain somewhat of its "original brightness," richness of expression may with a certain degree of correctness be predicated of those meek, charitable, learned and most reverend personages, Messrs. Feak, Rutherford, Perne, Caryl, Cawdrey, Good, Hill, Marshal, Sedgwick, Vines, Evans, Burton, Nalton, Ramsay, and Holmes, without derogation to the countless others, of name or nameless, who contributed their mite of pious eloquence to "sips of sweetness" or "prelatical hogsties." But the irritated passions which hurried on the murder of Charles I. and trampled both upon the Cross and the Crown, were, it seems, yet more advantageous to good government than to literature ; and because the hands of evil men were dipped deep in blood and leprosed with sacrilege, we are assured that the work which they effected far exceeded in virtue the sober and solemn act of the good and great, of those honoured statesmen and unblamed heroes, who confirmed our liberties and fixed our Constitution without the expence of a single life.

"The first Revolution, though unsuccessful, and therefore stigmatized by the name of Rebellion, was the parent of English liberty ; and exhibited an ardor of generosity, and an intellectual vigour in the people much superior to those displayed in the more calculated movement of 1688." Vol. I. p. 15.

Here, however, lest we should stop short, and after having discovered the remedy, should doubt how to apply it most effectually, we are explicitly directed to the *ratio ultima* of reforming bayonets.

"The army of England is an aggregate of Englishmen : the sons, the brothers, and the fathers of Englishmen, must sympathise in all the distresses and all the feelings of their fellow-subjects. The first Parliamentary army of the Commonwealth, and that other army, which assisted in abating the despotism of the Stuarts, and in consigning, in trust, to the house of Brunswick, the national sovereignty, were true to the sacred cause of liberty ; and so must every army in the end become, which is taken from the body of a free people. In such a country as Great Britain, the army cannot take the lead in popular sentiment ; but it can never be compelled, or seduced, to remain very far behind it." Vol. I. p. 247.

But it is not only on these more important points that we would wish Lady Morgan's opinions to be duly known (and

to be duly estimated they require nothing farther): on the lighter subjects with which she occasionally allows her pen to dally, we meet not unfrequently with remarkable passages. We do not know that it makes the matter to which we are about to refer a whit better in fact, but if virulent accusations are to be preferred, it is quite as well not to rely for their support upon mistaken translations. The sentence which doomed the monastic victim to immurement for a violation of chastity, if any were ever so doomed, did not conclude

“ Sinful sister part in peace,”

as the great poet of romance of our own days has inadvertently rendered it, nor “ *vade in pace*,” (Vol. I. p. 99.) as Lady Morgan, *retranslating on his authority*, has been content to accept it. It was perhaps a more cruel mockery, “ *Vade in pacem*,” from a principle of euphony which would speak only of the blessedness of a future state, without reference to the bitterness of passage which was preparing from the present.—The grounds of M. Sylva near Milan are termed the Cinisello, and these are described as the Leasowes or Stow of the Milanese, (Vol. II. p. 127.) now they may be very like either one or the other of these celebrated spots; but it scarcely appears how they can at once be like the two most dissimilar things in the same line, the most pastoral and the most patrician of landscape-gardening, which that art ever produced.—In descending Mount Cenis, Lady Morgan paused on a spot similar to that on which it is said Hannibal halted his Carthaginians, and pointed out the recompence of all their labours. This is as it should be; and it proves the implicit faith with which, in spite of fact, Lady Morgan, in this instance at least, bows to legitimate authority. The fault is with Livy and Polybius, who forgot, or did not know, that there was not any point of the Alps in any of the supposed routes of Hannibal from which such a view could be obtained.

“ The Spanish fleet thou canst not see, because
It is not yet in sight.”

But at Placenza Lady Morgan beholds a far more extraordinary vision; no less than the remains of the very bridge crossed by Hannibal! (Vol. I. p. 257.) If there had been such a bridge, we doubt much whether either the Numidians or the Romans would have preferred fording the Trebia on a frosty morning to crossing it on dry arches; and this too when its waters, as we are told, flowed breast high. The necessity

which exposed Sempronius to this extremity of cold, was the main cause of his defeat ; and his chief difficulty in retreating arose from the intervention of the river. Lady Morgan is very angry with Mr. Eustace for his perseverance in speaking Antigallican truths : she must be desperate with M. Duppa, who has contradicted her flatly on the same subject by anticipation. What saith the female deponent ?

“ It is generally supposed that the French army committed great plunder in Rome: the proofs to the contrary are, the undisturbed riches of the churches and palaces, and the testimony of the Romans themselves, who do every justice to the moderation of the soldiers, and still describe them buying white gloves to visit the galleries of the Vatican.” Vol. II. p. 207.

Now *audi alteram partem*.

“ The Vatican palace was entirely stripped in the most extensive signification. There was not left the least possible thing that could be taken away, from the most trifling culinary utensil to the most valuable furniture of the state chambers ; and to make sure that nothing might be left, the walls and partitions were broken through in one or more places in each apartment, to be satisfied that nothing was concealed, and that no room had been missed for want of finding the door. The palaces of Monte Cavallo, Terracina, and Castel Gandolfo, I was told, underwent the same reverse of fortune ; *but of the Vatican I can speak with more confidence*, AS I WAS MYSELF IN THAT PALACE THE WHOLE TIME OF ITS BEING PLUNDERED.”—*Duppa's Journal*, 1798, p. 40.

The lady acknowledgedly speaks from hearsay ; the gentleman was an eye-witness ; for ourselves,

“ Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.”

But enough of this : we have compiled sufficient specimens of *opinion* to furnish a spouting Florilegium, whether for the Reformers in State at Palace Yard during the Session of Parliament, or the Reformers in Church at the Freemasons' Tavern during the month of May ; and though Lady Morgan more than once expresses her hatred of the Bible and the Missionary Societies, because, misled by their names, she believes them to rest on sound Christian principles, and to emanate from the Establishment, yet we feel certain, that whenever she learns her mistake, we shall have her approbation for offering these few heads of speeches to the notice of their unfledged orators.

We had foresworn the rhetoric of her volumes in the beginning of our article ; but we now think it may be useful to

annex a few of the "words that burn" to the foregoing "thoughts that breathe;" and the beauty of the passages themselves we doubt not will secure forgiveness for our inconsistency.

PEOPLING OF MODERN ITALY.

"An unknown product from the foundery of a new creation thinned the ranks of refined degeneracy; and as they poured forth in successive multitudes from their northern forests over the Alps, and the Apennines, the Jura and the Pyrenees, they carried conquest in their van, and left desolation in their rear." Vol. I. p. 2.

BUONAPARTE'S ROADS.

"All that had been danger, difficulty, and suffering, but twenty years back, was now safe, facile, and enjoyable; secure beyond the chance of accident, sublime beyond the reach of thought. Legitimate princes! divine-righted sovereigns! houses of France! Austria and Savoy! '*which of you have done this?*' There is not one among you, descendants of a Clovis, a Barbarossa, or an Amadeus, but may in safe conscience shake his innocent head, and answer, '*Thou canst not say 'twas I did it!*'—Neither does the world accuse you." Vol. I. p. 21.

ITALIAN LITERATURE.

"In Milan, no ductile dulness meanders in the worn track of periodical criticism; no '*slipshod Sibyl*' of the middle class of life *todies* the sentimentality of rank with the scraps and leavings of Albums and guide-books." Vol. I. p. 169.

RIGHTS OF THE THREE DENOMINATIONS.

"In the exertions of these genuine patriots there is no concealed design, no sect to favour, no established church to consolidate. The door of knowledge is not opened to let in the light of heaven through the discoloured medium of an exclusive creed; nor is the information afforded intended as an additional chain to bind the people to a *social order*, whose benefits are too problematical to be trusted to unassisted common sense. Here all is fair and open to the day; and the sole intention is the multiplication of popular force, and its necessary consequence, a diffusive happiness." Vol. I. p. 118.

LADY MORGAN IN A MUSEUM.

"It is a proud, an agitating consciousness, to feel that we stand amidst the accumulated monuments of time and genius! that we gaze on the best that ages have produced and time has spared!—that we are permitted to read the history of man in the progress of his works—to follow the dark rude animal from the moment when he abandons his brutish instincts (launching into the vague of untried imagination, scooping his hideous idol in the rock, or carving it on the rind), until he wields the chisel of a Phidias or a Michael

Angelo, and gives to marble the impress of divinity—himself only less than a god, his god much more than man *.” Vol. II. p. 62.

LADY MORGAN WRITING A BOOK.

“ But if genius, in man, so soon starts from the cumbrous association of book-worm erudition,—in woman, whose talent is only another word for developed sensibility, and who but learns by what she feels—in woman, genius and abstruse learning never yet went together : and it is gracious to believe that works, calculated to extend the sphere of fancy and of feeling, to open the springs of human sympathy, to correct the selfishness of human egotism, and to increase the sum of literary enjoyment, may flow from a woman's pen, without requiring the sacrifice of that time and attention, which belong, by the finest law of nature, to her better duties of wife and mother !” Vol. I. p. 293.

LADY MORGAN IN A STORM.

“ Such an impulse, however, she will receive ; and whether it come from a successful resistance of Naples, or from the kindling indignation of all Europe, irresistibly excited by the falsehood, treachery, and vulgar hypocrisy of the pigmy successors of Napoleon's giant despotism, it *cannot be long distant*. Against the liberties of Italy are the Sovereigns of Europe, their armies, and their treasures : but armies are no longer to be trusted ; and treasures, thanks to the thoughtless profusion of modern exchequers, are no longer to be commanded. In their favour are the kindling illumination of the age, the sympathy of the whole population of the civilized world ; and all the force that belongs, in the eternal nature of things, to justice and to right.” Vol. I. p. 159.

LADY MORGAN IN A CALM.

“ With no moral law to check, with no religious feeling to restrain, loosened from the potency of opinion, and tempted to the last lure of seduction, &c. &c. &c.—gentle, genial organization, &c. &c. &c.—love is no sin in Italy. Neither the law, the religion, nor the customs of the land, restrain its impulses, nor limit its range.” Vol. II. p. 286.

Lady Morgan is not a novice to fame ; and such as she has already obtained is not likely to be diminished by her present publication. She can scarcely hope to exceed it in variety of subject or energy of diction, and we may safely commit her, without farther comment, to the judgment of those who discriminate and who reflect.

* “ The Apollo of Belvedere.”

ART. II. *The Life of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. By George D'Oyly, D.D. F.R.S. &c. &c.*
(Concluded from p. 40.)

THE prospects of the friends of the Church of England, at the commencement of the new reign, were gloomy and discouraging. When then the king, contrary to all expectation, in his first speech to the Privy Council, expressed in strong and unequivocal terms his gracious intentions of favouring and supporting the established religion, the heads of the church hastened to return their humble thanks for his majesty's goodness; feeling it doubtless to be their interest, as well as their duty, to place the royal promises publicly upon record, and thus, as far as was in their power, ensure their fulfilment.

The manner in which the declaration of James was received at the council board, and the anxiety avowed by the nobles and statesmen present to have a written copy of his speech, proved that they distrusted him: and to a similar diffidence, as one at least of the motives by which they were actuated, we may perhaps ascribe the unusual haste with which the address of the archbishop and bishops was presented, and the remarkable phraseology in which the greater part of it was expressed. After strongly and truly stating, that "it hath been accounted the distinctive character of the Established Church, it is her glory and her holy boast, that she hath been always loyal to her Kings, even in the greatest trials;" the archbishop proceeded thus,

"Sir, when we came first within the prospect (the sad prospect) of what befel us yesterday in the morning, we could not but think, that, at such a time as this is, we should have had much, very much, to ask of your majesty, and to beg it upon our knees with the same earnestness with which we would petition for our lives, if they were all in question: but your Majesty's great and unexampled goodness hath prevented us. In that most auspicious moment in which you first sat down in the chair, to which God and your right have advanced you, you were pleased in our favour to make that admirable declaration, which we ought to write down in letters of gold, and engrave in marble. However, we shall treasure it up in our hearts, as the greatest foundation of comfort, which this world can afford us in our present condition. So that we have nothing to ask your Majesty, but that you would be (what you have always been observed to be) yourself; that is, generous and just and true to all you once declare; nor any thing to tender in return to your Majesty, but our most humble thanks, with our hearts and affections, our lives and fortunes, together with our ardent prayers to Almighty

God (which shall never be wanting), that he would make the rest of your Majesty's reign happy and prosperous, and suitable to these glorious beginnings; and at last crown your Majesty with his own glory in the world that is to come." Vol. I. p. 209.

But, whatever may have been the satisfaction excited by the unlooked for declarations of James, in favour of the Church, it was soon removed by his actions. The tendency of these could not be mistaken; and when he was seen surrounded by Popish counsellors, and pursuing measures, which, while they raised the hopes, and awakened the arrogance of the Roman Catholic priesthood, foreboded approaching and speedy ruin to the Protestant Establishment, the eyes of all reflecting men were opened; and the clergy, as it became them, were the first to see, and seeing, boldly to repel the danger. The eagerness with which the Papists endeavoured to propagate their tenets, was met by a corresponding activity on their part; and while the press teemed with learned and judicious treatises, in which the great principles of the Reformation were ably defended; the errors of the Roman Catholic faith were so clearly pointed out from the pulpit, as to oppose powerful obstacles to the advancement of the King's designs.

In vain did he direct the archbishops to prohibit their clergy from preaching on controversial points. In this emergency they had higher duties to discharge; and the mandate of their sovereign, which, however it seemingly harmonized with the canonical discipline of the Church, in effect tended to deprive her of her best defence in the hour of her peril, could not outweigh the obligation of their ordination vow, by which they had solemnly engaged to combat and drive away, to the best of their abilities, all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's written word. The King, thus foiled, had recourse to an expedient, which shewed that no ordinary ties could withhold him from building up his favourite superstition on the ruins of the Established Church. In direct violation of that constitution, according to which he had solemnly sworn to govern his kingdom; and in contempt of the laws, securing to the Church her privileges and her freedom, he established, in 1686, a commission, for the purpose of inquiring into, and punishing, ecclesiastical offences. This commission was in effect a revival of that court which had been abolished for ever, by act of parliament, in the beginning of the unhappy troubles that overturned his father's throne; and the powers given to its members were of the most formidable character. "They could summon before

them persons of any rank in the Church, could proceed upon mere suspicion, could punish by suspension, privation, and excommunication; and they were authorized to execute diligently their office, notwithstanding any laws or statutes of the realm." (Vol. i. p. 221.) The archbishop, who was named as a commissioner, with the bishops of Durham and Rochester, pleaded his age and infirmities as an excuse for declining to act; and this mode of leaving his disapprobation of so dangerous a measure, to be inferred from his silence and his absence, instead of boldly protesting against it, has exposed him to some observations, in Burnet's history, which are evidently uncandid and invidious. But many, who may disapprove of the tone and temper of the historian's remarks, will probably agree with him, that it would have been better suited to the dignity of Sancroft's station, openly and firmly, though with due respect to his sovereign, to declare his opinion that the commission was illegal; than to plead ill health, and increasing infirmities, as an apology for not undertaking an office which, under any circumstances, his conscience had told him that he could not execute without sin. What might have been the effect of so decided an opposition on the King's mind, it is impossible to conjecture. Perhaps it would be too much to say, that it might have arrested him in the pernicious course he was pursuing: but, though this might not have been the case, the silence of the archbishop on this occasion afforded the King an advantage which he did not fail to improve, when he afterwards urged, with some effect, that those whose duty it was to have advised him against proceedings which they deemed so unconstitutional and fatal, had suffered him to advance, until return was hopeless, and remedy impossible; and that then they were among the first to blame, desert, and oppose him.

Whatever may be thought of the archbishop's conduct on this occasion, events of still greater consequence soon enabled him to shew, that his character was not devoid of firmness, when, in his opinion, the interests of his country and of the Church over which he presided, required its exertion.

The steady and spirited refusal of the clergy to read the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, the temperate but effectual resistance made by the bishops, their imprisonment, trial, and final triumph, are related at some length: and Dr. D'Oyly, by introducing from manuscripts of the archbishop's, various details of the circumstances which took place during the audience granted to the bishops by the King, and when they were subsequently under examination before the Council,

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has made this, perhaps, the most interesting portion of his volumes. The following extract from a paper, in the handwriting of the archbishop, doubtless contains an accurate statement, if not of the precise words, at least of the general tenour of the conversation between the King and the bishops, when they presented their petition against the Declaration.

“ The king at first received the petitioners and their petition in a gracious manner, and upon first opening it said, ‘ This is my lord of Canterbury’s own hand.’ To which the bishops replied, ‘ Yes, Sir, it is his own hand.’ As soon, however, as he had read it over, he folded it up and said, ‘ This is a great surprise to me : here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion.’

“ The Bishop of St. Asaph, and some of the rest, replied, That they had adventured their lives for his Majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him.

“ *The King*.—I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion : I never saw such an address.

“ *The Bishop of Bristol* (falling on his knees).—Rebellion ! Sir, I beseech your Majesty, do not say so hard a thing of us. For God’s sake, do not believe we are or can be guilty of a rebellion. It is impossible that I or any of my family should be so. Your Majesty cannot but remember that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth’s rebellion ; and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another, if there were occasion.

“ *Bishop of Chichester*.—Sir, we have quelled one rebellion, and will not raise another.

“ *Bishop of Ely*.—We rebel, Sir ! we are ready to die at your feet.

“ *Bishop of Bath and Wells*.—Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us, which you allow to all mankind.

“ *Bishop of Peterborough*.—Sir, you allow liberty of conscience to all mankind ; the reading this Declaration is against our conscience.

“ *The King*.—I will keep this paper. It is the strangest address which I ever saw ; it tends to rebellion. Do you question my dispensing power ? Some of you here have printed and preached for it, when it was for your purpose.

“ *Bishop of Peterborough*.—Sir, what we say of the dispensing power refers only to what was declared in parliament.

“ *The King*.—The dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the Church of England.

“ *Bishop of St. Asaph*.—It was declared against in the first parliament called by his late Majesty, and by that which was called by your Majesty.

“ The King, insisting upon the tendency of the petition to rebellion, said, He would have his Declaration published.

“ *Bishop of Bath and Wells*.—We are bound to fear God and

honour the king. We desire to do both: we will honour you, we must fear God.

“ *The King.*—Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it? I will remember you that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

“ *Bishop of Bath and Wells.*—God’s will be done.

“ *The King.*—What’s that?

“ *Bishop of Bath and Wells.*—God’s will be done.—And so said the Bishop of Peterborough,

“ *The King.*—If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.

“ After this singular conversation, conducted with so much heat and impetuosity of temper on the part of the king, and with such calmness and respectfulness of demeanour on the part of the bishops, they were dismissed from the royal presence.” Vol. I. p. 265.

The events which followed are well known. The King, blinded by his bigotry, and hurried on by the impetuosity of his temper, could neither perceive, nor stop to inquire into the probable consequences of further outraging the feelings of the nation, which were so strongly interested in favour of the petitioning prelates. The Archbishop, and the rest of his brethren who had subscribed the petition, were summoned before the Privy Council; and, after an examination, in which the temper and firmness of the prelates appear to have occasioned great perplexity to their accusers, they were committed to the Tower; where their imprisonment was cheered by the reflection that they had conscientiously discharged their duty; and alleviated by the universal sympathy of the nation, and the attentions of “ persons of all ranks; who, from the highest to the lowest, flocked thither in crowds, to proffer their services, to condole with them in their sufferings, to express their gratitude and admiration, and to exhort them to firm perseverance in the course they had so nobly begun.” (Vol. I. p. 287.) After an interval of seven days, the bishops having pleaded not guilty to the information before the judges in the court of King’s Bench, and been admitted to enter into their own personal recognizances, to appear on the day of trial, were liberated; and on the 29th of June, three weeks from the date of their commitment, they were brought to trial, and acquitted. From the congratulatory letters received by the archbishop, on this happy result of the persecution which he had so firmly endured, Dr.

D'Oyly has given several interesting extracts. The following may, perhaps, be thought particularly worthy of notice, as it proves the interest which the Presbyterians of Scotland took in the stand made by the English bishops against the encroachments of Popery.

“ ‘ May it please your Grace,

“ ‘ It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the bishops of England are in great veneration among the Presbyterians of Scotland; and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst men. But I hope it will be no news to your Grace, to hear that no man was more concerned in the safety of your consciences and persons than, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble servant,
GEO. MACKENZIE.’

“ Nothing indeed,” continues Dr. D'Oyly, “ could exceed the enthusiastic reverence and admiration with which the seven prelates were at this time viewed by the whole nation. They were hailed as the great champions of the liberties of their country. Their portraits were seen in every shop, and eagerly bought up; medals were struck to commemorate the great occasion of their trial and deliverance; they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and were called the seven stars of the Protestant Church. Every thing conspired to show how strongly the public feeling was now excited by the intemperate and illegal measures of James, and gave no doubtful presage of the important change which was at hand.

“ It is scarcely possible to conceive a more imprudent or impolitic measure than this of bringing the bishops to a public trial. It contributed, there can be little doubt, more than any other single event, to produce the revolution that ensued, by inflaming to an extraordinary degree the ferment in the public mind against the arbitrary proceedings of James. The personal virtues and unoffending demeanour of the prelates, the respectful terms in which their petition was drawn up, viewed in comparison with the harshness and indignity with which they were treated, contributed no less than the popularity of the cause itself, to excite most strongly the public feeling in their favour. Even had the court party succeeded in procuring the conviction of the bishops, they would undoubtedly have lost more by the increased ferment in the public mind, than they would have gained by the triumph of success. But, as the matter really ended, covering the promoters of the prosecution with disappointment, and affording the warmest exultation to the accused, it gave confidence and boldness to the opponents of the government measures, and carried the tide of popular feeling with them, in a manner which could not afterwards be resisted.”
Vol. I. p. 313.

It is recorded, much to the honour of the Dissenters, that, at this anxious moment, they joined the Church heartily and

zealously in repelling the danger which threatened the Protestant cause. They were wiser than to be deluded by the declarations of general indulgence which the King issued: they knew that the Church of England was the great bulwark of Protestantism; they were grateful for her efforts against the common enemy; and were well aware that if she fell, that toleration, which she so liberally and cheerfully conceded, would fall with her; and the proffered indulgence of the King would probably be withdrawn, as soon as the object for which it was granted was obtained. It was, perhaps, from a conscientious regard for this meritorious conduct, and an anxiety to strengthen the Protestant interest by an effort to close those breaches which had hitherto proved its bane, that the archbishop was induced, at this time, to meditate a scheme of comprehension. "In which," says Dr. D'Oyly, "his purpose seems to have been, to make such alterations in the Liturgy, and in the discipline of the Church, in points not deemed of essential and primary importance, as might prove the means, through corresponding concessions on the part of the more moderate dissenters, of admitting them within its pale." (Vol. I. p. 326.) It is probable that the archbishop had done little more than draw out the great outlines of his plan; and he seems never to have been very heartily engaged in carrying it into execution. Like every other scheme which has yet been tried upon the basis of mutual concession, it would doubtless have proved abortive; and, perhaps, we may deem it not one of the most unfortunate consequences of the evil days in which he lived, that they effectually prevented the further prosecution of any such design. For experience has fully proved, that, whatever may be the benevolent intentions of those who contrive or advocate such measures, they will always fail in effecting the good they contemplate; and, at the same time, will run great hazard of producing much evil which they did not foresee.

The Dissenters have never required of us, that we should merely make some little and unessential alterations in the liturgy and discipline of our Church, to satisfy their scruples: they have always demanded a total change of both. Their terms are known and avowed: the substitution of presbyterian parity and the directory, for episcopacy and the Common Prayer Book was then their object; and though, at this crisis, they were induced by more pressing dangers to lay that object aside for awhile, and to join the Church in its struggles against Papal domination, it shewed more zeal than knowledge of the human character to suppose, that therefore they could be induced to unite permanently with the Church, on any terms

of mutual concession, which involved a surrender of the fundamental principles of dissent. Fortunately, this scheme does not appear to have been publicly avowed. If so, by awakening at once all those jealousies which the fear of common danger had lulled, it might have served the cause of the Roman Catholics more effectually than any of James's violent and ill executed measures. In justice to the archbishop, we should add, that it appears, from printed documents referred to by Dr. afterwards Archbishop Wake, in a speech delivered by him at the trial of Sacheverell, and from his own testimony, that "no alteration was intended but in things declared to be alterable by the Church itself;" and that especial care was to be taken in making these alterations, that "the doctrine, government, and worship of the Church, should be preserved entire in all the substantial parts of them."

"Such is the only account which we possess of the scheme of comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft. That it originated on his part from the purest and best of motives, and that his sole object was to give stability to the Church, and to extend the influence of sound religion, can admit of no question. Circumstances prevented his bringing it to a conclusion; but a similar attempt was made soon after the Revolution, which proved altogether abortive. Judging from the result of that later attempt, and from the similar results which have generally followed from plans of this description, we may conjecture, with some probability, that, although all would have been effected by Archbishop Sancroft, which could be effected by a spirit of conciliation, mixed with firmness and discretion, the scheme which he projected, had he been enabled to persevere in it, would not have been attended with any successful result." Vol. I. p. 330.

The storm which the infatuated measures of the King had raised against his throne and government, now burst over his head. About the middle of September, 1688, he became first convinced of the real object of the expedition which had been so long preparing in Holland; and his firmness at once forsook him, when his real danger was apparent.

With an eager haste, which deprived him of all the grace of his concessions, by shewing that they were forced from him by the necessities of his situation, he endeavoured to recall his impolitic declarations, and to conciliate his people by milder measures of government. He now condescended to ask the advice of those, who had lately been selected by him as objects of insult and violence. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops were summoned to

Court; the suspension under which the Bishop of London had so long suffered was taken off; and every artifice was employed to induce the nation to believe, that a thorough reconciliation had taken place between himself and the spiritual guardians of the church, and that his actions were guided by their opinion. Neither Sancroft nor his brethren were deceived by these advances. They understood the King's character too well to trust him; and were aware, that his present conduct was the result of policy and fear, rather than of a sincere and settled purpose to repair the evils of his administration. They were too near the court not to know, that the king still retained his popish advisers, and was, in secret, as much under their influence as ever; and they could not be ignorant of his real motives for drawing them once more round his person, and appearing to listen to their counsels. Still, however, they thought it their duty to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity, for addressing to the King that bold but necessary admonition, in which his own best interests, as well as those of the church and nation were so deeply involved. They touched with great freedom upon the leading vices of his government; and marked out for him a line of conduct, which, had it been earlier chosen, and steadily pursued, would have deprived his enemies of all reasonable excuse for hostility, and secured him the support of all his truly loyal subjects.

But the time for useful concession was now past. Many leading men had already pledged themselves too deeply against him to return with safety; and the nation had ceased to place any confidence in his promises. The Archbishop and his brethren had peculiar difficulties to contend with; but they seem to have conducted themselves with great prudence; and while they never refused to give their Monarch that honest and wholesome counsel which the critical situation of his affairs demanded, they refused to comply with his earnest solicitations to lend their names, in any way, to the support of his cause. The King was very desirous to induce the Bishops to draw up a paper, expressive of their abhorrence of the designs of the Prince of Orange. But, though they affirmed that they had not made any application to the Prince, nor were at all concerned in the plan of calling in his assistance, they refused to sign any such declaration, for they knew that his interference was necessary; and, though not prepared to go the lengths of some who had invited him, they could not express their abhorrence of designs which they conceived to extend no further than the deliverance of the nation from the dangers of Popish Supremacy,

and arbitrary power. The account of the last conversation between the King and the Prelates on this subject is very curious, but too long to be extracted; but it shows the miserable plight to which he was reduced, and adds another document to the many in existence which detail the mortifications and indignities, to which his mistaken and pernicious counsels had reduced him.

When the Prince of Orange had actually landed, and all things seemed to forbode a civil war, the Archbishop united with other persons of rank in London, in taking the necessary steps to prevent the mischief and confusion which generally attend such an unhappy state of public affairs.

The King was not yet convinced of his really destitute situation; "he was not aware (says Dr. D'Oyly) how entirely he had forfeited the good opinion and affections of his people, and he still flattered himself, that he should meet with sufficient support to enable him to repel the invader of his kingdom." When, at last, disappointed in these expectations,

"He left London, for the purpose of making his way to France, those who had most firmly adhered to him immediately turned their views to the Prince of Orange, as to the only person whose protecting authority could be called in to secure the public peace. The day following, December 11, the spiritual and temporal Peers who were at that time in London and its vicinity, assembled at Guildhall, as hereditary counsellors and guardians of the kingdom, whose office it was, during the vacancy of the throne, to provide for the public safety, and to take measures for the prevention of general disorder. The Archbishop of Canterbury acted at this meeting in concurrence with the other Peers." Vol. I. p. 391.

This was the last public measure in which Sancroft took any part. He always disapproved of excluding James totally from the Government; and as he found that this was the object of many among the peers, he declined being present at any of their subsequent meetings. Thus far he appears to have acted consistently.

"It seems perfectly clear that he attended the meeting (at Guildhall) as a peer and counsellor of the realm, solely for the purpose of preserving the public peace during the absence of the king; not with the least design of declaring the throne vacant, or of transferring the sovereign authority, even for a time, to another. The terms of the declaration, which he subscribed, clearly pledge him to nothing further. He there concurs in inviting the prince to call without delay a free parliament which was the principal declared purpose of his coming to England, and to which he looked as a sufficient and

sure instrument for settling the government and the church on a firm footing of security. It is true that others, who on that occasion acted with him, saw, and we may safely say, more correctly saw, that no calling of a parliament could permanently avail to any effectual purpose while a person of James's bigoted and headstrong disposition remained at the helm of government; and, feeling that his flight from the kingdom at that time was a virtual abdication of the throne, were prepared to invest the Prince of Orange with sovereign authority. But, as Archbishop Sancroft attended the meeting with no such feeling and intention, and seems to have maintained to the last the view on which he acted from the first, he deserves not to be charged with inconsistency." Vol. I. p. 397.

It may perhaps be more difficult to defend his subsequent conduct. His pertinaciously absenting himself from the Convention Parliament, is not to be reconciled with any ideas which we can form of the obligations imposed upon him by his high station, at this eventful period. His opinion was certainly adverse to the proposed settlement of the Crown; and it seems to us that he was bound to have appeared in his place, and as a peer of the realm, and the spiritual head of one of its three estates, to have advocated the cause of the Sovereign to whom he conscientiously adhered. We may readily acquit the venerable Archbishop of the other charges which his enemy, Burnet, brings against him; but it is impossible to deny, that his conduct betrayed an indecision, and want of firmness, which detracts much from our admiration of his character. When the times required prompt resolves, and vigorous action, he was deliberating, and hesitating, and remaining inactive.

"During all this period," says his Biographer, "the Archbishop, though he forebore to come forward in public, or to take any steps which would pledge him to an opinion on the important question of settling the Government, was very anxiously employed in private in discussing the subject, and thereby endeavouring to come to a right decision." Vol. I. p. 413.

We may venerate the conscientious scruples of the aged prelate, and admire the disinterestedness which marked his final determination; but it will not be so easy to allow him the praise of penetration, when, after discussing the subject in all its various bearings, he concludes, "Upon the whole, having compared the expedients of a king *de facto* and a *custos regni* in point of security, I think the latter of the two is the most firm and secure settlement." Vol. I. p. 420.

It requires little political sagacity to discover, that this plan was fraught with insuperable difficulties. And, what-

ever allowances we may make for any differences of opinion which prevailed at the time, we cannot now feel any hesitation in admitting, that the measure which was finally adopted was, on the whole, the wisest, and the best. The following are Dr. D'Oyly's reflections on this portion of the Archbishop's public conduct.

“ If (says he) as appears from what is expressed in his private writings, and from his subsequent line of conduct, he thought that the nation were in danger of violating their allegiance to a legitimate sovereign, it was surely his duty, both to that sovereign and to the nation, boldly to deliver the reasons on which his opinion was founded, and to endeavour to prevent their proceeding in so erroneous a course. Possibly, he disallowed the authority by which this Convention was called; but still he must have recollected that it consisted of all the persons in the nation, who from official and hereditary rank, from property and general influence, were proper to be intrusted with the high charge of settling the government; and that, under the circumstances, no council could be formed for this purpose, better qualified or more legally convened. It cannot be said that he found the current of opinion going so strong in one direction that he thought it a vain attempt to resist it; for, as has already been stated, in the House of Peers, the balance was so nearly equal, that the smallest addition would have given ascendancy to the opposite scale.” Vol. I. p. 431.

“ The most probable supposition is one which, although it may account for his conduct, will certainly not excuse it; namely, that, under the conflicting views which presented themselves to his mind, he really could not satisfy himself as to the course which, on the whole, was best, and, therefore, abstained from taking any part at all. On the one hand, his long experience of James's bigoted temper, and of the impossibility of relying on his promises and assurances in matters where his religion was concerned, must have excited in him a latent conviction that no real security could be afforded to the liberties of the subject, and to the Protestant Church, while an opening was left for his resumption of the government. On the other hand, his strong feeling of that monarch's indefeasible right to the throne, and his fixed conscientious determination not to transfer his allegiance to another, prevented his acquiescing in the measure of his total exclusion, without which he still felt that nothing effectual would be done. As to the notion which, as we have seen, he in common with others, privately entertained, of declaring the king incapable of reigning on account of his invincible prejudices, and therefore appointing a person to govern in his name, he must soon have seen the numerous objections to such a step. For what would this have been, but to depose the king in fact, though not in name, by forcibly depriving him of the government which belonged of right to him? And what an unsettled form of government would thus have been set up. For

'the invincible prejudices' which were held to disqualify James, must have disqualified every Popish successor to the throne, or else the same struggle for the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom would probably have recurred. But, if all Popish successors to the throne had been made nominally kings, but disqualified from acting personally in the office on account of their invincible prejudices, a most strange and inconvenient mode of administering the government would have been introduced. The Archbishop's clear and discerning mind must soon have seen the numerous objections to this plan; and it was probably his knowledge of these objections, and his inability to devise a better plan, or one more to his satisfaction, which prevented him from taking any public part at all." Vol. I. p. 432.

But the new Government was not disposed to suffer any man thus to stand neuter on this trying occasion: and it soon became apparent, that none would be permitted to retain their offices, whether of trust or dignity, either in Church or State, unless they would transfer their allegiance from the abdicated King, to those whom the nation had invited to fill the vacant throne. The imposition of the new oath of allegiance, and the rigour with which it was exacted from all in authority, have been topics on which great difference of opinion has existed. Some have considered the necessity of the measure to be self-evident; while others have doubted the policy of requiring any oath at all, and particularly such an oath as was then tendered, from those who were contented quietly and peaceably to exercise their functions under the new Government. Without entering very deeply into the question, we may observe, that the practice of the constitution sufficiently sanctions the imposition of a new oath of allegiance. And, if it had been enforced only upon those, who, in case of the natural demise of the Sovereign, must have taken such an oath to his successor, in order to qualify themselves for retaining the offices they were actually holding, or to take others, no reasonable objection could have been urged to a measure, thus justified by precedent, and apparent expediency. It may perhaps be further admitted, that under the peculiar circumstances of the times, self-preservation dictated to the new Government the necessity of thus binding to its support all who were in situations of influence or power, whether in Church or State; and that it would have argued a suicidal neglect, to have suffered any to hold such situations, who refused thus to give to their governors the usual pledge of their fidelity. But, even if this be true to its whole extent, it surely became the framers of such an oath to consider most anxiously, what form of words they

could devise which would unite as many as possible, and not offend the consciences of any moderate and well-judging men. It was of the utmost importance to the new Sovereigns, if possible to rally round their thrones all whose talents, or virtues, or rank had given them influence in the country : and it became them to pause, before they adopted any form which, while it aimed at restraining the disaffected, might possibly embody against them a powerful party, doubly united by conscientious scruples about deserting their former Sovereign, and by a deep sense of injuries which they had individually sustained. Whatever were the advantages intended by the new oath of allegiance, they were powerfully counterbalanced by this, perhaps not foreseen, or, if foreseen, too lightly regarded effect of the terms in which it was expressed, and the rigour with which it was exacted. It immediately leagued against the reigning dynasty no contemptible portion of the wealth, ability, and virtue of the nation. History has shewn how formidable that party was, and how injurious were its struggles to restore the exiled family. For the greater portion of a century it rankled like a festering ulcer in the bosom of the country ; poisoning its peace, crippling its resources, and dividing its inhabitants : repeatedly did it raise the standard of civil war ; and when more than fifty years had elapsed from its first combination, it was still strong enough to conduct a competitor for the throne of England in triumph into the very centre of the kingdom. It is impossible to suppose, that the rigorous system of exclusion and forfeiture which was unhappily resolved upon and pursued, did not tend to foster enmities which might have died away if magnanimously disregarded ; and to perpetuate divisions which milder and more conciliating conduct would speedily have healed. But this is not all the evil which was produced ; nor is it that peculiar form of it which the subject before us calls upon us to consider. The immediate effect of the new impositions was, to deprive many eminent and highly honoured Ecclesiastics of their dignities and preferments ; and this measure harsh in itself, and rendered peculiarly unpopular by the blameless character of those who were its victims, while it aimed at violently severing the ties which had bound the members of the Church of England to so many of her Ministers, produced a dangerous schism. For, many most conscientious Churchmen, agreeing with the deprived Bishops and Clergy in their dislike to the new oath, and not comprehending the legality of that exertion of authority which deprived the Clergy of their Ecclesiastical dignities and offices, and prohibited the exercise of their spiritual

functions without attributing to them any professional delinquency, were induced to adhere to their communion by a sense of attachment to their persons, and sympathy for their sufferings. And, the deprived Prelates and Clergy themselves, unhappily influenced more by a sense of individual injury, than by a due regard for the peace of the Church, were rather disposed to encourage, than to check this injurious manifestation of a sentiment so gratifying to their personal feelings.

We are far from wishing to justify those, who thus continued to exercise their ministerial powers, in disregard of their paramount duty to maintain the unity of the Church. But, while we freely confess that they incurred a fearful responsibility who thus acted; we must not exempt those from blame, who urged on the fatal measure which placed them in a situation of so much danger and temptation: nor can we forget, that the Government by adopting this measure, ungratefully sacrificed the very persons, who by their firmness and talents had saved the established religion from the attacks of its Popish enemies; and by setting the example of well-regulated and temperate resistance to unlawful commands, had greatly, though not perhaps intentionally, contributed to awaken in the nation that spirit of just and jealous regard for its rights and liberties, which had vested the supreme power in the hands which now thus rigorously exerted it for their destruction. We write this upon the supposition that the oath was honestly framed, under a conviction of its necessity. If any sinister motives actuated those who devised it; if they anticipated the scruples it excited, and the refusals it met with; and calculated upon the wealth and patronage thus to be placed at their disposal, their conduct merits the severest censure which the bitterest of their antagonists could utter. The charge has often been made; perhaps it was to be expected that men soured by their losses should advance it; but for the honour of human nature we would hope, that there were few among the illustrious statesmen of the day to whom it would justly attach.

We are inclined to make liberal allowances for the conduct of the Archbishop in the difficult circumstances in which he was now placed; and we admire the steady principle which induced him to suffer the loss of all things, rather than falsify his conscience. But, in minor points, he appears to have swerved from that unity of purpose, and steadiness of resolve, which we could wish to be able to record of such a man, on so important an occasion. When he consented so far to exercise the functions of his office, as to commission

other Bishops to act in his name, to the consecration of Bishop Burnet, it seems scarcely possible to acquit him of the charge of inconsistency. And we cannot regard this transaction with a more favourable eye, because the Archbishop did not consent to grant the commission, until he discovered that he should incur the penalties of a *premunire* if he persisted in disobeying the Royal mandate; or because the instrument was drawn up in very cautious terms, so as not to imply the least direct acknowledgment of the Prince filling the throne. These appear to us to be mere subterfuges, wholly unworthy of the dignified and patient resignation with which he afterwards submitted to his change of fortune. In the following passage, the Biographer, though he candidly admits the blemish in the aged Prelate's conduct, makes perhaps the best apology for him which the nature of the case will allow.

“ A charge of inconsistency * against Archbishop Sancroft has been grounded on this act of his consenting to grant a commission to enable others to do what he deemed it unlawful to do himself. It may readily be allowed that, strictly speaking, he cannot be absolved from the charge, since one who acts by means of others, must be considered as acting for himself; and it is in vain to say that the commission did not in direct terms acknowledge the prince on the throne, when the very purpose for which it was granted, that of giving effect to his mandate, unavoidably implied a direct acknowledgment of his authority. At the same time, it is always found that a wide difference is made as to the feelings of a person concerned, whether he personally and directly performs an act, or whether, remaining aloof himself, he merely acquiesces in its being performed by others. In the present instance too, although the Archbishop did not choose himself to acknowledge the reigning authority, he may have felt unwilling directly to oppose himself to it; which would have been done by his refusing to consecrate. It has been stated †, that the nonjuring party afterwards complained of him for granting this commission; and that, in consequence, after the transaction was over, he contrived to have it withdrawn from the Registrar's office.” Vol. I. p. 439.

On the subject of the oaths themselves, Dr. D'Oyly writes thus; and the feelings which he expresses are those which will arise in every candid mind, whatever may be its opinion as to the legality of their imposition, when it carefully weighs the peculiarities of the situation in which the non-jurors found themselves involved.

* “ See Burnet's Own Times, and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 330.”

† “ See Birch's Life of Tillotson. p. 330.”

“ The case of all the prelates, and others, who scrupled respecting the new oath, excited much commiseration with the greater part of the nation. It was peculiarly matter of deep regret with all, that one so respected for his public and private virtues as Archbishop Sancroft, and so endeared to the whole nation by his firmness and by his sufferings in a cause which was peculiarly their own, should now be in danger of being deprived of that station which he had filled with so much credit and advantage to the Church and to himself. But, besides the general character of these prelates, the very scruples which they now felt, and under which they acted, presented a strong additional claim for respect with all considerate persons, even amongst those who were most opposed to the line of conduct which they took. So solemn and so sacred is the obligation of an oath in the judgment of every reflecting mind, that errors committed on the side of a scrupulous adherence to it, must ever be honoured and respected by the wise and good. In many cases where human conduct is to be judged of, there is room for difference of opinion respecting the motives which are at work; and in the generality of cases where motives of the highest nature are in action, they are mixed with others of a less elevated character. But such cannot have been the case in the instance of Archbishop Sancroft, and those who took the part which he did: here all personal and worldly considerations, even their views and feelings on the great questions of the Church and State which were concerned, tended to sway them in a direction opposite to that which they took; and the motive, which overpowered all these considerations usually so strong, could only be of the highest and the holiest character,—a sincere, unmixed, conscientious regard to the oath they had taken, a feeling of the sinfulness of violating it, and a firm resolution to adhere to it, in spite of the worst worldly consequences that might befall them.” Vol. I. p. 443.

Among the various expedients which were suggested for saving the Prelates from the penalty of deprivation, that which would have empowered the king to tender the oath at his pleasure, and have attached the penalty only to a refusal to take it when thus tendered, seems to us to be the least objectionable.

“ It was thought,” says Dr. D'Oyly, “ that this power allowed to the King would prove an effectual restraint upon the clergy, and prevent their engaging in any measures hostile to the Government; whereas, by actual deprivation, or the certain prospect of incurring it, they might be driven to maintain an intercourse with the partizans of the abdicated Monarch, which would cause difficulty to the government.” Vol. I. p. 446.

Experience has shewn that these were wise suggestions; and perhaps it would have been better for the country, as

undoubtedly it would have been more creditable to the new administration, had they been adopted. But it must be confessed, that it is by no means certain, whether, even thus, the services of the non-juring Prelates and Clergy could have been preserved to the Church. Since the conduct of Sancroft, and his angry reproof of his chaplain Wharton, when he prayed for the new King and Queen in Lambeth Chapel, shew the extent to which he was prepared to carry his non-compliance. Many, however, it is to be presumed, would have been less unbending; and the seceding party would have been deprived of that unity which is produced by external pressure. The author observes, that "under all the circumstances of the case, it seems impossible that the government of that day could have adopted with discretion any other course." (Vol. I. p. 448.) But here we cannot agree with him. It has been generally supposed, and the supposition, unless our memory fails us, is supported by some observations of Dr. George Hickes, in his correspondence on the subject; that the non-jurors might have been induced to acknowledge the authority of King William, and swear obedience to him as King *de facto*. If this was the case, perhaps the more prudent mode of acting with men of their characters, would have been to admit them on their own terms, and leave them in quiet possession of their honours and emoluments. Dr. D'Oyly seems to think, that "an indulgence to all who refused the oaths would have introduced much confusion, and would have given strength and influence to the non-juring party, to a degree which might have proved highly inconvenient." We are rather inclined to imagine, that the result would have been directly the reverse. Perhaps the non-jurors never would have existed as a party, but for these deprivations: at all events, it is evident to us, that their strength and influence were greatly increased, if not wholly derived from a measure which excluded so many of the Bishops and Clergy from their functions.

The conduct of Archbishop Sancroft, from the date of his deprivation to his final ejection from Lambeth, is one of the least pleasing pages in his history. To see such a man lingering in the station which he had chosen, upon conscientious principles, to forfeit; to behold him clinging to the temporalities of an office, when he felt himself unable to discharge its important spiritual duties; and, after magnanimously chusing to suffer for conscience sake, weakly refusing to permit his successor to occupy the mansion of the see, until he was removed by a legal process, is an unseemly sight.

The only justification which candour can suggest for such

conduct is this;—that he felt himself bound to shew, that he was forcibly expelled from his Episcopal authority. But, surely this would have been sufficiently evident from all the notorious circumstances of his case, even if he had quietly retired, without adopting measures calculated to harass his successor; at the same time that they reflected discredit upon himself, and lessened that general admiration of his disinterested integrity which would otherwise have followed him in his retirement. But, however we may lament this as a blemish in his character, his subsequent conduct in retirement, (if we except the worst error of his life, his encouragement of the non-juring schism,) amply redeemed it. When he had once quitted Lambeth, and all its dignities and duties, we do not find him indulging in weak and fond lamentations over his fallen fortunes, or in the expression of angry feelings towards the powers which had removed him from his high station; but submitting with cheerful resignation to the lot which he had chosen; in firm conviction that he had decided rightly, referring all to Providence; and looking forward with humble, yet confident hope, to another world, for the reward of his integrity. There is a vein of good-humoured pleasantry running through the letters which have been preserved from his correspondence at this trying period, which proves that his mind was at ease; and that he could contemplate his change of condition without querulousness, and descend to all its comparatively petty and trifling employments, without any sense of weariness or disgust. It appears, that many jealousies were at this time entertained of the non-jurors; as indeed was natural. For those who had refused to swear allegiance to the new government, could not be supposed adverse to the restoration of the old; and, as not only their consciences, but their interests were deeply involved in the return of James, it is not surprising that some should have been implicated in endeavours to effect it; and that the whole party should be accused of the offence.

Archbishop Sancroft, as standing at their head, was of course principally obnoxious to these suspicions; and it seems to have been one of his severest trials to find, that all his caution and privacy of life could not exempt him from such charges. To these he alludes in several of his letters; and particularly in the following passage, which we extract, because it shews clearly, that his determination not to swear fealty to the present government did not connect itself, in his mind, with any idea that it was lawful to labour for its overthrow.

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“ I think,” says he to a friend in December, 1691, “ if I should immure myself between four walls, I should notwithstanding be thought to send and receive letters and intelligence; I know not whether, by the pigeons of Aleppo, or Leyden, or perhaps by the old romantic post, Sir Pacolet on his wooden horse. It is somewhat strange, that I should be accused to one prince for having invited his Highness of Nassau to invade my native country, and to another for inviting his cousin the King of France thither; whereas I should as soon have consulted the witch of Endor (were she to be found) to bring about any thing I desired, as have made either of those addresses: for rebellion is witchcraft too; and if I should do any thing that is evil, though with pretence that good might come of it, my damnation would be just.” Vol. II. p. 19.

Thus far all was well; and as Sancroft carried his scruples so far as to object to praying for King William and Queen Mary, it was not to be severely imputed to him, that he constantly officiated himself at home, as he says, “ *secundum usum Lambethanum*,” and “ gave the holy sacrament to those only of his own persuasion and practice.” But, when he went so far, as not to suffer the Vicar of Fresingfield, or any other, nor even his own chaplains, when they were with him, so much as to say grace when he ate; this was a symptom of that unhappy bias by which his mind now began to be powerfully affected. That the schism, of which he was the leader, has not been permanent; that while it existed it did not materially injure the Church; and that, at last, it quietly died away, may, we think, be imputed, under Providence, to the discreet forbearance of the Church herself. It is, indeed, a singular fact in the history of ecclesiastical divisions, that, for a century, a body of Protestant Episcopalians should have remained in this country separate from, and in hostility to the established Church; and that they should have carefully preserved their Episcopal succession, their peculiar form of worship and discipline, and yet have attracted so little attention that many were ignorant of their existence. It is indeed known, that many very able and learned English divines were non-jurors; and the names of Hickes and Leslie, to mention no others, will long shed a lustre round their cause. But few are aware of the steps which were taken to provide for a regular succession of non-juring Prelates and ministers; few are informed, how long that succession was kept up, how lofty were its pretensions; and how great the evil which, at one time, it threatened.

On this subject, the statements of Dr. D'Oyly are singularly meagre and unsatisfactory. He has said enough to awaken curiosity, but has brought forward no information to

allay it. And yet there are, we are convinced, many sources of information from which he might have drawn; and it seems to us, that a concise, but clear account of the non-jurors, of their principles, their forms of worship, their ministry and discipline, and the arguments by which their most learned advocates defended their separation, might have been very properly introduced into a life of Sancroft, under whose especial authority the seeds of this unfortunate schism were sown and cultivated.

“Of the particular reasons,” says the Biographer, “which induced Archbishop Sancroft to concur in this measure, further than the strong general feeling which he ever entertained and expressed, of the illegality of his deprivation, it is impossible to speak, because they are not recorded. The transaction took place, it should be remembered, at a time when his spirits were broken by ill health, and the events which had befallen him; and when the influence of others was likely to impel him to the adoption of measures which his own sounder judgment would not have approved. That judgment would, no doubt, have otherwise taught him to reflect, that it is no light matter to cause, in any case, a schism in the church of Christ; that the grounds of such a proceeding ought to be most seriously weighed, before they are acted upon; that, as the evils which result from it are certain, there ought to be a clear conviction that they cannot conscientiously be avoided, and that they are overbalanced by contrary good. It would have suggested to him that, in the present instance, there could be no sufficient reason, for establishing a permanent schism, as there was no difference of doctrine or discipline * concerned, no alleged doubt as to the validity of the ministerial functions in the church in possession, but merely a separation, on grounds purely civil and temporary in their nature, which only affected those who had taken the oaths to the former sovereign, not others who were to succeed them. It was one thing to refuse to hold an office, civil or ecclesiastical, under a sovereign to whom, while another sovereign lived, they felt they could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance; but it was quite a distinct consideration, whether they should deliberately pronounce the church established under that sovereign, to be, on this ground alone, not a true church; an opinion which alone could

* “Soon after the Revolution, alterations in the Liturgy were proposed, with the view of satisfying the scruples of dissenters; for this purpose, a commission of divines was appointed under the great seal, to consider the matter and prepare a scheme to be laid before the Convocation. The Convocation, however, were hostile to the measure, and nothing was done. On this Bishop Burnet remarks, (vol. ii. p. 30—34.) that herein was a happy direction of Providence: for the Jacobite clergy were at this time contemplating a schism in the church, and wished to be furnished with some specious pretences for that purpose; if therefore alterations had been made in the Rubric and other parts of the Common Prayer, they would have contended that they still stuck to the ancient church in opposition to those who were setting up new models.”

justify them in setting up a rival communion against it. However, it does not become us to judge dogmatically, or to censure with too much harshness, in a matter where some of the wisest and the best of men were divided in their opinions; where we have the fullest reason to be assured that all acted from the sincere dictates of conscience; and where the name of Sancroft is found to sanction and to dignify a cause, which our own individual judgments may little dispose us to approve." Vol. II. p. 36.

We do not wish to lessen the force of the apology thus offered for the venerable Archbishop. It may be that he was led by others, less wise and more intemperate than himself: it may be that ill-health and misfortune had impaired his faculties, and broken his spirits; and that his sounder judgment would have disapproved the measure which he thus sanctioned.

Be this as it may; let the measure itself be properly characterized, and we would speak with all possible tenderness and charity of the man. Our own limits will not suffer us to enter further into this most interesting event in the history of our Church. But we cannot forbear remarking, that the peculiar curse of schism seems to have rested upon the non-jurors. They, who had divided from the Church without necessity, were soon divided among themselves on questions equally non-essential. The very separation itself "was by no means approved at the time, by the whole of those who refused the new oaths, and it gave rise to considerable discussion amongst them, conducted with some heat and vehemence." And after the death of Dr. Hickes, the warmest advocate, and the ablest defender of the measure, division amongst themselves could no longer be prevented.

The account which Dr. D'Oyly has given of the last sickness and death of Sancroft is very interesting; not only for the pleasing picture which it exhibits of the piety and many virtues which adorned his mind, but also for the curious instances which it records of those unhappy prejudices that he had suffered to possess it, which induced him to refuse to make a will, because it must be proved in the courts of his successor; and to provide with much anxiety that his funeral service should not be performed by any but a non-juring minister.

Such are the imperfections which alloy the fairest character, and shew, that error is, more or less, inseparable from us all. That he died in charity with all, we have, however, the most satisfactory testimony.

"We saw at this period, proceeds the narrator of his last illness, his ardent charity both extended and limited, according to the

Apostle's direction, 'to all, but especially to them of the household of faith.' His suffering brethren were the principal objects of his charity and prayers, but not exclusive of others; for, upon the frequent returns of exercises of his devotions he suited his prayers to the general needs of men, and recommended all his brethren to the Divine mercy. In short, if he had any enemies, they were included in his prayers; in particular, a short time before his last hour, after solemnly praying for a blessing on his family, relations, and friends, he earnestly implored forgiveness for his enemies, as he desired it of God for himself.

"That his strong feeling of the rectitude of the course which he had taken, did not narrow or enfeeble his feelings of kindness towards those who differed from him, or prevent his most fully allowing that they also acted from pure conscientious motives, is clear from all his conduct during the close of his life. We have seen in how affectionate a manner he took leave of one of his former chaplains, Mr. Wharton. His other chaplain, Mr. Needham, came to him, as he lay upon his death-bed. He gave him also his blessing in the most affectionate manner, and, after some other conversation, said thus to him; 'You and I have gone different ways in these late affairs, but I trust heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both. What I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart.' Upon this, Mr. Needham modestly attempted to explain the motives which had influenced his conduct; to which the Archbishop replied, 'I always took you for an honest man. What I said concerning myself, was only to let you know that what I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart; indeed in the great integrity of my heart.'" Vol. II. p. 61.

To Him who alone is the judge of that integrity, we may safely leave this eminent person. And, though we cannot perhaps rank him with the greatest or the most learned of those who have filled the important station which he held in the Church of England; or conceal from ourselves the indecision and weakness which marked his conduct on some occasions, or the unfortunate excess to which he suffered his prejudices to lead him in others; still we cannot but admire his inflexible maintenance of the principles which his conscience led him to espouse,

"his firm unbending integrity, his lofty and immoveable uprightness of mind, which made him on all occasions, steadily adhere to that cause which he believed to be right, and postpone to this proud feeling every consideration of worldly interest." Vol. II. p. 78.

His character has been somewhat over-rated by the writers of his own persuasion, who regarded him as the great martyr to their cause: and it has been unfairly depreciated by the

partial historian of "his own times," who mixed up his private feelings with his narrative, and seemed to have taken a petty delight in decrying him, whose disinclination to consecrate him a bishop, he never could forgive; and whom he justly regarded as the decided enemy of the principles which he advocated, and the measures he pursued. On the whole, we agree with his biographer, that

"Archbishop Sancroft was greatly eminent in his generation for the manner in which he fulfilled all the public and private duties of life. The various excellencies and virtues which adorned his character, are sufficient to claim for him the tribute of admiration from posterity in general; but by the protestant members of the Church of England, his name must ever be especially cherished with grateful recollection, for the noble stand which he made, at the hour of trial, in defence of the religious and civil liberties of the country; a stand to which the preservation of that goodly fabric in church and state, which they inherit from their forefathers, is principally to be attributed." Vol. II. p. 95.

ART. III. *Sketches of Manners, Scenery, &c. in the French Provinces, Switzerland, and Italy. With an Essay on French Literature. By the late John Scott, Esq.* 8vo. pp. 526. 14s. Longman. 1821.

WE think that we have observed, in many instances, that posthumous writings, considered simply as such, commonly attract a certain degree of attention, beyond that which they might perhaps have obtained, had they been published during the life-time of the author. The reason perhaps is that unless a writer's remains possess in themselves a considerable share of positive merit, or are rendered valuable from the peculiar celebrity of the name to which they belong, it seems unlikely that his friends or relatives would collect his scattered papers, and still more, that a bookseller could be found willing to take upon himself the risk of publishing them. In the instance of the work before us, however, it is probable, that other considerations may have entered into the views of those to whom the public are indebted for its appearance. It may have been supposed, that added to the interest which the recollection of Mr. Scott's former publications might have inspired, circumstances which had supervened, would create in the minds of many persons a degree of curiosity, suffi-

cient to obtain for the work so much of the public attention, as would at least secure its sale.

So far as these last motives may have had any operation in the publication of these sketches, the weight of them has probably already disappeared. That sort of celebrity which consists in merely having been the subject of paragraphs in the daily papers, commonly lasts but a very few weeks; and the same individuals who might have wished to see this work, while the author of it was the subject of common conversation, will probably have already ceased to feel any desire upon the subject, now that the occasion which produced that desire, has ceased. For this reason, though so few months have passed since those unhappy occurrences which brought Mr. Scott to an untimely end, yet we believe that we may safely take for granted, that our readers no longer feel any other interest on the subject of this posthumous volume, than that to which it may be entitled from its intrinsic merits.

It is entitled "*Sketches of France, Switzerland and Italy.*" In point of fact, however, it is only that part of the volume which contains the sketch of our author's travels from St. Maloes to Tours (a distance of less than three hundred miles) that is worth reading, or that is even readable. The remainder of the volume must have formed the substance of notes and memoranda, which the writer himself would probably have understood as hints, directing to subjects in his own mind, but which to the reader appear very often to be scarcely more intelligible than if they were written in hieroglyphics. We know not who the editor of them may be, but we wish that he had subjoined notes, in order to explain the sense of such rhapsodical composition, as the following, which we select really at random, and from a place at which the book happened to open in our hands.

"The Letters by English Travellers in Scotland, in the year 1775, I believe, show a national state far behind in civilization, almost as much so as the present state of the country about Naples; yet how different the state of the national morality! What is the cause of this? How far are the Catholic and Protestant religions concerned in the difference? The behaviour of government also? What a disgrace to a government to have such subjects! and what is it itself? It is impossible not to see here: and seeing, it would in me be rascally not to state,—that the French were introducing a gradual change for the better in the national character; which progress seems discontinued under the restored system. Courage was beginning—an indispensable virtue amongst men, being connected with the point of honour, as chastity is among women.

This would have put down the use of the knife, which exists amongst no brave people. The Maltese attach much importance to the English sailors from their never using the knife. In France, the power and influence of Buonaparte came to do harm in every respect. It put down the spirit of liberty ; and by its flashy melodramatic effect, chimed in with, and heightened, all the worst part of the French character ; increased its tendency to the false, heightened its vanity, rendered it still more artificial, unsubstantial, shallow, and preposterous than it was. The Italian condition was not in so good a state, so that Buonaparte's influence could not spoil any of its tendencies ; and the Italian character, having more depth and innate force than the French, was not liable to be so spoiled. The people were precisely at a point requiring some regenerating conqueror to come amongst them, to lay with an iron hand the foundations of a new state." P. 342.

What degree of regard the public may feel for the memory of Mr. Scott, we know not ; but if they feel no more for it than those appear to have felt, who sent to the press such strange stuff, as that which we have just extracted, we certainly do not think that there was any pressing occasion for the present publication. Mr. Scott was perhaps not sufficiently known to the world, to make it of any considerable importance whether service or disservice may have been done to his literary reputation, now that he himself is placed beyond the reach of human censure or applause ; but still his relatives and friends ought surely not to have allowed his papers to be ransacked, *merely* for the sake of a pecuniary speculation. It is plain, from those portions of the book, which were probably left in a state, in some degree prepared for publication, that the author was a man of considerable talents and some acquirements ; and though he expresses himself much too dogmatically, and appears not sufficiently able to conceal the good opinion which he entertained, right or wrong, of himself, nevertheless, there is often much good sense and honourable feeling in many of his remarks, and he frequently displays both eloquence and imagination in his descriptions. Upon the whole, we think there is reason to regret, that he was not spared to work up his materials into the shape in which he intended them to appear ; for certainly the specimen which he has left of his qualifications, as a tourist, in the first 150 pages of the volume, are very favourable, and such as will be read with pleasure ; as to the remainder, it ought not to have been published, and we should be accessory to the injustice of the act, were we to make it the subject of any criticism. We shall therefore confine our remarks to that part of the work, which the author would have been

willing to acknowledge. With respect to an Essay at the end of the volume, upon "French Literature," we need say nothing. Among several very just and some new reflections, there are many which appear to be fanciful or unfounded; and the whole is written, as our author is apt to write, in very exceptionable taste; but as the Essay has already appeared in some periodical publication under the form of a review, we do not consider it as coming legitimately under our cognizance.

Mr. Scott entered France by the way of Jersey; and the manner in which he speaks of this island, conveys a very agreeable impression of its scenery and of the character of the people. Cultivation is carried almost to an excess, and that for the same reason that houses and buildings are crowded to excess in all walled towns. In Jersey every spot of ground is so valuable, that the island presents the appearance of a garden. Living, of course, is cheap, both from its vicinity to France and from its exemption from taxation. The inhabitants are fully sensible of the advantages which they enjoy under our government; and though few of the common people can speak English, yet nothing offends them more, than to call them *French*, to which people they bear a more than English aversion. The following description of the face of the island is very pleasingly written.

"The whole island of Jersey is almost within the reach of a pedestrian excursion; wherever one goes one meets with all the usual features of nature and society, modelled on so reduced a scale, and at the same time so highly finished, as to excite, at every step, an admiring surprise. The capital is a small market-town,—the towns are villages,—the villages scarcely reach to the size of hamlets. You are sunk in the silent recesses of a small valley, shut in by woods, and overlooked by romantic elevations, having every characteristic of Alpine mountains but size; the want of which, however, is not felt to reduce the general effect, because every thing is in proportion. In two minutes you are out of this seemingly remote concealment, looking down upon a town, and over an expanse of luxuriant country, terminated by a rocky shore and the wide ocean. The fortifications, some of which are perfect, and others now in progress, form, from various points of view, a noble addition to the scenery. They crown Saint Hilliers with an imposing diadem, and while the rural beauties of the island speak peace and delight, they give an assurance of strength and courage, and seem to hold a high tone of defiance, directed full against adjoining France." P. 2.

Those who have been at St. Maloes, will remember the magnificence of the approach to it from the sea, which,

however, but ill prepares the mind for the meanness and closeness and inconvenience of the prospect which meets the eye of the passenger when he lands. Among these, the circumstance which first informs the Englishman of the different system of habits and manners, upon which he is about to enter, is the swarm of hungry bare-legged boys, who infest his luggage the moment he lands, fighting and scrambling, almost for the coat upon his back. Our author gives so lively an account of this scene, which we well remember, that we were happy to escape from it even in description, and to hasten after our author in his quiet sail up the beautiful river Rance from St. Maloes to Dinan. The country in this part of France is extremely romantic; the banks of the rivers, in particular, are similar to what we see in the North of England, rugged and precipitous, and in fine keeping with the castellated ruins, which are probably more numerous in Britany than in any of the other provinces.

The description of the town of Dinan is not without merit, but it is spoiled, like too much of our author's writing is, by an attempt at producing a sentimental effect. The following passage is in the true Hampstead and Highgate style.

“ Never have I felt the fascinating power of nature so strongly, as on the evening when I first visited these beautiful wells. The sun was setting in splendour behind the lofty rocks, which on all sides enclosed the valley. The path that led down to it was steep in the extreme; the goats were feeding on the shelves of the rocks; children were hunting them from steep to steep with their shrill cries; a single priest, in his sacerdotal robe, was walking slowly, with an umbrella under his arm, along a winding path, through some low wood; a feeble and bent peasant woman was ascending the hill painfully, with a white sack on her back; a dog barked at the bottom from the door of a cottage, and a black lamb suddenly started off down the rock, playing a thousand fantastic freaks as it ran, pursued by two beautiful children.” P. 28.

Here are children shouting, and a priest walking with an umbrella, and a dog barking, a woman with a sack of flour on her back, and two children running after a lamb: all very natural and pleasant: but why these objects should have made “ the fascinating power of nature” stronger than our author had ever felt it before, is not evident. If a person chooses to feel sentimentally, we are aware that he may do it whenever he pleases, and just as readily in an alley in London, as in the mountains of Wales. Children cry, and women walk painfully with loads upon their shoulders, and dogs bark, and clergymen are seen with umbrellas,

without producing any extraordinary effects upon the spectator, in the common way; and except that it was a fine evening, our author mentions no reason why they should have affected him so powerfully at Dinan. Figures in a landscape often give life and character to a picture, and if they are beautifully painted, may form a good picture of themselves; in poetry also, they may constitute the principal feature in a description; but surely when we take up a book of travels, we expect to be entertained with a description of objects that are curious or interesting in themselves, and not of such as have no other merit except what they derive from the momentary sensibility which they may happen, in some chance mood, to have excited in the mind of the writer.

A similar display of false taste, though exerted in another way, occurs often in the manner in which our author affects to take occasion from slight incidents to introduce deep and profound reflections. For example, he has occasion to mention an instance of the rudeness of two French soldiers, who entered without ceremony or notice into the bed-room of one of the young ladies with whom he was travelling, while she was curling her hair in the morning, in order to request her passport. This was done with an air of politeness, which in France only, would be found accompanying such grossness of conduct. As Mr. Scott justly remarks, "In England no man in their condition of life would be found so elegantly mannered; and in England, no man, even of lower condition, would have behaved so rudely." Now this remark was natural and true, and included pretty nearly all that could be said upon the occasion. But no! our author commences a new paragraph upon the subject; *at this remarkable epoch of the world's affairs*, he tells us, it is of consequence to see to the bottom of this distinction of natural character, which he had just instanced, as *involving one of the most important questions that can be agitated, namely, the practical worth of public liberty and individual independence*. France, he tells us, boasts loudly of her *elegance and amiability*. England, on the contrary, has been kept to herself for the last twenty years. "What then," he asks, "is the comparative state of the two nations," as to elegance and amiability? The question of the conduct of the two gens-d'armes is indeed of importance; for it, we presume, is to be brought in evidence, and "according to the result must be adjudged the palm of national glory."

The above is only one instance, among many, of the false tone, both as to feeling and reflection, which are too often to be met with in the volume before us. Mr. Scott's pride

seems to be,—and we notice it the rather because it is the pride of a whole school of writers in the present day—to feel as strongly and to think as deeply upon small occasions as other people do upon great ones. The greatness and importance of their reflections are commonly to be found, on such occasions, only in the grandeur of the language in which they are announced; in themselves they are usually, as may be supposed, no great matter; but that is no fault of the numerous class of writers of whom we are now speaking, and who seem to have gotten our periodical literature almost into their own hands. They would talk deep sense if they could; the peculiarity of their taste is, that it is always *à propos* of the greatest trifles that they put forth their greatest efforts; and this would give an appearance of exaggeration and of falseness to what they say, even if it were, in other respects, neither common place nor absurd. For Mr. Scott himself, we entertain considerable respect. Those writings of his which we have seen, display talent; and in spite of many faults, arising apparently from an imperfect education, and from having mixed too much in an inferior kind of literary society, we have frequently remarked that his principles are substantially sound, and his heart, to use a vulgar phrase, in its right place. And though his powers of mind were certainly less than he himself or his friends appear to have supposed, yet he is, as we before said, an amusing traveller, and that part of his book which seems to have been left in a fit state for the press, contains many acute remarks and lively accounts both of the objects which he saw and of the people with whom he conversed.

From Dinan to Rennes is thirty-five miles; and the roads, our author found to be worse than any he had ever seen even in the Highlands of Scotland. The country was thinly inhabited, and in all that distance, not one gentleman's seat was met with. The cottages were wretched in the extreme; such as we imagine are no where to be found in any part of Great Britain; and our author appears not to have seen any thing at Rennes that particularly engaged his attention, although he gives an entertaining journal of occurrences at the inns, and of other matters of that sort. But we hasten over this part of the journey to introduce our readers to the highly interesting account which he has left us, of a visit to the Castle of Vitré. The town itself is a small, very old, silent, and half-deserted place, which drew its existence, probably, and sucked its life from the magnificent chateau to which it is appended; now that this is deserted and in ruins, the town itself, as might be expected, seems to be only just not a

total solitude. The Chateau of Vitré is celebrated, if we remember rightly in Mad. de Sevigné's Letters ; but we forget to whom it belonged, and were surprized to find that our memory is not helped by Mr. Scott: that a person should visit such ruins, and be so deeply interested in the misfortunes of the family, and never ask or communicate their name, is odd enough ; but allowing for this oversight, Mr. Scott's description of the place, and of what he saw, and felt, and meditated, is full of merit, and does infinite credit both to his feelings and his talents.

“ We went to see the fine castle of Vitré. It is in ruins, the rooms having been destroyed in the Revolution ; but the walls and towers are magnificent. Its ditch is large and deep ; it stands upon an elevation of rock, and looks down upon the lower town from a great height ; while the view it affords of the country is highly beautiful. The elegant *salon* had been entered by a flight of stairs. There was a large and fine suit of rooms below the level of the castle-yard, with windows looking out upon the lower town ; the stairs to the *salon* were destroyed ; its gilded walls were blackened with fire ; the beams that supported its floor had tumbled into the rooms below, or hung over them in a broken and threatening state. Even the towers of stupendous strength had suffered. The walls they could not hurt ; but the stone floors were broken in, and fire had been used here ; so that the undertaking of ascending to the top of these grand buildings, was attended with considerable danger. The yard of the castle bears the most imposing look of antiquity. It has the profound draw-well, the arched gateway, the watch-tower—all the finest old style. The Prussians had bivouacked here, and occupied the few lower apartments that are still defended from the weather. An old woman resides in a small porter's lodge, close to the draw-bridge, who shews the ruin to strangers. She was moved to tears when she described the place in its pride and splendour, which she had seen. She was on the establishment of the castle in her youth, and recounted the horrors of its fall with strong emotion. The destroyed rooms were converted into a revolutionary prison ; and the kitchen was destined for those condemned to die. Some of the unfortunate family to whom it belonged, were here held in captivity ; and from hence were taken to the place of death. While our guide was describing these things, she spoke in a solemn whisper, as if surrounded by the state of past days, and overheard by the spirits of her murdered masters. In one strong room, near the outer gate, the police confined a mischievous madman ; and his howling execrations, directed against the visitors, whom he heard near him, mingled themselves with the old woman's sad story, delivered in a low tone of voice, thus producing an indescribably awful effect. It brought the contrast between the present and the past with almost over-

powering force on our feelings. We left the place, very much struck with what we had seen and listened to. Among other things, we were told, that some part of the family, now re-established at Paris, was suspected to have lately visited the ruins of the superb possession, *incogniti*. They walked through the decayed *salons*, and stumbled over the fragments of their glory, with looks of melancholy grief; and, on going away, a young man gave a handsome donation to the aged portress. She has since had good reason to believe, that this was the lord whose infancy she had nursed. She wept bitterly as she told us this; and declared she would have died consoled for all the past if she had but known him, and could have kissed his hand. It is in feelings and sentiments such as these, that our nature shews its richness. In striving to rise above them, as weaknesses, what do we but fall back into poverty and blunders? Man is made for his sphere, and cannot ascend above it, but to be precipitated to its very bottom. The French have stripped their country of its finest ornaments, and most grateful invitations to reflection. Its cathedrals are dismantled, its castles demolished, its *châteaux* outraged: society has been reversed without being improved; and, if errors have been exploded, crimes have unfortunately taken their place. The French Revolution will be to all ages a vast blot, and a hurtful influence in human history. It began in wanton violence, which was succeeded by insanity, and ended in chains. Its remembrance will impede the progress of improvement, by alarming some and irritating others, against trying experiments that may have such calamitous and wicked results. Yet the people against whom this serious charge lies, have caught neither modesty nor caution from their disgraces: they are still as light, as confident, as insolent, and as rash as ever. To reduce them to their proper low level, is really a moral duty; for this alone can reduce the hurtfulness of their example, and, in some measure, obliterate the stain they have affixed on the character of mankind." P. 77.

At Laval, in consequence of a dispute with a cheating postillion, our author was introduced to the magistrate of the place. This public functionary, who held a situation which in England would be that of one of our police magistrates, had holes in his elbows, coarse dirty worsted stockings on his legs, a steel watch-chain hung from his fob, and a silk handkerchief was tied round his neck. His manners and honesty were in harmony with his exterior: we need not add that he was a zealous Buonapartist. In this part of France, the women, even those of a better sort, ride on horseback with their legs astride; and this our author saw at Angers, which before the revolution was the seat of the celebrated Mons. Pignerole and the Salamanca of riding-schools! The above-mentioned professor has left a succes-

sor, whose love of the art is worthy of the post which he fills; and who ascribes all the horrors of the French Revolution to the forgetfulness into which the lessons of Mons. Pignerole have fallen in France: particularly to the diabolical practice of ladies riding *en cavalier*; until ladies were made to ride as they used to do before the Revolution, he saw no prospect of amelioration for France.

At Chateau Gontier, our author was surprized to find himself suddenly in a town which came upon them like a dream of England—so clean, and neat and wealthy was its appearance, and the people so civil, honest, and well looking. Not a beggar was to be found in the town; the inn was as comfortable as it was cheap and quiet; the church was kept in order, the aisles were matted, and every attention was paid to its architectural repairs. A sexton, well dressed and well behaved, was in attendance; the vestry room was provided with all the conveniencies of a London chapel, and on Sunday so crowded was the church, that the congregation was unable to find room within the doors. Our author and his party naturally expressed their surprize at a state of things so different from what they had been accustomed to meet with in other parts of France; and the old sexton told them, with a look of pride, that his fellow townsmen were as good as they were clean; that they were royalists, and had always preserved their loyalty. On this subject, our author observes, as the result of his reflections upon what he had seen in France, that he had invariably found all the honest and respectable part of the community attached to the King. The Buonapartists were almost invariably men of desperate fortunes and vicious minds; the fiercest enemy of the King, whom our author met with in one of the towns through which he passed, was a woman who beat her husband, cheated his creditors, and starved his children. While on the other hand, all those whom he saw, whose manners and character were respectable, were friendly to the present state of things. In Paris, the state of public feeling, (owing to the effects of party politics, of which that place is in France the great manufactory,) exhibits doubtless a greater diversity of character; but in the provinces there was hardly a difference of opinion.

“It is,” says our author, “in the feelings of the lower and middle classes of the people that the great body of public sentiment must be sought; and these are the instruments, without which the leaders of parties can effect nothing. In this view, it may be interesting to state, that, at all the inns where we had recently

stopped, and from the mouths of all the postillions we had lately employed, we heard only expressions of the warmest loyalty and self-congratulations, that the King had been again restored to his capital, and that the Usurper had been removed. The last fact they in part disbelieved, because, as one of them said, it is too good news to be true." P. 106.

From Angers to Tours, our party proceeded by water up the Loire. The method of travelling by boats on this river appears not to be very tempting. The current is too rapid to row against; and the boats are therefore, unless when the wind is fair, either towed by ropes, or pushed by poles. It was in a sort of half-boat and half-raft, sufficiently large to admit of a shed, under which were placed seats and their luggage, that our author and his party set off. They had three boatmen with them, all brothers; and were to sleep by night at the inns on the banks of the river.

"For the first eight miles, as I have said, we got on very pleasantly. The day was fine, the scenery pretty, and we made way against the roaring current, by the help of one enormous square sail, with considerable rapidity. After about three hours, however, had passed, the wind shifted a little against us, and, what was worse, the river at the same time shifted its course, rendering the wind totally contrary. The men got out on the meadow to pull the boat; this seemed to us tedious, but we still proceeded, though slowly. By and bye, the meadow finished, and a thicket of willows, extending far into the water, compelled them to get into the boat again. They pushed her on with their poles, at the rate of a mile an hour; but soon this recourse failed, the water became too deep for their poles! What did they do then? An English boatman would have given it up as a bad job; the Frenchmen treated it as a mere trifle; they, as a matter of course, laid by their poles, and pulled their heavy boat on, by means of the *willow twigs*, at the rate of a yard a minute. Whenever a bit of open land presented itself, they sprung to the shore, and hauled with the rope; when it terminated, they sprung in again, and either crawled on by the bushes, or pushed with their poles, as they could. Sometimes they were pulling the rope, on a top of a great precipice above us: the cord would then entangle in a tree, and they would have to climb upon the overhanging branches to disentangle it! It seemed to us madness to think of making any considerable progress in this way. One half the difficulties would have constituted twenty impossibilities in England, yet by half-past eight o'clock at night, we found ourselves at Les Rosieres, a village twenty-four miles from our place of starting." P. 149.

The above extract will furnish a lively idea of the kind of scenery, as well as of the comforts, which an aquatic excur-

sion against the stream offer to the traveller upon the Loire. The whole account of the voyage occupies a considerable number of pages; but it is well described, and some of the incidents which occurred possess interest. The following account of Saumur we extract on account of the curious manufacture of which it is the *dépôt*. A town, whose chief article of commerce consists of *rosaries*, presents a new idea to a protestant; particularly in these days, and as connected with France.

“ Saumur stood full in view; with its castle nobly perched above the town. But long did we see it before we reached its precincts. The river ran here in a straight line for upwards of six miles; and it took us several hours to conquer six miles, creeping among the willows. About two o'clock we arrived at the quay, and found a very pretty small town, situated in a very beautiful country. The rocks above it are covered with vines, and are also cut out into houses, so that the chimnies of the town's people almost touch the doors of the vigneron above them. The quays of Saumur, which, in France, mean the broad-paved banks of the river, are very beautiful. The town is seated on the southern side of the river, and a long and fine bridge crosses the Loire, forming a communication with the post-road on the other side. Every thing about Saumur seemed to speak of tranquillity. The face of nature about it was fair and quiet; and the weather is generally mild and clear in this neighbourhood.

“ A row of small houses, at the outside of the town, is occupied by a number of women, who make the strings of rosaries, used in the Catholic worship. I understood that Saumur supplied the greater part of France with these articles. The principle of the division of labour, seemed here to be thoroughly understood. In one house the women were cutting the willow wands into small pieces about three-fourths of an inch long; in the next, they were turning these bits of wood into beads, in the next they fitted them with brass plating, and their neighbours finally strung the prepared articles into a necklace. These women were all at work for a few merchants who had possessed themselves of the general rosary trade in France, and who allowed them two francs or three francs for the gross, that is to say, for the part which each performed in the preparation of a gross. It seemed a very pleasant and suitable employment for women, but they complained it was very poorly paid: there had been a time, they said, when twelve francs were given instead of three. I said to them, that I had heard religion was increasing in France, and the trade of rosaries, I thought, ought to keep pace with it. The women replied, I know not how truly, that the demand for these pious matters was now much greater than it had been; but the wicked merchant rather lowered than raised his prices. Be that as it may, the manufacture is the cause

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of giving an air of cheerful industry to the suburb of Saumur, which is extremely agreeable. The women, at this light work, all sit at their doors or windows, or frequently out in the street under vine trees; nothing can be prettier than the general effect, particularly as the noble Loire almost washes their homes, so that the crowd appears seated on its banks. Such a multitude of white caps, the buzz of the chattering of so many women, the noise of their small turning lathes, the activity of their hands, the little scenes of coquetry and gaiety with the passing boatmen, all conspire to render the spectacle more cheerful and striking than I can easily describe." P. 157.

At Tours, the journal before us may properly be said to terminate. So far the MSS. had evidently been prepared for the press; but the remainder of the volume is as evidently made up from our author's papers, and put together in any order, merely to compose a volume. Had Mr. Scott lived long enough to have established a reputation in the world, we should certainly have blamed very severely the cupidity (for in that case it would have deserved a harsh name) which should have forced before the public a mere collection of confused memoranda, which might have been worked up by the author himself into a useful work, but which are in many places, as it is, hardly intelligible to the reader. In justice to Mr. Scott, we hope the readers of his "Sketches" will close the volume at the place at which we have left off; and in that case they will close it, as we did, with regret. Upon the whole, and including the Essay at the end, the book contains a fair proportion of interest, even for its size, and whether it be published for the benefit of his family, or of his publishers, we shall not be sorry to hear of its success.

ART. IV. *Memoirs from 1754 to 1758.* By James Earl of Waldegrave, K. G. &c. &c. 4to. Pp. 192. £1 5s. Murray. 1821.

THE memoirs of personages, who from their elevated station or useful talents, have obtained any extraordinary access to the political confidence of their times, are among the most solemn trusts which can be committed to a descendant. They of necessity carry with them an interest which no narrative posterior to the event can ever assume; they possess the same advantage which ocular testimony claims over the evidence of hearsay; they bear for the most part the simple and

natural impress of sincere conviction ; and though, of course, the faith which is to be placed in them must vary with our assurance, more or less, of the writer's opportunities of judging, and powers of judgment, there is yet always a freshness and life, and vigour about them, which, like the first rude sketch of a great artist's pencil, rarely is transferred entire to the more finished and elaborate copy. With all this preponderating weight they are banded down to posterity ; they form the magazine from which the future historian is to draw his materials ; and the colouring of great transactions, and the characters of great actors on the scene of public life, cannot but be materially affected by the contemporary record which almost transfers us back to place and time which has long since passed away.

How far then papers of this kind are fitted for the public eye must always be a matter of deep and solemn consideration ; and a conscientious executor will pause long and often before he permits such documents to escape from his own custody. We do not here intend to be understood of those chronicles of scandal and intrigue which form so large a part of French literature ; and which, whether true or false, are, in another way, quite as mischievous as they are amusing. It is of little consequence whether it was *La Duchesse A*, *La Comtesse B*, or *Madame C*, who made *doux yeux* to *S.A. Royale D*, or *Monsieur le Baron E* : for the fopperies and the follies of a court are, in one sense, but perishable commodities, and whatever injury may be done to the reader by the false medium through which he is thus accustomed to look at vice, little or none is offered to the memory of triflers who fluttered through their short day of nothingness, till they became still less than nothing. We speak only of such details as profess to penetrate into the springs by which the counsels of nations were moved and guided ; which draw aside the veil from the privacy of public life ; and exhibit, in all their nakedness, the inclinations, the plans, and the motives which have governed the governors of mankind. It is a sacred duty here not to toss loosely to the general gaze a half-informed or half imagined narrative ; nor to let the overflowings of bile ooze out till they poison the current of a fair fame ; not lightly to trifle with received opinion from the natural *malice* which likes to start an opposition to it ; nor too readily to believe that what claims to be authentic, must of necessity, really be so ; but on the other hand to weigh well the character, the prejudices, and the fortunes of the memorialist before we throw his memoirs into the stock of the Commissariat of History.

That the Noble Editor of the publication before us (we believe Lord Holland makes no secret that he is so,) has omitted to turn all these considerations in his mind, cannot for a moment be suspected; and doubtless the widely opposite result at which he has arrived from that to which we ourselves should have been directed under similar circumstances, is to be attributed rather to a difference of judgment than of principle. His Lordship can have no desire to revive forgotten scandal in one instance, nor in another to detract from the pleasing remembrance which is so generally cherished of those who have already sought their reward in the fulness of their good deeds. He has, we are convinced, in the consciousness of his own entire freedom from party motives accepted as "the work of a scholar, a gentleman, and a philosopher," that which we are led to regard as the journal of a sincere and honourable, but still not of a very powerful and certainly of an atrabilious, splenetic and disappointed mind.

The writer of these Memoirs was James, second Earl Waldegrave, a Lord of the Bed Chamber, to George II, from whom he enjoyed much personal favor. On the death of Frederick Prince of Wales he was appointed Lord of the Stannaries; and on the resignation of Earl Harcourt he filled, though reluctantly, the important post of Governor to the young Prince, afterwards George III. "The Earl was averse to it," says Lord Orford, (Memoirs, Vol. I. 255.) He was a man of pleasure, understood the Court, was firm in the King's favor, easy in his circumstances, and at once undesirous of rising, and afraid to fall. He said to a friend, 'If I dared, I would make this excuse to the King,—*Sir, I am too young to govern, and too old to be governed.*' But he was forced to submit. A man of stricter honour, and of more reasonable sense could not have been selected for the employment; yet as the Whig zeal had caught flame, even this choice was severely criticised. Lord Waldegrave's grandmother was daughter to James II, his family were all papists, and his father had been but the first convert." In this employment he neither pleased his Royal Pupil, nor the Princess Dowager, and it is of the circumstances attending his removal, and of his subsequent attempts to assist George II. in the formation of new ministers at the commencement of the seven years war, that his Memoirs chiefly treat. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement; the reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer devolved upon him in 1757. In 1759 he married the natural daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester; and soon after the accession of George III. in 1763, he was asked to join admi-

nistration. His strong personal dislike of Lord Bute induced him to decline this offer ; and the Duke of Cumberland is reported to have said, that death would have been more welcome to Lord Waldegrave, than any union with Lord Bute or Mr. Fox. He died soon after this refusal in the 49th year of his age. The present work is printed from a MS. in his handwriting, which ever since his demise has been in the possession of the Waldegrave family. It was communicated to and is much praised by Lord Orford, who loved to be intrusted with MSS. especially from noble pens. The Editor has given it entire to his bookseller, with the prefix of a short Biographical Memoir, from which we have abridged the foregoing notice ; and the bookseller by means of large type, broad intervals, and supererogatory margin has spun out a moderate sized two shilling pamphlet into an attenuated five and twenty shilling quarto.

Lord Holland believes, and we think there is internal evidence to prove that these Memoirs were intended for posterity, though no injunction was left as to the time and mode of giving them to the public. The narrative, short as it is, bears marks of extraordinary labor ; it has been shorn and snipped into a plainness and simplicity which, if there could be such a thing, we should be tempted to call the Quakerism of Literature ; and there can be little reason to suppose that any man would bestow so much pains upon papers which were never to pass from his own escrutoire.

The first character pourtrayed is that of George II. a monarch who had few claims upon the affection of his subjects. His faults, and they predominate in the picture, are extenuated by the very pardonable partiality of one who was admitted to his close and familiar confidence ; and we do not recognize that parsimonious and uncourtly monarch of whom we have read in livelier, but we are inclined to believe, not less veracious representations.

The Prince of Wales, his late Majesty, does not receive an equal measure of kindness. The Ex-Governor speaks as ill of his pupil as decency will allow. Every good which he is compelled to admit is qualified with a damning " but ;" and the contradictions which these occasion would be enough of themselves without the testimony of an unusually protracted reign, to convince us of the error, and the prejudice of the narrator. " He is strictly honest," says Lord Waldegrave, " his religion is free from all hypocrisy ; he has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong except when he mistakes wrong for right—he has spirit—and does not want for resolution." How can these qualities be predicated of

the same person who in the same breath is described to be not amiable, ungenerous, uncharitable, inactive, obstinate, uncommonly indolent, strongly prejudiced, of an unhappy temper, sullen, ill-humoured, and retentive of offence. But the secret is unravelled in the concluding paragraphs: in his education "the mother and the nursery always prevailed," and "the Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence." Lord Waldegrave was dismissed from his tutorship, and consequently every thing went wrong; but if these indeed were the bad qualities of George III. as Prince of Wales, the touch of the crown must have far greater powers of transmutation than that of the Philosopher's stone.

But it is for his successor, the Earl of Bute, that Lord Waldegrave reserves his bitterest gall, and the North Briton flows with milk and honey in comparison with these pages. Of the graver accusations, which are brought against this minister, the very nature is such as to preclude the possibility of accurate decision in the present day. The popular scandal of the time hinted at a close connexion with the Princess Dowager, and after a lapse of sixty years, it is not easy to pronounce with certainty upon the hints of scandal. Lord Bute's fine person and brilliant address would be enough at any time to give currency to the report among those who deem proximity to be the necessary parent of intrigue: but it should be remembered that unauthorized whispers are not a safe foundation for the superstructure of history; and that the annalist, who builds his fame upon no more solid basis than *La Cour d'Auguste*, *Les Amours des Gaules*, or the endless "*Secret Histories* which every reign produces, would attain the reputation, and deserve the fate of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall. That Lord Bute was the handsomest man of his time any one must be prepared to admit who has seen a portrait of him; that he was vain of his person as Lord Waldegrave more than once insinuates, we may safely deny on yet living authority. That he pretended to polite scholarship which he did not possess, and that his "classical learning extended no farther than a French translation," is, to say the least of it, directly false. Few testimonies to the extent of classical scholarship can be more unexceptionable than that of the late Mr. Bryant, and Mr. Bryant, as a brother Etonian, repeatedly spoke in high commendation of Lord Bute's attainments in this path.

The tone of this volume will be readily understood from a few extracts. We will begin by a *precise* of the negotiation relative to the late King's marriage.

“ An event happened about the middle of the summer, which engaged Leicester House still deeper in faction than they at first intended.

“ The Prince of Wales was just entering into his eighteenth year; and being of a modest, sober disposition, with a healthy, vigorous constitution, it might reasonably be supposed that a matrimonial companion would be no unacceptable amusement.

“ The Dutchess of Brunswick Wolfenbittel*, with her two unmarried daughters, waited on his Majesty at Hanover. The elder, both as to person and understanding, was a most accomplished princess.

“ The King was charmed with her cheerful, modest, and sensible behaviour; and wished to make her his granddaughter, being too old to make her his wife. I remember his telling me with great eagerness, that had he been only twenty years younger, she should never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been queen of England.

“ Now whether his Majesty spoke seriously is very little to the purpose: his grandson's happiness was undoubtedly his principal object: and he was desirous the match might be concluded before his own death; that the Princess of Wales should have no temptation to do a job for her relations, by marrying her son to one of the Saxe Gotha family, who might not have the amiable accomplishments of the Princess of Wolfenbittel.

“ The King's intentions could not be long a secret in England, and it may easily be imagined that they were not agreeable to the Princess of Wales.

“ She knew the temper of the prince her son; that he was by nature indolent, hated business, but loved a domestic life, and would make an excellent husband.

“ She knew also that the young princess, having merit and understanding equal to her beauty, must in a short time have the greatest influence over him.

“ In which circumstances, it may naturally be concluded that her Royal Highness did every thing in her power to prevent the match. The Prince of Wales was taught to believe that he was to be made a sacrifice, merely to gratify the King's private interest in the electorate of Hanover. The young princess was most cruelly misrepresented; many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults; his Royal Highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersion, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion itself.

* Philippina Charlotte, Princess of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Second, and wife of Charles, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, was born in 1716, and died in 1780. Her two eldest daughters were Sophia Caroline Maria, born in 1737; and Anne Amelia, born 1739. Sophia Caroline Maria was married in 1759 to the Margravine of Bareuth; and died at an advanced age, in 1817 or 1818. And Anne Amelia was married to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, in 1760; and died in 1807.

“ From this time, all duty and obedience to the grandfather entirely ceased : for though it would have been difficult to have persuaded him to have done that which he thought wrong, he was ready to think right whatever was prompted either by the mother or by her favorite.” P. 39.

“ About three months after his return to England, his Majesty sent for the Prince of Wales into his closet ; not to propose the match, knowing it would be to little purpose, but to find out the extent of his political knowledge, to sift him in relation to Hannover, and to caution him against evil counsellors. The discourse was short, the substance kind and affectionate ; but the manner not quite gracious.

“ The prince was flustered and sulky ; bowed, but scarce made any answer : so the conference ended very little to the satisfaction of either party. Here his Majesty was guilty of a very capital mistake : instead of sending for the prince, he should have spoke firmly to the mother : told her that as she governed her son, she should be answerable for his conduct : that he would overlook what was past, and treat her still like a friend, if she behaved in a proper manner ; but, on the other hand, if either herself, her son, or any person influenced by them, should give any future disturbance, she must expect no quarter : he might then have ended his admonition, by whispering a word in her ear, which would have made her tremble, in spite of her spotless innocence.” P. 50.

The account of the change of governors is not less petulant :

“ I had been appointed governor to the Prince of Wales towards the end of the year 1752, when Earl Harcourt resigned ; and as my predecessor did not quit on the most amicable terms, I was very kindly received.

“ I found his Royal Highness uncommonly full of princely prejudices, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bed-chamber women, and pages of the back-stairs.

“ As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things ; to instruct him by conversation, rather than by books ; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies.

“ The next point I laboured was to preserve harmony and union in the royal family ; and having free access to the closet, I had frequent opportunities of doing good offices ; was a very useful apologist, whenever his Majesty was displeased with his grandson’s shyness, or want of attention ; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the young prince’s behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction.

“ On the other hand, the princess and her son seemed fully satisfied with my zeal, diligence, and faithful services ; and I was treated with so much civility, that I thought myself almost a favorite.

“ This continued near three years, till the time already mentioned, when they changed their plan, and began by their actions, without directly avowing it, to set the king at defiance.

“ The governor’s apologies being no longer necessary, the best use they could make of me was to provoke me to some hasty, imprudent action, which might oblige me to quit my station, and make way for Bute’s advancement.

“ However, they could not find even the slightest pretence for shewing any public mark of their displeasure; and though some hard things were said to me in private, I always kept my temper, giving the severest answers, in the most respectful language; and letting them civilly understand that I feared their anger no more than I had deserved it; and though it might be in their power to fret me, I was determined not to be in the wrong.” P. 63.

The new arrangement for the household being completed, Lord Waldegrave took leave.

“ When the whole ceremony was ended, I went to take leave of his Royal Highness, who was uncommonly gracious; assuring me that he was thoroughly satisfied with every part of my behaviour, and that if others had acted in the same manner, he should have had no reason to complain. After these compliments, we had a very cheerful conversation; which being ended, I made my bow, and parted from him with as much indifference as was consistent with respect and decency. P. 80.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of these *Memoirs* are the few personal anecdotes which they contain of George II; for they are delivered plainly, and no conclusion is drawn from them. His Majesty certainly was possessed of some dry humour. On the opening of the session of parliament in 1756, an impudent printer circulated a spurious speech from the throne. The King expressed a hope that the man’s punishment would be of the mildest sort, adding that he had read both speeches, and as far as he understood either of them, he liked the spurious speech better than his own. Of Mr. Pitts (Lord Chatham,) he used to say, “ that he made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension, and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic ” Mr. Pitt, in truth, was not calculated for George II’s understanding. Of Lord Temple, that “ he was so disagreeable a fellow there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil he was exceedingly troublesome, and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant.” Of the then existing ministry, as a whole, “ that he did not look upon himself as King while he was in the hands of such scoun

drels ;" and " that he could endure their insolence no longer." To the proposition made by Fox, (that he should be paymaster, and that an Irish reversion should be granted to his children, as a compensation for giving up all hope of preferment in a future reign,) " he made many objections, saying that it possibly might be a good scheme for Fox, his friends, and relations ; but that for his own part it did not answer his purposes." There is much truth also in the following remarks which he made to Lord Waldegrave, on the difficulties in forming a ministry.

" His Majesty heard every thing I said with great patience ; and answered with some cheerfulness, that according to my description, his situation was not much to be envied ; but he could assure me it was infinitely more disagreeable than I represented it."

" That we were, indeed, a very extraordinary people, continually talking of our constitution, laws, and liberty. That as to our constitution, he allowed it to be a good one, and defied any man to produce a single instance wherein he had exceeded his proper limits. P. 132.

" That as to our laws, we passed near a hundred every session, which seemed made for no other purpose, but to afford us the pleasure of breaking them : and as to our zeal for liberty, it was in itself highly commendable ; but our notions must be somewhat singular, when the chief of the nobility chose rather to be the dependents and followers of a Duke of Newcastle than to be the friends and counsellors of their sovereign. P. 133.

Lord Waldegrave's moral points in conclusion to the little that is to be envied in the lot of those whom fortune places in the favor of princes ; his own book perhaps furnishes the strongest confirmation which he could give of his principle.

ART. V. *Sketches of India: written by an Officer for Fire-Side Travellers At-Home.* 8vo. 334 pp. 10s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1821.

WE took up this volume with the expectation of finding more amusement than it afforded us upon trial. The title of the work, " *Sketches of India, written by an Officer,*" held out, as we thought, a very favourable promise. India is a country about which, as belonging to our own, we may naturally be supposed to feel a more than merely general interest ; and it is

moreover one respecting which, very few books, except those of a military and political character, have of late years appeared. Of the internal state of India at present; the feelings and manners of the natives under the great changes which have within the last twenty years been introduced; its administration; its commercial capabilities with reference to an open trade with this country; the effect of European example in modifying the prejudices and opinions of the people; the manner of life of the Indian peasantry; their condition and character; these, and a great many other particulars which we could mention, are all of them, more or less, to be considered as desiderata, in our popular knowledge. Many of these are topics which were not likely to fall under the notice of an Officer of Dragoons; but others of them are of a less grave character, and at all events we felt desirous to know what is the impression which is made upon the mind of an intelligent man, by a first glance at the general features of the country.

In this last hope, the work before us has not altogether disappointed us. It is the production of a young man of lively parts, and of respectable qualifications as a scholar. His observations are in general just, and the incidents and topics which he selects as the subjects of his Sketches, are for the most part well chosen and characteristic. The great defect of the work, and that which completely prevents a reader of the common class, from all sympathy with the author, is a frequent strain of mawkish sentiment, rendered still more unpleasant from a considerable mixture of cant of another and not more agreeable kind.

As to our author's ambition to be thought a young officer of superior sensibility, that is an affectation which it is easy to distinguish. We should hope and are willing to believe, that he is much more serious in his professions of religion. But it is obvious that he is just as vain of his superior piety, as of his superior refinement in matters of secular feeling; and religion in our minds is so serious a thing, that we confess it is never without pain that we perceive it to be made a subject of vanity and self-conceit. It was said of a notorious infidel, (Frederic the Great of Prussia) *qu'il se piquoit un peu trop de sa damnation*; it shocks our morality less, no doubt, when we meet with a man, who *piques* himself upon his Christian faith; but we hardly know in which case our *taste* is most offended; and justly too; for surely the private feelings of inward devotion, in a general way, are far too sacred to be hung up on a sign post, and made a gazing stock for vulgar admiration. We take for granted that an Englishman is a Christian, unless he tells us to the contrary; and if a writer always speaks

with respect both of religion and its ministers, whenever he has occasion to express any opinion of either, he gives all the satisfaction respecting his principles which the public, in a common case, can possibly have any right or any wish to require. The only other thing, besides positive impiety, which would ever lead us to have any doubts upon the subject, is when a man is perpetually going out of his way, and that too in language which savours of sectarianism, to “thank God that he is not as other men are.” The author of this little work is a young man, and has probably only adopted the tone which is familiar in the particular society to which he was accustomed in England; but when he has lived as long as we have, he will discover that the tone which he has implicitly adopted, is not the tone of true and unaffected piety. No doubt, an ambition to be thought religious, is much more respectable than an ambition to be thought regardless of religion. Nevertheless, if an individual or a writer is really and sincerely pious and devout, he need have no fear lest his candle should be hidden; people will be sure to do justice to his character; but in the mean time it is always unpleasant to hear a man become his own trumpeter; and if he has no occasion for introducing the subject of religion on other grounds, he had better leave it alone, than force it forward before the public, merely for the purpose of making them privy to feelings with which they have no more legitimate concern than with the subject of his daily prayers.

In what we have now been saying, we have had an eye more particularly to the work before us; the intention, however, of our remarks is general, and they have been drawn down by a mistake which is common to many writers, in the present day, and not by any peculiar and exclusive example of it, which our author furnishes. His manner of writing is full of affectation of every kind, and this which we have pitched upon, is by no means the most prominent; but having said thus much, we must again mention, that the work is notwithstanding a clever, lively, and upon the whole, (the matter and not the manner being considered), even a sensible and useful performance; and we recommend it as such to the notice of our readers.

The place at which our author landed in India, was Madras—and the reader is immediately introduced to the objects which first strike the eye of the stranger.

“Now, reader, I must beg you to accompany me for a hasty look at Madras, in my palanquin. A palanquin, such as the English use, is a close litter, with pannels, painted and varnished like a

carriage. You may stretch yourself at length, or sit half up in them, as on a bed. They have cushions and linings of leather, silk, or chintz; and large sliding doors on both sides, with ventionians. Nine men carry you: four at a time; two under the pole before, and two behind. Relieving each other without stopping, they will run with you twelve miles in three hours. They jog along, making a continual singing in regular cadence, which assists them to keep step.

“The few pictures I will now attempt to sketch, are designed to assist you, reader, in accompanying me to such places and scenes as I may carry you to look upon hereafter, when I shall hope to excite in your bosom some portion of the interest I felt in them myself. An interest which, if not altogether destroyed, would be much weakened by continual explanatory interruptions. For the rambling and familiar style I have chosen for this portraiture, I crave your patient indulgence.

“These poor wretches, with no other clothing than small rags round the middle, and loads on their heads, whom you meet singly or in large groups, are the common coolies, or road-porters, of the country; for thus light burdens are usually conveyed here, even for distances of two or three hundred miles.—This haughty-looking man with a prominent nose, dark eye and olive-brown complexion, having a large turban, muslin vest, gaudy silk trowsers, and noisy slippers, is a Mahometan.

“This next, with his head bare and shaven, except a few thick-falling locks clubbed behind, his forehead marked with stripes of the ashes of cow-dung, his naked body, clean yellow-coloured skin, the zennaar, or distinguishing threads worn over the shoulder, and a large pale salmon-coloured loin-cloth, is an officiating bramin.” P. 10.

“There is a group of native women returning to their houses with water: they are of a common class; but observe their simple dress, erect carriage, and admirable walk. One piece of cloth wrapped twice round their loins in its breadth, and passing in its length upwards over the bosom, is either disposed mantle-like to cover the head, or thrown gracefully across the right shoulder, and brought under the left arm to the middle. Their shining hair is neatly rolled up into a knot at the back of the head; and is occasionally ornamented with little chaplets of pale yellow flowers. The vessels which some carry on the head, some on hip, are of brass or clay; but ancient, and urn-like in their form.

“This low, curiously carved car, with a white canopy, and cream-coloured bullocks, having their horns ornamentally tipped with wrought brass, collars with bells, and crimson body-clothes, is the conveyance of some native merchant, or shroff.

“These horsemen with red hussar jackets, high spherical-shaped caps of blue cloth richly ornamented, leather breeches, boots, and English saddles, so well mounted, and as light coloured as Spaniards, are of the body-guard of the governor.—Observe the horse-keeper

following that staff officer ; thus the groom runs after his master in this country, and will keep pace with him at a smart canter. He is always provided with a leading rein and chowrie *.

“ These well-appointed black soldiers, clothed and accoutred so completely like British troops, except the peculiar cap of blue cloth with brazen ornaments and plates, are sepoyes of the Madras establishment.

“ That officer in dark blue uniform with red facings, brazen helmet and red horsehair, is of the Madras horse artillery ; a corps most deservedly admired all over India.” P. 13.

“ That monk with the pale Italian countenance, grey hair, small scull-cap, black robe, and white cords, just stepping out of that old palanquin, is the superior : he is a native of Rome.

“ This fine looking young man in a close white vest with a dark blue sash and high cap of black velvet with many points, is an Armenian gentleman ; and the low stout man in a purple robe and mitre cap, with a long black bushy beard, who is speaking to him, is a priest from Armenia.—Almost all these persons of half cast complexion, whom you are continually meeting, are the descendants of our countrymen, or other Europeans by native mothers ; those of Portuguese extraction are very numerous.” P. 16.

The above description is lively, and the artifice (not a very new or original one to be sure) of supposing the reader to be an eye-witness of the objects pointed out, and the writer to be a sort of *shew-man*, produces in this instance, no bad effect. But the author is sadly too fond of his invention ; and as he proceeds in the volume, the reader is so often told of “ this object which he sees on the left hand”—and of that “ man whom he may observe on the right”—and of “ those buildings which rise in front,” that instead of awakening the imagination, it at length produces quite a contrary effect. Rhetorical contrivances answer a very good purpose, when used sparingly ; but if they recur too often, they then become mere tricks, and, like all other tricks, when found out, lose their power upon the mind.

After a short stay at Madras, our author set off to join his regiment ; and he gives a very agreeable account of the plan of life during an Indian march. You mount your horse an hour before day-break, and reach your ground before the power of the sun begins to be felt ; here you find a tent pitched, and a table ready spread with breakfast. Your large tent, with couch and luggage, follows ; and before nine o'clock, you may be washed, dressed, and employed with your books, pen, or pencil. Mats made of the fragrant root of the *cuscus*

* “ The chowrie is a fly-flap, made of the singularly bushy tail of the Bootan cow.”

grass, are hung before the door of your tent to the windward, which being constantly wetted, transmits, during the hottest winds, a cool refreshing air. Three o'clock is the hour of dinner; and in the evening you may take your gun, or stroll out, as your inclination leads you.

In the appearance of the country, and particularly in all that respects the cultivation of the ground, and the modes of life among the natives, there is great uniformity. In the plain country, the cottages are all of them built of mud; though they are, nevertheless, both inside and out, exceedingly neat and clean. In front, they have wide seats of hardened clay, over which verandahs are very commonly constructed. The roofs are flat, and the walls, both within and without, are daubed with broad red and white stripes, painted alternately. If of high cast, the owners mark the seat and the ground near the door with stripes of the ashes of fresh cow-dung, laid on every morning; and no man of lower cast, dare tread on these privileged lines. Often at day-break, our author tells us, you see a female of the family with cow-dung and water laying down these stripes, and with a little incense or a few flowers in her hand, repeating some formula of prayer.

There are huts of a still poorer class, which are thatched with leaves of the palm or cocoa nut, and sometimes constructed altogether of basket work. In the richer villages, the pagodas are solidly built; but the meanest hamlet has its idol, and a mud temple for its reception. In every village is also a bazaar, near which are always some large spreading trees, with clay seats round them. There, in the shade, the coolies, during the heat of the day, deposit their loads, and the horsemen tie up their steeds, and stretch themselves to sleep. The most beautiful circumstance, however, in the landscape of an Indian village, are the tanks or reservoirs of water. A walk along the embankment of one of these capacious lakes, at sunset, affords a scene which is both new and striking to an European eye. Near the side, at the entrance of the village, are always small groves of trees: here the native travellers perform their ablutions, cook their victuals, and halt for the night. On one side is sitting cross-legged a bearded Mahometan, with his hookah in his mouth, and a ragged boy shampooing his tired horse beside him; on the other are Hindoos, boiling their rice and mixing their curry: each man, according to his cast within his own circle, which is cut in the ground, in order that neither he nor his food may be defiled by any impure contact.

The roads in India, our author describes, as very solitary. Now and then you meet a couple of merchants or ambling

ponies; a woman with a child in her arms riding on a saddle bullock, followed by her husband armed with a match-lock; a few sepoys, on furlough, with their wives and families. A long train of bullock cars, or a fakir, in his red turban and matted hair, and his body daubed all over with cow-dung, pass you at greater intervals; but neither horsemen nor camels, nor elephants, the objects which our imagination commonly associates with oriental scenery, meet the eye, except you happen to pass on the road (what you may travel 300 miles without doing) some troops, or a general officer, or some civil servant of high rank; in which case a few camels or carriage elephants, may perhaps break the monotony of your journey. Of this last animal, considered as a beast of burthen, our author speaks with great admiration; and he gives a very lively description of his manners and appearance.

“ The intelligent obedience of the elephant is well known; but to look upon this huge and powerful monster kneeling down at the mere bidding of the human voice; and, when he has risen again, to see him protrude his trunk for the foot of his mahout or attendant, to help him into his seat; or, bending the joint of his hind leg, make a step for him to climb up behind, and then, if any loose cloths or cords fall off, with a dog like docility pick them up with his proboscis and put them up again, will delight and surprise long after it ceases to be novel. When loaded, this creature broke off a large branch from the lofty tree near which he stood, and quietly fanned and fly-flapped himself, with all the nonchalance of an indolent woman of fashion, till the camels were ready. These animals also kneel to be laden. When in motion, they have a very awkward gait, and seem to travel at a much slower pace than they really do. Their tall out-stretched necks, long sinewy limbs, and broad spongy feet; their head furniture, neck-bells, and the rings in their nostrils, with their lofty loads, and a driver generally on the top of the leading one, have a strange appearance; and if you meet them in the sandy bed of a river, or on a barren and burning plain, from ideas you associate with them, are very picturesque objects.” P. 44.

In another part of the volume he has occasion to praise the sagacity of this animal, in another capacity, and in one where we had never before heard of its talents.

“ At Tikaree, I passed a day with the regiment cantoned there; and having met with a violent hurt from the rearing and falling back of my horse, was glad to accept the kind offer of the colonel commanding, who was going to march a few stages on my route with a body of infantry and some horse, to take a seat for those stages in his howdah.

“ This gentleman was a very great sportsman, and beat the

country right and left as he went along. His elephant, a large female, uncommonly well trained, perfectly astonished me by her sagacity. It is generally known, that this noble animal beats jungle for large game: and, although we met with none, still I had the opportunity of seeing into how thick, and apparently impervious jungle it will force its way. But it was the perfect dog-like manner in which she put up small game that surprised me; carefully putting up from the low tufted grass in which they nestle, those smallest of game birds, the quail. My companion killed from his howdah in this manner, without dogs, both hares and black partridge, a few yards only from the road side." P. 306.

Our author remained six months on the military station of Bihary; and the picture which he gives of the mode of life, which is passed by the greatest portion of our officers in the East, is such as, if we were obliged to live in a tropical climate, we should think not unpleasant—the only things wanting seem to be the luxury of our newspapers and reviews, and modern publications—in order that the mind might be idle without total vacuity.

"The military stations in India have so many features in common, that one description may give a general idea of all. The Europeans invariably have barracks; the native soldiers lines, that is, on a given line are built places of arms, either several small, or a few large ones, as they may be designed for companies only, or for battalions. In front of these buildings is the grand parade; in rear are the huts and families of the Sepoys. All the officers live in bungalows, which are neat dwellings of brick, with verandahs; the walls covered with chunam, and the roofs tiled and sloping; these are either rented, purchased, or built by the officers; and in size, convenience, and decoration, differ according to the taste, and circumstances of each individual. They have all either gardens, or compounds with wells, stabling, and offices.

"The life at out stations, may be as briefly sketched. The troops are under arms whenever it is considered necessary, for parade, or exercise, either at day-break, or sun-set. At the same hours, duty not interfering, you take your rides and drives. There is a sort of social luncheon called a tiffin, for which you sit down to table at one or two o'clock daily. The dinner hour is from seven to eight in the evening. Occasional sporting parties, and pic-nicks, and if the station be large, races, a few balls, and perhaps a performance by amateurs in a private theatre, or a musical party, break the monotony of your life. 'My horse!' or 'my hat, stick, and gloves!' are calls never heard in this climate at noon-day. The long summer-evening's ramble, or the yet longer evening of winter with lights, fire, books, and music, are alike unknown here. It is dark before seven all the year round. In

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the hot season, the evening hours are breathless and oppressive ; in the wet season, damp, windy, and comfortless." P. 72.

Early in June, 1819, our author sailed from Madras for Calcutta ; and the reader will probably be pleased to have some account of the impression which a first view of that magnificent city, now the third if not the second city in the world in point of magnitude, makes upon the mind of a stranger. It is not always that it finds a person so well able to describe it as our author, whose talents in this way are considerable.

" On the eastern bank of the Hooghly, about one hundred miles from its mouth, stands the city of Calcutta. It is nearly six miles in length ; the breadth, however, is in no part very considerable. The bold reach of the river, at the head of which Calcutta stands, is, from the villas and gardens on its banks, styled the Garden Reach, and is as truly beautiful as its name would prepare you to find it. Spacious and elegant houses, shrubberies, and lawns, give to the cheerful scene an air both of costliness and taste.

" As you approach Chandpal Ghaut, and see a large, regular, and handsome fortress, a palace-like looking government-house, a wide and grand esplanade, many magnificent houses on one side of it, and a range of stately edifices beyond it, a little above this ghaut, an anchorage crowded with shipping, and a close-built city, containing upwards of eighty thousand houses, whatever your expectations may have been, they are surpassed." P. 105.

" A stranger is certainly much surprised, both at the number and style of the equipages he meets on the fashionable drive, at sunset. Many hundred coaches, chariots, barouches, curricles, tilburies, and humble gigs, give, by his familiarity with the sight of such conveyances, an air of England ; and, by his ever associating the possession of them with rank or easy circumstances, one of splendour. But a something, in black coachmen dressed in muslins and turbans, inferior cattle, awkward driving, and harness ill put together, in spite of many handsome and some English-built carriages, tells the eye that much will long be wanting before the chariot and pair, on the Calcutta course, can vie with that of Hyde Park. The young dashers, in their tilburies, who instruct their servants in the art of cleaning and putting-to, and drive themselves, perhaps contrive a closer resemblance to English style, than the elder and more sensibly indolent residents trouble themselves to affect.

" As for the number of conveyances, the European in India is carried, according to his fancy or means, wherever he has to go ; and hardly ever walks, either for pleasure or business, a thousand yards.

" Many of the Armenian and native merchants adopt our carriages and imitate our manners in some particulars, although retaining their own costume : so that you may see the high-pointed cap of the

one, and the turban of the other, in landaus or barouches, built after the make of Long Acre. At the farthest extremity of the course you may often chance to meet a son of Tippoo's, (Tippoo) wrapped in shawls, and lolling in a phaeton; and you see native merchants continually in gigs or on horseback.

"As the evening closes in, the crowds of carriages disperse; and, about half an hour after, you see the glare of torches in all directions, lighting the coaches, and palanquins, hurrying along to the splendid entertainments, of which there is a constant succession among the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Calcutta. At twelve, you may see them returning home; and, if the oppressive heat drives you, as it often does, to the roof or balcony of your house for air, soon after, when all is dark and silent round you, the cry of jackalls, suddenly and wildly breaking forth, then ceasing, then again nearer or close to you, may be distinctly heard." P. 109.

The black or native town of Calcutta, literally swarms, our author tells us, with population; and he paints in lively colours the effect of the scene, which the concourse of people from all parts of the East, in every diversity of costume produces. But we are forced to hasten over this part of the volume, which is among the most entertaining, in order to take our readers to a spectacle, at which our author was present, and which must really have been most gratifying: an examination of a Bell's school, composed of several hundred boys, and both supported and taught by native Brahmins. It was held in the house of a native of great wealth and consequence; the place of assembly was a quadrangular court, surrounded by piazzas; and the boys, who amounted to 500, were children of all casts and classes. The examination took place, in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and the prizes consisted of books, translated by us, and printed in our presses. The masters were rewarded with money, (for it was an assembly composed of different schools) according to the proficiency of their scholars; and not the least interesting or gratifying incident in the scene, was a little boy, dressed in fine figured muslin, with a row of valuable pearls about his neck, who took his stand and chance in the class among the little naked fellows with whom he had been instructed; our author found that he was the son of the very Brahmin at whose house this truly encouraging exhibition took place. It is not always that we are able to sympathize with, partly because we often are totally unable to understand, the pious reflections into which our author delights to break, but on the present occasion, we could have excused him, if he had given his feelings the fullest latitude. It is by means of education, and of education only, that we entertain any hopes of seeing the Chris-

tian religion at length take root in our Indian dominions. In the native schools no books are admitted, except short elementary treatises upon geography, natural history, and the sciences, abridgments of history, and short treatises of morality. What more would a sensible man, at the present stage of the religious improvement of the natives require, or even wish for? The first step in the conversion of the Heathen, is to teach them the absurdities of idolatry. This can only be effected, by enlightening their reason. When we shall have removed the prejudices and errors that now obstruct the access to truth, it will then, and not till then, be the proper, at least the practicable, time, speaking as mere human politicians, for attempting to introduce the peculiar doctrines of Christianity into their minds.

From Calcutta our author travelled to Hyderabad. The most interesting object, or at least the newest, to those "fire-side travellers," for whom he professes to write, is the description which he gives us of a Mahratta camp.

"It is not quite, perhaps, what you expect; for it presents the appearance of an immense village, or rather collection of villages, with about a dozen chunamed buildings, shapeless, coarse, without any air of ornament; and here and there many small trees and hedges of the milk-plant, all of quick growth and late planting, but yet giving the whole a fixed and settled aspect. At the second gaze, however, you see interspersed, many tents and palls, flags and pennons; in some parts, hutted lines and piles of arms; in one range, a large regular park of artillery; in all the open spaces, horses irregularly picketted, strings of camels, and a few stately elephants. On the skirts of this large mass, a few smaller and more regular encampments belonging to particular chiefs with their followers better armed and mounted. The sounds, too, of neighings, of drums, of horns, and fire-arms; and, occasionally, the piercing trump of the elephant, mingled in confusion with the hum of a population, loud, busy, and tumultuous; tell you, convincingly, the trade here is war: the manufactures are of arms." P. 250.

"In traversing this rude irregular encampment, the sort of groupes we met; the horses picketted in circles with the rider's spear planted in the ground at each head-rope; men lying on their horse-furniture; pillowed on their shields; or busy cooking; or cleaning their horses and arms. Their women making fires; fetching water, and bringing in grass; their children of all sizes at play in the dust naked. All these were features, to the eye of the European officer, strange and interesting.

"As we passed back round the fort, we were fortunate enough to meet Schindiah returning from the chace, surrounded by all his chiefs; and preceded or followed by about seven hundred horse. Discharges of cannon announced his approach; and a few light

scattered parties of spearmen were marching before the main body. We stopped our elephants just on one side of a narrow part of the road, where the rajah and chiefs with his immediate escort must pass.

“ First came loose light-armed horse, either in the road, or scrambling and leaping on the rude banks and ravines near ; then some better clad, with the quilted poshawk * ; and one in a complete suit of chain-armour ; then a few elephants, among them the hunting elephant of Scindiah, from which he had dismounted. On one small elephant, guiding it himself, rode a fine boy, a foundling protégé of Scindiah, called the Jungle Rajah ; then came, slowly prancing, a host of fierce, haughty chieftains, on fine horses, showily caparisoned. They darted forward, and all took their proud stand behind and round us, planting their long lances on the earth, and reining up their eager steeds to see, I suppose, our salaam. Next, in a common native palkee, its canopy crim-on, and not adorned, came Scindiah himself. He was plainly dressed, with a reddish turban, and a shawl over his vest, and lay reclined, smoking a small gilt or golden calcan. We stood up in our howdah and bowed ; he half rose in his palkee, and salaamed rather in a courteous manner. At this there was a loud cry of all his followers near, who sung out his titles, and the honour he had done us, &c. And all salaamed themselves profoundly.

“ I looked down on the chiefs under us, and saw that they eyed us most haughtily, which very much increased the effect they would otherwise have produced. They were armed with lance, scymitar, and shield, creese and pistol ; wore, some shawls ; some tissues ; some plain muslin or cotton ; were all much wrapped in clothing ; and wore, almost all, a large fold of muslin, tied over the turban-top, which they fasten under the chin ; and which, strange as it may sound to those who have never seen it, looks *warlike*, and is a very important defence to the sides of the neck.” P. 256.

In the course of his journey through the Deccan, our author visited Patna and Benares, and several other towns and ruins of great magnificence. We forbear giving any extracts from these parts of the volume, partly because these are objects already well known in description ; and partly because the manner in which all these kinds of scenes is described, is invariably in that affected foolish way, which we before animadverted upon. To give an example from a part of the book which lies open before us, the following specimen will, we think, suffice.

“ But where, you ask, are these ruins ? as toiling through bush and long grass, now crossing a field which some ryot has farmed,

* “ A garment of cloth, or silk, quilted and stuffed with cotton, so as to render it sabre-proof.”

now wading through pools of water, or ferrying across them, you make your way from point to point, and find only the ruins of seven or eight mosques, the half-broken-down walls of a large Moorish fortress, and two strikingly grand and lofty gates of a citadel evidently built by Mahometans;—where are the traces of that city, the date of whose most flourishing existence can be followed back to a period of time so awfully remote?—a period thirteen centuries before the birth of the prophet Mahomet! Why here! Enter this ruined mosque; look at this block of marble so beautifully wrought; observe the Arabic characters so fairly sculptured on it. Now pass to the other side, &c. &c. &c.” P. 173.

We had intended before we came to a conclusion, to give an extract or two from some of our author's reflections of a religious kind; but as it was not any single passage that we had in mind, but his general tone and phraseology, we do not wish to expose ourselves to the possibility of misconstruction, by pitching on any particular sentiment or expression as liable to exception. The general reader will assuredly feel the bad taste in which our author writes in relation to religious topics, much more strongly than we, probably, felt them. However, the extracts which we have made from other parts of the volume, will be sufficient we think to recommend it to notice. It is certainly very unlike the production of an Officer of Dragoons; but whether it is the better or the worse on that account, will depend upon the disposition of the reader. The work however would, in other respects, do credit to a much older person than the author; and we conclude with again wishing it the success which it really deserves, as presenting a very lively and agreeable picture of a variety of scenes and objects which the readers of travels will not easily meet with elsewhere.

ART. VI. *The Life of David Haggart, alias John Wilson, alias Jahn Morison, alias Barney M'Coul, alias John M'Colgan, alias Daniel O'Brien, alias The Switcher. Written by Himself, while under Sentence of Death. Second Edition. 12mo. 182 pp. 4s. Longman & Co. 1821.*

IF this little volume were not presented to the public under the authority of an ostensible signature, we should be much inclined to doubt its authenticity. It does not carry with it the same strong internal evidence of truth, which was so distinctly to be found in the *Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux*. (B. C. Feb. 1819.) The peculiar language of *the profession*,

is, we think, too often and unnecessarily forced upon us; a fault into which an unskilful narrator would very probably fall, in his wish to be more natural than nature: and we are at a loss to understand, how the unhappy hero of the piece, even if gifted with extraordinary retentiveness of memory, could treasure up, with such precision of date and locality as he every where exhibits, the numberless and little-varying offences, the dreary monotony of wickedness which marked his black career. No allusion is made to any journal kept by him; and yet we read a regular Calendar of crime, in which the red letter days of burglary and murder, are carefully distinguished from the lesser festivals of larceny and misdemeanour. The narrative, however, is curious in many particulars, and perhaps useful as a whole: it contains a mass of facts, which may illustrate the gradations of disease in moral nosology; and it may serve as a fearful warning to the incipient rogue. In interest, it is far behind the life of Vaux: but this may arise from the widely different characters of the two memorialists. Haggart was a clever villain, but he relied more upon brute force than upon dexterity; he was the Macedonian or the Swede of gaol history. Vaux was a mighty master of intrigue and stratagem, a profound diplomatist, a ready negotiator, a De Retz in versatile and bold expedient. And this distinction, as it marked the active course of the two, probably has led also to the unequal consummation of their labours.

David Haggart was born at a farm town, called the Golden Acre, near Canon Mills, in the County of Edinburgh, on the 24th of June, 1801. His father was a dog-fancier; and appears to have taken such pains as his humble station would allow, to train up his son. He was placed at a respectable village school, in which for two years he was always "dux of his class;" and though he sometimes was punished for playing the truant, he never lost his place for deficiency in his lessons. At ten years of age the ruling passion which swayed his short after existence began to manifest itself: he stole a bantam-cock from an old woman, and, from the fear of punishment, determined to abandon his father's house.

"It was a real beauty. I offered to *buy*, but mistress would not *sell*, so I got another cock, and set the two a fighting, and then off with my prize. I also tried shop lifting, and carried off the till of one poor woman, who lived near Stockbridge, bodily. I knew all this was wrong, but I took no time to be sorry, or repent; and what would have been the use of repenting, for it was just all *fate*." P. 4.

Such are the salutary effects of the doctrines of Necessity and Predestination.

The usual step, after running away from home, is to enlist with the first serjeant who will give the emigrant beer enough to kindle military ardour. David Haggart accordingly beat the drum in the Norfolk Militia for a year. On its disbandment, at the peace, he returned to his father, who now lived in Edinburgh. After nine months more schooling, during which he became competently acquainted with arithmetic and book-keeping, he was bound apprentice for six years to Messrs. Cockburn and Baird, millwrights and engineers. He remained with them, as an honest, blameless, and confidential servant, until their bankruptcy, which took place two years afterwards, when he was again thrown upon his own resources. He had formed loose acquaintances at the latter part of his service, and he thus powerfully sketches the feelings which led to his second desertion of home.

“ I was thrown idle about the month of April, 1817, and in less than three months I found myself plunged in such a state of vice and wickedness, that my mind could not suffer reflection. I spent whole nights in the streets, or in worse places. Every thing I saw, or heard, or did, was wicked; my nights and my days were evil; I could not bear to look at my relations; and growing at last impatient of the restraint of living in my father's house, I formed the resolution of shifting my scene of action.

“ Among my associates I had formed a great intimacy with Barnard M'Guire, an Irishman, a darling of a boy. He was brought up to the trade of a tailor, in Dumfries. He was considerably older than myself. He was of a bold, enterprising spirit, of great bodily strength, and a most skilful pickpocket. He was good at every thing in his profession, and always gave me fair play; but we sometimes did our comrades, even Barney's own brother.” P. 8.

In company with Barney he commenced his travels, successively visiting Porto Bello races, Jedburgh, Kelso, St. James's Fair, Hawick, Langholm, Annan, Lockerby, and Ecclefechan: and in each, earning large wages from the pockets of those with whom he mixed. A single feat of this kind, at Langholm, produced £201. Some of our readers, perhaps, may find an amulet, in the two following neat instructions to the tyro *snib**.

“ The keek-cloy † is easily picked. If the notes are in the long fold, just tip them the forks ‡; but if there is a purse or open money in the case, you must link it §.” P. 12.

“ Picking the suck || is sometimes a kittle job. If the coat is buttoned it must be opened by slipping past. Then bring the lil ¶

* Pickpocket.

† Breeches pocket.

‡ Fore and middle fingers.

§ To turn out a pocket.

|| Breast pocket.

¶ Pocket book.

down between the flap of the coat and the body, keeping your spare arm across your man's breast, and so slip it to a comrade; then abuse the fellow for jostling you." P. 17.

Carlisle, Cockermouth, Kendal, Newcastle, and Morpeth, were the next scenes of action. In the last place, they fell in with some choice rivals in their own art. Park alias Boots, Simpson, an old bass-drummer in a militia regiment; James Graham, alias the Highflyer; and Fitzwilliam, alias Busy Bee. In this neighbourhood they continued to practice with much success, till January, 1818, when in flying at nobler game, they were apprehended, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, for a burglary in a lone house, about six miles from Durham.

"I lost no time in setting about contriving my escape, and, after long deliberation with my fellow-prisoners, we resolved on an attempt. We set to work upon the wall of our cell, and got out to the back passage, when the turnkey made his appearance. We seized him, took the dubs*, bound, and gagged him. Having gained the back-yard, we scaled the wall; but Barney and another prisoner fell after gaining the top. By this time the down† rose, and poor Barney and the other man were secured.

"I travelled back to Newcastle in company with a Yorkshire man, and remained there a day, during which I was occupied in obtaining a fiddlestick‡ for Barney. This being got, we were returning to Durham, when we were pursued by two bulkies§. They got close upon us, on a wild part of the road, before we observed. Just as they were springing on me, I laid one of them low with my pistol; whether I have his murder to answer for, I cannot tell; but I fear my aim was *too true*, and the poor fellow looked dead enough; the Yorkshireman knocked down the other. We got safely to Durham; and, in the night time, I got over the back wall of the jail by means of a rope ladder, and succeeded in giving Barney the fiddlestick. He made his escape that same night, by cutting the iron bars of his cell window, and came off with me to Newcastle." P. 31.

The same unbroken narrative of robberies is continued till his committal to Dumfries jail, in September, 1820, for one act of house-breaking, eleven acts of theft, and one act of prison-breaking; the trifling proportion of his discovered atrocities. In the intermediate time he had not been unrewarded; he was ten days in the Calton Hill gaol, four months in Bridewell at Edinburgh, two in the same house of call at Aberdeen, and once again had broken prison. It was on the morning of the 10th of October, that the crime for which he ultimately suffered was perpetrated; and, if we may trust the

* Keys.

† Alarm.

‡ A springsaw.

§ Constables.

narrative, without any intent of proceeding to the extremity of murder. In forcing his way out of prison, in company with two others, he struck the unfortunate turnkey with a stone, which had been procured for the purpose. The jailers pursued him in a moment, but he doubled into Cumlungan Wood, and fairly beat them, by concealing himself in a ditch; once, indeed, he says, the fearful John Richardson was so near, that he could have breathed upon him as he passed. What follows he shall tell for himself.

“ I then made for Annan, and got through it before the dawn rose, and getting on a mile or two upon the Carlisle road, I went into a belt of planting close to a small farm town. Watching an opportunity, I dived into a hay stack, and lay there all night and next day till two o'clock in the afternoon, when I heard a woman ask a boy if “ that lad was taken that had broken out of Dumfries jail;” the boy answered “ No, but the jailor died last night at ten o'clock.” His words struck me to the soul; my heart died within me, and I was insensible for a good while; on coming to myself, I could scarcely believe I had heard them, for the possibility of poor Morrin's death had never entered into my mind. The woman and boy passed on. I came out of the stack, and resolved to proceed, whatever should be the consequence. I advanced upon the road, and would have given the world for a change of clothes. Seeing a scare-crow in a field, I went up, undressed him, and marched on in the dress of a potatoe-bogle.

On the Wednesday night I slept in a hay-loft. In the morning a man came up to fill the horses racks, and was within a foot of me; but I was nicely plank't amongst the hay, and I heard all his conversation with a cove down in the stable without being observed. They had been talking about me before they came to the stable, for the first thing I heard was,—“ He maun be a terrible fallow.”—The other said, “ Ou, he's the awfu'st chield ever was; he has broken a' the jails in Scotland but Dumfries, and he's broken that at last. 'Am sure I wish he may keep away'—it will no bring back the man's life, and I ken his father.” P. 91.

For three days he continued without food, having wandered to Carlisle; hence he proceeded, in women's clothes, to Newcastle. In that town he continued nearly a fortnight, resuming his own attire, practising his profession, and even frequenting the theatre; till a second vision of John Richardson scared him homewards, as he thought Scotland the last place in which he would be expected. During his stay in Edinburgh, his presence of mind saved him from apprehension by Captain Ross of the Leith police.

“ He was within ten yards of me, my eyes and his met each other, my heart shrunk for a moment, but it was for a moment

only; for, mustering up my pluck, I plunged my fam* into my suck †, as if for a pop ‡. The cautious captain, who knew me too well before to engage me while alone, took to his heels." P. 98.

Seventy guineas were now offered for his head, and he read the bill himself at every turning. So he rambled awhile in the North, and at Perth made an escape, which we think ranks with any of Vaux's.

"The evening after my arrival, I was sitting in my lodgings with a dear acquaintance, and my pal §, James Edgy, when two bulkies came in upon us. I said, 'Gentlemen, you are in a mistake;' and, at the same time, I rung the bell, and Mr. Taylor came in; I addressed him, 'Shew these gentlemen into a room;' upon which one of them said, 'Oh, no, it's you we want.' I very unconcernedly said, 'Well, what's your demand?' he then said, 'What's your name?'—'That's a very rude question to ask of any gentleman.' Upon which he became insolent. I then asked him his name, but he refused to tell me. I then turned to the landlord, and asked if he knew him; he replied, that he was an insolent fellow, a policeman of the town. Upon this I told him I would call to-morrow, and acquaint the magistrates of his conduct, and told them both, if they did not be off, I would apply my horse-whip to them. They left the room, but judging they would soon return, I was anxious to get my fair friend out of the house, and I immediately conveyed her home.

"On my return, I said to my pal, that we might expect a fresh assortment every minute; and arrive they did, ere many minutes elapsed. One of them came into the room; I said, 'You are there again, you scoundrel.' He then held out his baton, and said, 'That we must go before the magistrates.' I said I had no objections, and rung the bell, and called for my great-coat, saying, 'Bring my great-coat from your room, Mr. Taylor.' But just as he was retiring, I bounced up, saying, 'Oh, I believe it's in my own bed-room, I'll get it myself;' and retiring by the back-door, I made off as fast as I could, to the mortification of the bulkie, and surprise of my landlord." P. 105.

On the night of Glammis Fair, he robbed a farmer on horseback, on the highway, by making a dash at his breeches-pocket, and at the same moment, striking him on the head with the butt end of his whip. His booty was twenty-eight one-pound notes: but his mind was now bent upon Ireland,—a country which must hold out strong temptations to *gentlemen of the family*.

"When a snib is caught in the attempt, they practise his own profession upon him. They strip him of all his blunt, and even

* Hand.

† Waistcoat pocket.

‡ A pistol.

§ A companion.

his clothes, and batter his brains like a pigeon-house door, and trouble themselves no farther about him. But for all this, Paddy-land is the land for pickpockets; lots of money, oceans of drink, and knocking down pell-mell even on (Q?); then is the time to work away at the business. England is too much hunted, and there is no money in Scotland."

At Belfast he was informed against by a brother prisoner, who had been confined with him in Dumfries gaol. He was dragged from a public-house before a magistrate.

"The first question was, 'What is your name?'

"I answered, in high Tipperara, 'Why sure, and its John M'Colgan.'

"One of the bulkies said, 'Och! we're mistaken.'

"The magistrate continued, 'Where are you from?'

"'Why, sure, plase your honour, I am from Armagh.'

"'What place there?'

"'Why, sure, the town.'

"'What part of the town?'

"'Right opposite the market-house?'

"He then cross-examined me; and handing me the Dublin paper, called the *Hue and Cry*, pointing to a paragraph with a description of my person, and an offer of reward for me, asked, if that was not my name?

"I said, I had told my name; if he was not plased with it he might let it alone.

"He then informed me, I must be detained.

"I answered, that I had no objection to be detained, if I knew what it was for.

"He said, it was on account of the paragraph he had shewn me.

"'Sure, sir,' said I, 'that's a Scotchman. I never was in Scotland in my life; but if you detain me, it will be at your own expence.'

"He then ordered three yeomen to sit up with me all night, along with the bulkies, in the Court-room; and retired, after having witnessed a strict search of my person. Nothing was got upon me but a 30s. note, and some silver.

"I now thought that all was over with me, and determined to make a desperate struggle to gain my liberty, or perish in the attempt. I plied the yeomen and bulkies with plenty of budge, and they were very civil to me. About eleven o'clock at night, I prevailed upon them to allow an acquaintance to bring me some supper. When the young woman came, I asked leave to speak to her for a minute behind the boxes in the court, where there was a large window: they granted me my request; and taking a Harlequin leap, I bolted right through the window, and lighted upon the street, without being either cut by the glass or hurt by the fall. I crossed the street to an opposite entry, and immediately saw the whole of my keepers below the window, staring at each

ether, not knowing what to do. At last, one of them said, 'By jappers, we were tould he was the boy.' Another said, 'Arra, he's the broth of a boy, but we'll follow him yet.' They all went off, and I took the road for Belfast, and soon got there, having run fifteen Irish miles in two hours and a quarter." P. 116.

After this escape, he paid for a passage to America, but a casual rencontre with an old friend made him give up his prudent intention. This too was owing to *Fate*: but, alas! he had "the ill luck to be born left-handed, and with thieves' fingers; for his *"forks* are equally long, and they never failed" him. Business now flowed in fast. At a cock-fight at Derry, he observed a *cove** winning every bet he took. Haggart crossed over, and thinking himself unobserved, quietly eased him first of his *lil*†, next of his *skin*‡, and lastly, of his *scout*§. On moving round the pit, a *gentleman* (one of the *gentlemen* of boxing matches and badger baits) addressed him, "You are the Switcher! Some take all, but you leave nothing." Thus he obtained one, and not the least glorious of his many *agnomina*; and no further notice was taken of the robbery.

At length, the measure of his iniquity was to be full. He was tried for a robbery at Downpatrick, and if we accept his own account of the matter, although guilty of the offence, he was condemned most illegally and unjustly, in the absence of all evidence, to "*lag for seven stretch*||. The reflection which this event draws from him is whimsical, and partakes of the character of the country which he then inhabited.

"I have been twice tried for my life in Scotland. The first time I got more than justice, for I was acquitted. The second time I got justice, for I was convicted. But in Ireland I got no justice at all; for at Downpatrick there was none to speak *for* me but the Judge, and he spoke *against* me." P. 138.

From Kilmainham jail, to which he was committed, he made one ineffectual attempt to escape. He formed also an acquaintance with two very beautiful young women, sisters, of the name of Bridget, in an adjoining cell, who were accused, and afterwards executed, for the murder of a young lady in Dublin. "I shivered," he says, "when I looked at them, as my own hands were redded with the blood of man. I gave them such serious advice as a poor guilty wretch could." His conversation with these girls was not approved of by the turnkey, and after some little discussion, Haggart,

* A man.

§ Watch.

† Pocket-book.

‡ Be transported for seven years.

+ Pass.

on refusing to be silent, was engaged in a mouth-joke, an instrument which came down with iron bars before and behind his head, the front bar having a thick iron tongue which entered his mouth: in this state he was confined for an hour.

But greater ills succeeded this: the gaol delivery soon took place, and John Richardson inspected the prisoners. "Do you ken me Davie?" struck terror in Haggart's ear. He was immediately removed to the condemned yard, in which his companion was "one of the oddest characters" he ever saw in his life: an insane man confined "for having skinned a horse alive!" This miserable wretch is described as clamoring at his meals, which he devoured "like a raven," with perpetual cries of "Cabbage and Tea! Bacon and Tea." At other times he amused himself by chasing Haggart round the yard, which, although his pursuer was confined by a straight waiscoat, he justly enough complains was "a horrible situation."

In two days he was removed in strong custody and heavily ironed to Dumfries.

"On our approach towards Dumfries, which was in the dark, there were many thousands of people on the road, many of them with torches in their hands, waiting my arrival; and when I got to the jail-door, it was scarcely possible to get me out of the coach for the multitude—all crowding for a sight of Haggart the MURDERER. Some seemed sorry, and some terrified for me: but there was not one of them all so sorry or so terrified as I was. I plunged through them, rattling my chains, and making a great shew of courage, but my heart was shaking at the thought of poor Morrin. As I went up the narrow stair to the cells, I had to pass the very spot where I struck him; and, oh! it was like fire under my feet." P. 145.

His trial at Edinburgh soon followed.

"All that man could do was done for me at my trial, and I had good hopes till the Judge began to speak; but then my spirits fell, for his speaking was sore against me. I did not altogether despair when I saw the Jury talking together—but oh! when they said *Guilty*, my very heart broke; but I was even then too proud to shew my feelings, and I almost bit my lip through in hiding them. When the Judge was passing the awful sentence, I turned dizzy, and gasped for breath. They say I looked careless, but they could not see *within* me. I did not know what had happened, or where I was—I thought of every thing in a minute—I thought of my father—I thought of my mother, who died of a broken heart—I thought of escape, and very near made a plunge over the heads of the crowd—then I could have cried out. When the sentence was over, I gathered my thoughts, and my heart was as hard as ever;

for I said, 'Well! the man that is born to be hanged, will not be drowned!' This was very wicked, but I could not help it, for I had no command of my thoughts or words." P. 148.

"But these wild and wicked thoughts soon left me. Every body was very kind to me. How this happens, I cannot tell, for from my infancy my hand has been against every man, and I never saw a human being without trying to do them a harm. This kindness is an awful lesson to me now, but it has done my heart good, for it is the sorest punishment I have met with yet in this world, I have been visited by several clergymen. They have prayed much with me and for me. I told them I had no words to pray, but they taught me, made me read my Bible, and gave me hopes of mercy in Heaven—at least such hopes as a poor miserable wretch like me can have, for my sins stick close to me.

"I have tried to tell my story as I thought and felt when it all happened, not as I feel now, for I wanted to shew my awful wickedness, as a warning to others. I have no thought now but *death*, and it is coming so near, that I must forget this world, and think only of the next. I have told all I remember of my life truly. I hope the tale will shew my old comrades, if they ever see it, that their wicked ways will bring them to untimely ends; and I leave it to my poor old father, as all that he will ever get from his unfortunate son." P. 150.

He was executed on the 18th of July, and appears to have met death with firmness worthy of a better life. One trial to which he submitted during his confinement was of a singular nature. A Mister George Combe, a writer to the Signet, and a crackbrained Craniologist, visited him, in order to examine "the developement of his head;" and has appended his remarks to this volume in a somewhat tedious note. For the benefit of other addle-pated disciples of Messrs. Gall and Spurzheim, we may remark, that Mr. Combe discovered Haggart's organs of *benevolence* and *justice* to be more prominent than he expected. His remaining qualities, as deduced from the examination, were "great self-esteem, a large combativeness, a prodigious firmness, a great secretiveness, and a defective love of approbation." All this was only silly, but to force the miserable convict to write a commentary upon the character which the Sincipital sage had sketched from his protuberances, was very little short of being cruel.

If our extracts have been copious, it has arisen from a feeling that no words can give so lively a picture of Haggart's mind as his own. He is a fearful exemplar of the possible extent to which great powers (for such he doubtless possessed) may be depraved and perverted. We have seldom read of one who more richly deserved the fate for which

he laboured ; and yet the concluding portion of his days exhibits a revulsion from evil which, if the Christian doctrine of repentance needed such an argument in its behalf, displays most clearly the nice adaptation of that doctrine to the laws of our nature.

ART. VII. *Report from the Select Committee, to whom the several Petitions, complaining of the distressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom, were referred. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 18th June, 1821.*

ART. VIII. *Report of the Committee of Management for the Agricultural Associations throughout Great Britain, with Observations on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons.*

No branch of political economy and legislation has been treated with so little regard to first principles, as the laws which have hitherto regulated the production and sale of corn. Men have never yet been found sufficiently dispassionate to view the question on general grounds ; for, as the whole population of the country are either growers or consumers of corn, every discussion which either immediately or remotely affects the price of that commodity, enlist on the one side or the other, every individual who can form an opinion in regard to it, and thousands, besides, who can form no opinion. On almost every other subject of trade or taxation, it is only the interest of a particular class which is directly concerned ; but wheresoever the corn laws are brought before the legislature, and the occupiers of the soil are heard to claim the protection of Parliament, the *vox populi* is lifted up on high, and the spirit of the whole land is troubled. If foreign wine be raised in price by an additional charge at the Custom-house, or if the spiceries of the East should by similar means be enhanced to double their wonted rates, the only effect thereby produced would appear in a careless shrug of the shoulder, or perhaps in a few fashionable imprecations on the insatiable appetite of the public Exchequer. But, were it to be so much as suspected that the House of Commons meant to raise the importation-prices of wheat, or to create any farther obstacles to the use of foreign corn in general, a powerful body of opposers would presently make themselves to be heard, in the lanes,

the high-ways, and hedges; consisting chiefly of that unanswerable class of logicians, who reason from the belly rather than from the brain.

There is something in the nature of things that will account to a certain extent, for the distinction now specified. Earth, like air and water, is held as a gift of God to all his creatures; and though the former be capable of appropriation, while the latter, generally speaking, are not, it cannot, however, be so completely withdrawn from public possession and enjoyment, as to preclude the interest which every man and woman are found to take in the soil and its products. A rich crop in a fertile field, gives pleasure to every one who sees it, without any reference, of course, to the individual advantage of the farmer: and during an abundant harvest, the heart of the meanest peasant is lifted up to the bountiful Giver of all good, acknowledging his mercy in having made the earth so plentifully to yield her increase. The territory, no doubt, belongs legally and unalienably to the landlord: but still it is regarded as the instrument by which God feeds his creatures, and is therefore not to be so rigidly appropriated as to prevent the man who was born on it, and who labours on it, day after day, from consoling himself with the belief that when the land makes a bountiful return for the sweat and anxiety expended on its culture, he is to be allowed to have his share. Every person, in short, feels that he is, in a certain sense, an inheritor of the land which gave him birth. He takes a pride in the beauty of its hills, and in the richness of its vallies; and though there be not a single square foot in it which he can call his own, still the country in which he was born, is *his* country; and he feels that, by a sort of birth-right, he is entitled to a portion of all its advantages natural and acquired. Patriotism, accordingly, has always, and in every nation, been attached to the soil; for it seems to be natural to the human being to consider himself as at once the possessor and the defender of that portion of the globe, on which his Creator has cast his lot.

This natural feeling, however, is very apt to go the whole length of a dangerous and deceiving prejudice. In the Highlands of Scotland, for example, the common people think themselves perfectly entitled to every thing that the earth or the water brings forth *spontaneously*. Game and natural timber, more especially, belong in their view alike to all who may happen to have any use for them, or can take them in possession. "God," say they, "never planted

O

wood for the lairds!" It is a kindred prejudice, too, which so commonly agitates the people's minds, in more civilized parts of the country, wheresoever the corn laws are found to engage the attention of Parliament. God sends plenty, they exclaim, but our rulers keep it out of our mouths. In a word, the surplus produce of an abundant crop is viewed in the same light here, as the spontaneous produce of lakes and hills, in the upper districts of Caledonia; namely, as being intended for the labourers and not for the lairds, and therefore not to be interfered with, by means of new laws or government officers. The remark, that "he who withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him," is as old as the times of Solomon, who first noted it for our learning; and as the principles upon which the fact and the observation are founded, hold a firm place in the constitution of man, it cannot be surprising that, even in these latter days, the same suspicion and dislike should be directed against every measure, which has for its object the regulation of the corn trade.

The Parliamentary Report now before us, has been a good deal reprobated in newspapers, and other periodical prints, as a piece of metaphysical absurdity, founded on certain speculative theories which have not yet been established, either by practice or general consent. It is moreover said to be "confessedly the production of the Right Hon. William Huskisson, and not, as hath been usual, of the Chairman of the Select Committee."

As to the former of these assertions, we are ready to admit that the paper smells too much of the shop; that there is a great deal too much affectation of saying profound things; and that, too, in a grave, sage, professional way; and moreover that there is, perhaps, an unnecessary and too frequent reference to the opinions of masters and authorities in the science of political economy. We are positive, besides, that Mr. Ricardo has had a hand in it. The old story about "land that pays no rent," and the statement of the foolish doctrine maintained by him, that "the corn which is produced upon such land, *regulates* the price of the corn raised on every other description of land," point out but too clearly the author of "*Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.*" With all these drawbacks, however, the Report, in our opinion, is a very sensible, moderate and fair production; and had it been expressed in simpler and less technical language, it could not have failed to reflect great credit upon the gentlemen who drew it up.

It is known to all our readers that the trade in foreign corn is at present governed by the provisions of the Act of 54 and

55 Geo. III. by which were, for the first time, enacted; *primo*, a constantly free exportation from the United Kingdom without reference to price, or without such exportation being either encouraged by any bounty, or restrained by any duty whatsoever;—2dly, An absolute prohibition against the introduction of every description of foreign grain, meal, or flour into the consumption of the United Kingdom, when the average prices are below the following specified rates

- “ Wheat at or above 80 shillings per quarter.
- Rye, Peas, and Beans, at or above 53s. per quarter.
- Barley, Bean, or Bigg, at or above 40s. per quarter.
- Oats, at or above 27s. per quarter.”

And, 3dly, it was enacted that, when the prices were above those specified rates, there should be an unlimited freedom of importation from all parts of the world without any duty whatever.

The protection hereby afforded not being deemed sufficient, the agricultural petitioners, on the ground that all other branches of manufacture are fully secured against foreign competition, intreat the legislature to impose duties to the following amount, on all foreign commodities, similar to those the growth of our own soil.

- “ Wheat, a permanent duty, whatever
the price may be, of40s. per qr.
- Meal, the like10s. per cwt.
- Flour14s. per cwt.
- Rye26s. per qr.
- Oats13s. 6d. per do.
- Peas and Beans26s. per do.
- Barley, Bean, or Bigg20s. per do.
- Flax20s. per cwt.
- Tallow20s. per cwt.
- Seeds28s. per cwt.
- Butter56s. per cwt.
- Cheese37s. 4d. per cwt.
- Poultry£33. per cent. ad valorem.

The avowed object of this proposal was, it is perfectly clear, neither more nor less than a monopoly of the market at all times, with the exception of such periods of dearth as might be said to approach almost to famine. That this would be the case is rendered extremely probable by a reference to what did actually take place when the principle of the protecting duty was somewhat similar to the one now recommended. The scale by which importation was regulated in the article of wheat, up to the year 1815, was as follows:

—When the average price was at above 66 shillings, the duty on importation was only 6d. per quarter: between 66s. and 68s. the duty was 2s. 6d.: below 68s. the duty was 24s. 3d. What, then, was the effect of this latter duty of 24s. 3d? “It operated generally,” say the Committee, “as a prohibition, during the short periods that it was payable:” and they are perfectly satisfied that such would be the effect to a still greater extent, were the prayer of the petitioners granted who were lately before the House. Within the principle laid down by them, “the petitioners appear to be friendly to an open trade; but in the application of it, as expounded in some of the petitions, and illustrated in the examination of some of the witnesses, your Committee cannot but apprehend that the duties which they contemplate would be altogether prohibitory.—It cannot be necessary to enter into any statements to show that practically this would be the result, in all but seasons of scarcity, of a fixed duty of 40s. a quarter, upon wheat. Your Committee will merely repeat what they have already stated, that when the trade in corn with the Continent was open, subject to the scale of duties imposed by the Acts of 1773, 1791, and 1804, and in force till 1815 there never was an importation of foreign corn to any amount during the short intervals when the high duties were demandable; and yet those duties at no part of the time exceeded 24s. 3d. per quarter. To this fact they will only add that what is proposed in addition to the amount of the duty, namely, that it should be permanent, *whatever may be the price*, is a proposition which your Committee are confident the legislature could never entertain, nor any considerable portion of the community ever countenance.”

The Agriculturists, therefore, by asking too much have got nothing. The distress of which they complain is not, indeed, denied, but the remedy which they propose is too dangerous to be applied, in the actual circumstances of the country. The Committee admit that the complaints of the petitioners are founded in fact, in so far as they represent, that, at the present price of corn, the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investment, are by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings; of which a considerable portion can be paid only out of the capitals, and not from the profits of the tenantry. Still, as the principal share of the pressure under which the farmer is at present placed, arises from the late abundant harvests, and as he already has, in consequence of the laws now in force, *the complete monopoly of the home market*, it does not appear that any new legislative measure, (which did

not grant an exorbitant bounty on exportation) could secure to the agriculturist the relief for which he prays. In this view, we agree with the Committee in thinking that the low prices of agricultural produce at this moment cannot be ascribed to any deficiency in the protecting power of the law. Protection, say they, cannot be carried further than monopoly. This monopoly the British grower has enjoyed for the produce of the two last harvests; the ports (with the exception of the importation of oats, during six weeks last summer) having been uninterruptedly shut against all foreign import, for more than two years and an half. As a positive proof, indeed, that the present corn laws are sufficiently operative, it is only necessary to refer to the fact mentioned by Lord Liverpool, the session before last, in the House of Peers, namely, that the average price of wheat, since 1815, had amounted to within a mere trifle of the protection rate, being about 79 shillings the quarter. He stated that fact, too, with the express intention of shewing that the Corn Bill had done its work; had kept prices up; and secured to the agriculturist the full advantages which the legislature had in contemplation when they passed the said Bill. The stagnation complained of, therefore, evidently arises from the crops of 1819 and 1820, which afforded somewhat above an average supply, and have thrown a slight surplus into the market ever since.

The article of corn, it has been well observed, fluctuates more in price than any other commodity of extensive use, in proportion to any excess or deficiency in the supply. The truth of this proposition, say the Committee, had not escaped several writers on this subject, and has been confirmed by many of the witnesses who have been examined; although it may be doubted whether, generally, they were aware of its extent and practical operation, in the present state of this country and of our corn laws. "The cause which produces this greater susceptibility in the corn market cannot be better explained by your Committee than in the following extract from the answers of Mr. Tooke, one of the witnesses who was principally examined to this point."

"Q. Why should a different principle apply to corn rather than to any general production? A. Because a fall in the price of any other commodity, not of general necessity, brings the whole within the reach of the consumption of a greater number of individuals, whereas, in the case of corn, the average quantity is sufficient for the supply of every individual: all beyond that is an absolute depression of the market for a great length of time, and a succession of even two or three abundant seasons must evidently produce an

enormously inconvenient accumulation. Q. Is there not a greater consumption of corn when it is cheap than when it is dear, as to quantity? A. There may be, and possibly must be, a greater consumption; but it is very evident that if the population were before adequately fed, the increased consumption from abundance can amount to little more than waste; and this would be in a very small proportion to the whole excess of a good harvest or two. Q. The whole population of this country and others, do not subsist upon wheat, therefore, when wheat becomes cheaper, those who were formerly fed upon other corn may take to feeding upon wheat? A. My remark was general as applying to corn. There is no doubt that if there is one description of corn applicable to human food which is abundant, and another which is deficient, then the principle does not apply; my principle applies to corn generally applicable to human food. It may be observed, that abundant seasons generally extend to the leading article of consumption, and that it seldom happens in what are called commonly good years, there is a complete failure in any one great article."

We are satisfied that Mr. Tooke's view of the subject is correct: that, in regard to corn, a little excess of supply lowers the price, and a little deficiency raises it, in a much greater proportion than an equal excess or deficiency affects the market of other commodities. Assuming, then, what is certainly not far from our actual situation, that the annual produce of corn in the United Kingdom is, upon an average crop, about equal to our present annual consumption; and assuming again that with such an average crop, the present import prices, below which foreign corn is by law altogether excluded, are fully sufficient to secure to the British grower the monopoly of the home market: it is inferred by the authors of the Report, that so long as the seed-grower retains that monopoly, the fluctuation of prices in the corn market will range between the *maximum* at which foreign corn is admitted, and the *minimum* to which that price may be reduced by an abundant harvest, or a succession of such harvests, until British corn falls below the price of some foreign market, and finds a vent in exportation.

Is it remarkable, then, the farmer being in possession of a complete monopoly of the home market, that Parliament should be called upon to legislate merely to counteract the effects of good weather and an improved mode of cultivation. No legal protection whatever can possibly be carried further than an undisputed monopoly. The relief for which the agriculturist is so impatient, and in some instances so ignorantly impatient, can only be granted by Him who appoints the weeks of seedtime and harvest, and who, by means of a

little rain or frost, may perhaps too soon quicken the present slack demand upon our granaries and barn-yards. We remember well that in 1804 and in 1814—two years specified by the writers of the Report—when abundant crops had reduced the prices of corn, there was the same outcry among the farmers which at present meets our ears, and the same predictions of ruin in the mouth of every man who had interest in an acre of land. The miserable crops of 1806 and of 1816 set all to rights again however; and the complaints of the grower were drowned by the still louder lamentations of the poor consumer. “That the alarms of our agriculturists were only temporary, and the fears of those who reasoned upon this continuance and increase, were ere long dissipated by the natural course of seasons and events, is now matter of history. And it is impossible to look back to the discussions of 1804 and 1814, and more especially to the evidence taken before the Committee appointed by the House on the latter occasion, without being forcibly struck with the conformity of the statements and opinions, then produced, respecting the ruinous operation and expected continuance of low prices with those which will be found in the evidence now collected. Indeed these statements, in some instances, came from the mouths of the same witnesses.”

This reference to past experience is well calculated to allay the apprehensions of the farming interest, which tend as much as any thing else to aggravate the pressure of the present difficulties. As these arise from an excess of produce, occasioned at once by improved modes of tillage, and by two or three favourable seasons, it is obvious that Acts of Parliament can be of no use; and that the only source of relief to which the occupiers of land can look with confidence is a diminished annual supply, arising from indifferent weather or from the withdrawal of agricultural capital. In farming, as in all other pursuits in which capital and industry can be embarked, there have been and will be periods of re-action; and that re-action is the more to be expected in proportion to the long continued prosperity of the pursuit, and to the degree of previous excitement and exertion which that prosperity had called forth. The Committee likewise observe, as an additional inference from the experience of former periods, to which the present crisis bears so striking a resemblance, that there is a natural tendency in the distribution of capital and labour to remedy the disorders which may casually arise in society from such temporary derangements, and that it often happens these disorders are

prolonged if not aggravated, by too much interference and regulation.

It is deserving of a further remark, too, that were the agriculturist to carry his point at present, and induce Parliament to enact such a law as would give him the monopoly of the market at all times, even in seasons of the extremest dearth, he would not, after all, be thereby placed beyond the reach of the re-action and embarrassment of which he now so loudly complains. If the average annual produce of the kingdom were found sufficient to meet the wants of the population, it would inevitably follow that a series of abundant harvests, overstocking the market and depressing prices, would occasion the same degree of difficulty to which the farmer is at the present moment subjected. In short, as long as the supply of any article is liable to considerable variations, as compared with the demand for it, there must be fluctuation in its price: and as no commodity is more subject to such variation than the produce of the soil, it is madness to expect exemption from its effects, by calling in the operation of a legislative enactment. Nay, we will even go so far as to assert that, were the agricultural petitioners to have their prayer granted, and a prohibitory duty to be imposed on the importation of corn, they would thereby obtain a boon which in the end would do them more harm than good; inasmuch as the scale of prices would by those means be so greatly raised above the rates of all Europe besides, that, in no circumstances, could they expect relief from the pressure of excessive abundance by exportation into other countries. The British farmer, it is true, places very little value upon the chance of obtaining an adequate return for his produce from the wants of the foreign consumer. It is obvious, however, that this chance becomes the less in proportion as our average prices exceed those of our neighbours, and that by pursuing our exclusive system, and still farther raising our prices, we may ultimately deprive ourselves of it altogether. On this topic we willingly use the words of the Report, the authors of which, in allusion to the fact that, "years of scarcity or plenty do not come alternately or at short intervals, but in pretty large cycles, and irregularly," remind their constituents "how hazardous and embarrassing must be the situation of the growers of corn in a country where the lowest price which is considered to afford him a remuneration, shall habitually and considerably exceed the prices of the remainder of the world; although up to that price he should be secured in the complete monopoly of that country."

As the Parliament of Great Britain feel themselves bound to protect the interests of all classes of the people, they have, in our opinion, acted wisely in abstaining at present from any alteration of the corn laws; more particularly as the legal provisions in behalf of the farmer, which they were called upon to establish, had a prospective reference entirely, and were not at all calculated to remove the distress which at this moment bears generally on that class of men. The object of the agricultural petitioners seems to have been to prevent the embarrassing effects of any future season of plenty, by securing to themselves a complete command of the home market in seasons of scarceness; and had they induced Parliament to impose an import-duty of forty shillings on wheat, *whatever might be the price*, they would certainly have accomplished their purpose most effectually. The question, therefore, to be decided by the good sense of the country at large, is, whether it would be advantageous, upon the whole, to prohibit foreign supply altogether, and to trust for our food to Providence and our own resources. The Landowner says the annual produce of the kingdom is equal to its annual consumption, and by protecting the farmer you may ensure that supply in all ordinary seasons. But, replies the Statesman, we are exposed to various casualties, year after year, by which our fields are rendered less productive, and our crops less nourishing; and as a deficiency of one tenth in our annual supply will enhance prices more than a half, and, in some instances, double them, we must not rashly shut ourselves out from the possibility of receiving aid from our continental neighbours. The United Kingdom, too, from its limited territory and inconstant climate, is liable to greater fluctuation in the produce and quality of its harvests, than the continent of Europe is, considered as a whole: and the risk of these fluctuations must encrease in proportion as the produce of Ireland (the part of the United Kingdom of which the climate is the most fickle) may become a more extended part of our general supply. It must therefore be manifest that the evil of a failing crop would be aggravated as our dependance upon Ireland encreased. It may also be a question, whether the produce of the poorer soils in England is not more likely to be effected by ungenial seasons; and it is certain that the great magnitude of our consumption, as compared with that of former periods, must render the pressure of any deficiency occasioned by those circumstances, more severe, and the means of providing against it more difficult and more costly. A harvest which should be one third

below an average in wheat, would bring upon this country a very different degree of suffering, and would require a very different degree of exertion and sacrifice to supply the deficiency, from what would have been required under similar failure fifty years ago*.

Taking up the subject, too, on the broader grounds of general economy, and as embracing our commercial and manufacturing interests, a duty on foreign corn, amounting to an entire prohibition, will appear to every one extremely impolitic and even dangerous. Agriculture is, no doubt, the main source of riches to all nations, and that branch of industry, of course, which is best entitled to encouragement at the hands of wise rulers; but, notwithstanding, as it has for many centuries been the policy of this country, recommended strongly by our insular situation, to maintain a large trading and manufacturing establishment, the Government will not hastily sanction any measure which is likely to check its prosperity. But a high price of food would certainly have that effect. Labour must, at whatever interval it may be, keep pace with the expense of feeding the labourer; and a high price of labour will ultimately raise the selling price of the commodities produced by it, and thereby disqualify us for competing with others, differently circumstanced, in the great market of the world. Machinery and capital, it is not denied, will do much for us, even under the disadvantage just alluded to: but it must be remembered that machinery and capital are both transferable articles, and may be employed in Germany or France, as well as in any part of the United Kingdom. The landlord, on his part too, should call to mind that his interest is indissolubly connected with the well-being of every other order of men who employ capital and industry in the several branches of productive employment; and that, consequently, he cannot expect to prosper a moment longer than those who purchase his produce continue to subsist in a thriving condition.

The agricultural petitioners, however, in their late application to Parliament, seem to have overlooked the political maxim just stated. They appear to have viewed the manufacturing interest as a favourite rival, rather than in the light of a useful auxiliary; and to have demanded prohibitory duties on corn, not so much on the ground of expediency as on that of retaliation against the fabricator of manu-

* See Report, page 11.

factured goods. The principle upon which they advanced their claims, says the Report,

“ would in fact go far to annihilate commercial intercourse altogether ; and is moreover founded, as it appears to your Committee, upon a mistaken statement, as well as an erroneous view of what is deemed protection to our manufactures. In the first place, they feel the more warranted in affirming that the argument of the petitioners rests in part upon a misconception of facts ; as they observe that one of the witnesses, in order to illustrate his ideas and the wishes of the petitioners, has furnished a table of the duties payable on foreign manufactured articles, of which several are subject to direct heavy duties of excise in this country ; and upon which the importation duty, as for instance upon the article of glass, is imposed in great measure to countervail the duty upon that article manufactured in this kingdom. But the main grounds upon which your Committee are disposed to think that the House will look with some distrust to the soundness of this principle, is, first, it may well be doubted whether (with the exception of silk) any of our considerable manufactures derive benefit from this assumed protection in the markets of this country ; for how could the foreign manufactures of cotton, of woollens, of hardware, compete with our own in this country, when it is notorious that we can afford to undersell them in the products of those great branches of our manufacturing industry, even in their own markets ; notwithstanding that cotton and wool are subject to a direct duty on importation, not drawn back, upon their export in a manufactured state, as well as to all the indirect taxation which affects capital in these branches, in common with that capital which is employed in raising the productions of the soil ? Secondly, that there exists this most essential difference between the effects of protection given to the manufacturer, (even if he did not enjoy from natural causes a preference in the home markets,) and the attempt at a similar protection and monopoly to the produce of the soil ; that in all employment of capital, whether in trade or manufactures, profits are limited by competition.”

Whereas, the Committee proceed to shew, land not being boundless in extent, the profits on agriculture have no other limits than the wants of the population, and may therefore rise to almost any assignable amount.

This part of the Report is evidently the work of Mr. Ricardo ; it bears all the marks of his mystical mind, and not a few tokens of his bewildering manner of stating plain truths. The doctrine contained in it, however, is not the less important on that account ; for land is, in fact, a species of natural monopoly, in so far as its produce depends not less upon original fertility than upon the application of capital and labour, and cannot be increased in proportion to the expenditure of these latter articles.

We repeat, therefore, our approbation of the conduct of Parliament in declining to agitate the very unpopular question of a new Corn Bill. The farmers are, no doubt, suffering at the present juncture ; but they are suffering, as they themselves must admit, from the visitation of Providence, manifested in having given to the country two good crops in succession ! A bad harvest would set them all on their feet again ; and assuredly men who live in this inconstant and sometimes ungenial climate, have no great reason to despair. The most powerful argument, however, against legislative interference rests on the acknowledged fact that, in their present circumstances, a Corn Bill, even if drawn up by themselves, and embodying all their protective and prohibitory clauses, would be as useless to the farmer and landowner as the first chapter of the Koran. The only purpose of such a bill is to enable them to get rich during the next dearth.

There are in this " Report" some very judicious observations on the practical inconveniences attending the laws now in force for regulating the trade, which will probably induce Parliament, at no distant period, to modify its provisions and operations. The principle of the law, as has been already stated, is an absolute prohibition up to a certain price, and an unlimited competition beyond that price ; the obvious effect of which system is supposed to be, at one time, to reduce prices, already low, lower than they would probably have been under a state of free trade ; and at another, unnecessarily to enhance prices already high ; that is, to aggravate the evils of scarcity, and to render more severe the depression of prices occasioned by abundance. It is somewhat like damming a river up till it has reached a certain level, and then letting it out all at once to overflow the adjacent country ; a method of procedure which would at once prevent good and occasion evil. The great influx of foreign oats into the kingdom about a year ago, affords an additional illustration of the same truth ; it being asserted, in a dispatch from His Majesty's consul at Hamburgh to Lord Londonderry, that the shipments from that port were more extensive, owing to the short time allowed for making them, than if they had been allowed to export a whole twelvemonth. " Had the English ports," says he, " been open for a year, it is probable that the importation would not have been much greater, but it would have been more gradual, and consequently not so ruinous ; a moderate advance on the Continent, and a moderate reduction in England, would have taken place. The consumer in England

has alone profited, the importers from the Continent having on the whole lost much money by the speculation."

The Committee having directed their attention to the possibility of modifying the operation of the present Corn Bill, so as to remedy the inconvenience which has now been stated, conceive that the object may be attained by the imposition of a fixed duty upon corn, whenever, upon the opening of the ports, it should become admissible for home consumption. It would, however, they add, in case this suggestion should be carried into effect, require that the present import price should be fixed at a lower rate, because it is obvious that the duty would otherwise not only check the sudden and overwhelming amount of import, but also enhance the price beyond what it might reach under the present law; an effect which the Committee are so far from desirous of producing, that they think it would probably be expedient additionally to guard against it, by providing that, after corn should have reached some given high price, the duty should cease altogether.

There can be no doubt that some expedient similar to that now proposed, would prove highly advantageous both to the farmer and the corn merchant; inasmuch as importation at present is liable to be effected under the influence of exaggerated views, both on the part of the buyer and seller, and is apt to be carried farther than the circumstances of the country will be found to justify. The matter, meanwhile, seems to be in good hands; and we leave it there in the fullest confidence that no step will be taken in regard to it, but after the most minute enquiry and the coolest consideration.

ART. IX. *Sintram and his Companions: a Romance.*
From the German of Frederic Baron de la Motte Fouqué,
Author of Undine, &c. 12mo. 282 pp. 5s. 6d. Ollier.
1821.

ONDINE, as we ventured to predict (B. C. Aug. 1820.), is now fairly naturalized in England; and we are much mistaken if the high praise with which we introduced it to our readers has not been re-echoed by all who adopted our recommendation. We can scarcely hope that the present romance will be as much admired, nor indeed do we think that it deserves so to be; for it is totally different in character. Instead of the tempered sunshine and melting gales which floated round the

nymph of the waters, we are thrown in these pages under a fierce and stormy sky; and the light beings of the element, all pure and sinless, are exchanged for the doers, the sufferers, and the ministers of ill. This distinction of tone was intended by the author: who, somewhat fancifully perhaps, has planned a series of four tales characteristic of the seasons. Ondine, by its graceful repose and tranquil beauty, its greenness of imagery, and youthfulness, if we may so say, of conception, represents the spring: while the more stern and rugged Sintram, with its hoarse blasts and chilling horrors, is the type of winter. The two other tales have not yet appeared in an English dress, but they are promised by the translator of Sintram, who appears competent to his task.

The wild groundwork of Sintram was suggested to the Baron de la Motte Fouqué, by a fine engraving of Albert Durer, which he found among some birth-day presents. A harnessed knight is riding, attended by his dog, through a savage valley. Poisonous weeds and loathsome reptiles are trailing amid the fragments of rock upon which his courser treads. Death rides at his side upon a lean and rawboned poney. Behind him a fiend outstretches his raised claw. The expression of the knight's countenance is unconcerned and calm, and he bears upon the point of his lance a lizard which he has just speared. But the dog and the steed look wild and fearful. A rich and lofty castle forms the distant back-ground. Bartsch conjectures this to be a portrait (not death or the devil, but the knight) of Franz von Sickingen, the friend of Luther, and of Ulrich von Hutten (*Peintre Graveur*, VII. 107.) and Schroeber imagines it to be an allegory of military life (*Life of Durer*, 87). The Baron de la Motte Fouqué has given *his* interpretation in the romance before us.

Sir Biorn of the Flaming Eye was banqueting with his Norwegians, at Christmas, in the castle of Drontheim, when their midnight carousals were interrupted by a terrific storm; during its utmost rage, Sintram, the Baron's son, rushed into the hall, with a fearful cry, "Knight and father! Father and knight! Death and his mate are again horribly close behind me!" Seven years had passed, since, as Sir Biorn sat once before at a solemn Christmas festival, with his assembled warriors, the discourse turned upon the growing power of the German merchants. Sir Biorn, stretching out his hands to the golden boar, which stood as a remnant of paganism on his board, vowed that whatever German merchant fell alive into his hands should be put to death without mercy. As he yet spake, the warder announced that an old

man and his son, two citizens of a German sea port town, had been stranded near the castle, and stood without, claiming the protection of its lord. The lady Verena interceded for the unhappy strangers; but the baron's oath, and his honour, forbade him to listen. She intreated him for his only child's sake. He set that child upon the cast; and called upon death and the devil if he failed in his word. Two unknown forms then strode into the castle yard as he uttered the imprecation. One was long, and large, and pale, and gaunt: the other was a dwarf, hideous in mien and feature. As Sir Biorn and his servants hurried to attack the merchants, the lady Verena called upon the Redeemer for help; the horrible forms vanished at the word, and the merchants walked away unscathed by the swords which gleamed around them. From that moment, at the Christmas season, the boy Sintram was haunted by terrific visions; and the lady Verena retired to a convent. Biorn had sought repose in another castle, after this seventh interruption, and Sintram followed him. As he turned his horse by the chasm of a rock, he saw a tall, deadly-pale man, attempting in vain to struggle out of a deep snow hill: a hem of bones, which he bore loosely round his cloak, rattled as he strove. "What art thou about there?" cried Sintram, "give an account of thy lonely doings."

" 'I live in dying,' returned he, with a fearful grin.

" 'Whose are the bones on thy clothes?'

" 'They are relicks, young master.'

" 'Art a pilgrim then?'

" 'Ceaseless, restless; up the land, down the land.'

" 'Thou shalt not perish here in the snow.'

" 'That will I not.'

" 'Thou shalt place thyself beside me on my horse.'

" 'That will I.'

" And instantly, with unexpected strength and nimbleness, he was up out of the snow, and sat behind Sintram, embracing him with his long arms, upon the horse, which started at the clattering of the bones, and, as if seized with a frenzy, galloped thence through the most pathless valleys. Soon the boy found himself alone with his strange companion; in the far distance the terrified Rolf vainly spurred and puffed after the on-rushing pair.

" After gliding down from a snow-covered mountain-wall, but without falling, the steed became somewhat fainter in a narrow chasm, and though he yet frothed and foamed as before, and the boy was still unable to master him, yet his breath-stopping course changed itself into a wild, irregular trot, and there arose between Sintram and the stranger the following discourse:

" 'Thou pale man, draw thy garments in tighter; so the bones will not clatter, and I shall tame my horse.'

“ ‘ It boots not, my boy, it boots not : the bones have got a way of so doing.’

“ ‘ Squeeze me not so tightly with thy long arms. Thine arms are so cold.’

“ ‘ Can not otherwise, my boy, can not otherwise. And be content. Still my long cold arms will not squeeze in thy heart.’

“ ‘ Blow not so upon me with thy frozen breath. Thereat all my strength is going from me.’

“ ‘ Must blow, my boy, must blow. But bewail not thyself. I shall not yet blow thee away.’

“ The strange discourse had an end, for contrary to expectation Sintram came out upon a bright sun-illuminated snow-plain, and saw the castle of his father lying at a short distance from him. While still musing, whether he should and might invite the ghastly pilgrim to go with him, the latter relieved him from all doubt by suddenly springing from the horse, which halted in its wild speed surprized. Thereupon he said to the boy with up-raised fore-finger :

“ ‘ I know the old Biorn Flame-eye very well ; only perhaps more than all too-well. Greet him from me. My name he does not need to learn. He will know me already from the description.’

“ Herewith the pale stranger turned into a close fir-copse, and vanished rattling amidst the thickly interwoven branches.” P. 27.

Sintram named the pilgrim to his father. Sir Biorn acknowledged that he knew him too well. In the evening Sintram was summoned by his father to the hall ; the same pilgrim, as it appeared, was alone with him, but the pilgrim denied all knowledge of Sintram, and Sintram felt that his morning companion was not that strange man who now sat before him. Ere they parted, the pilgrim took a guitar from the wall, and looking earnestly at Sir Biorn chanted these words to its melancholy tones.

“ The flower was my own, was my own !
 But I gambled away my heavenly right ;
 But I to a servant am changed from a knight,
 Through my sin, through my sin alone.
 The flower was thy own, wast thy own !
 Why held'st thou not fast to thy heavenly right ?
 Thou servant of sin, no longer a knight,
 Now art thou thus drearily lone.” P. 39.

Folko of Montfaucon, and his lady, the peerless Gabrielle, were visitors to their kinsman Sir Biorn. The Evil Dwarf, or, as in accordance with the romance, however much against our inclinations, nathless we must henceforward call him, the Little Master, assailed Sintram with temptation through

the fair one's beauty. He painted, in glowing colours, the tale of Sir Paris and the young Duchess Helen, and left the victim whom he sought to seduce, to apply the moral to himself. Gabrielle stood by him in the moonlight, as the Little Master had fired the youth's imagination; he rushed towards her, but his ear caught the last words of a hymn, which Rolf, his pious and faithful foster-father, sang from the battlements. It was a prayer that the youth whom he loved might remain pure in the eyes of heaven. It touched Sintram's heart, and he withstood the trial.

Earl Eirik had challenged Sir Biorn to combat with his assembled warriors; Folko, armed in his host's behalf, and Gabrielle beheld the fight from an eminence on the field of battle. A little strangely harnessed man, with large golden horns upon his helmet, a visor, stretching far forward, and a two-edged battle-axe, formed at the end like a sickle, put the warriors of Sir Biorn to flight. Sintram, regardless of any other foe, sought him in the ranks, and smote him at a single blow lifeless to the earth. The day was decided by this conquest, and Sintram was rewarded by knighthood from Folko, and the more richly prized investiture of a scarf and sword from the hands of the peerless Gabrielle. But the body of the vanquished knight had vanished from the field.

The departure of Folko and Gabrielle was at hand: it was prevented by a supernatural storm, raised at the desire of Sintram by the Little Master. A single lock of coal-black hair, cut from the youth's brows, produced the tempest; and Folko, by the unfashionable tonsure, discovered Sintram's unhallowed connection. In a wintry hunt Folko killed a bear; the animal fell headlong over a crag, and the knight's snow-shoes failed him as he attempted to recover the spoil. Sintram was hastening to his assistance, but the Little Master was at his ear, and prompted him that Helen might be his own. For a moment the fiend prevailed. The Baron's cries for help fell unregarded on Sintram's ear as he turned homeward, and the fiend shouted for joy at the assured destruction of Montfaucon. "Now wilt thou no more, O thou my delicate lord knight, now wilt thou no more cry out before thy troops, Montjoy, St. Denys."

The hallowed name had escaped him unawares, but he fled howling as he uttered it; and Sintram once again was saved from guilt. He delivered the Baron from his peril. Pale and bloody, with his right arm shattered by his fall, he found him, holding the she-bear and her young at bay, and led him to the castle.

Sintram, in remorse, retired to his father's castle on the

P

Moon-rock; he felt unworthy to remain under the same roof with Folko. On his road he encountered the pilgrim and the Little Master once more; the former refused to accompany him, and strode on to a near mountain-fortress. He had scarcely entered when the death-bell tolled from its chapel.

We cannot follow the story with any hope of making it understood, through the perplexities of the Warder of the Moon-rock castle, and Sir Weigand the Slim: suffice it to say that the latter is the mad pilgrim, the double of Sintram's morning companion, the first lover of the Lady Verena, the supposed murderer of the Warder, and altogether terrifically connected with Sir Biorn; and we rejoice most heartily, that both he and the Warder die in peace with each other after a few chapters of mutual explanation.

The Little Master again tempted Sintram by revealing a *souterrain* from the Moon-rock castle to Gabrielle's chamber; and he shewed himself as the horned knight who was slain on Niflung's heath: but his fiendish snares were again unravelled by the intervention of Rolf. Once more Sir Folko's life was placed in Sintram's power, but his good genius conquered the horrible suggestions of the demon. He succeeded also in chasing the Little Master from his father's board. We find him next summoned to Sir Biorn's death-bed. In the pass which led to Drontheim, he was accosted by a stranger, at whose words, the dog at Sintram's side ran whining under the horse, and the horse itself reared, champed its bit, and shuddered. "There are loathsome witch-creatures here about this hour," said the unknown traveller:

"Then, as it were, hideously to confirm the stranger's words, a thing swung itself down from the nearest hoar-frosted tree—one could not distinguish whether it was a snake or whether it was a lizard—which curled and riggled about, and seemed wishing to make at the knight or his companion. Sintram thrust with his lance at it, and pierced it through. But it sat fixed, making the most hideous contortions, above upon the spear-head, and in vain did the knight strive to brush it off against the rock or the branches. Then he sank his lance over his right shoulder behind him, so that he had the loathsome creature no longer before his eyes." P. 239.

As they approached the castle, the stranger seemed even more like to Weigand the Slim; but to the question he replied, "I am not Weigand. I am the other one who looked so like unto him, whom thou also hast already of yore met in the forest."

"Here some one cried out behind him, with a yelling voice: 'Halt! Halt! take me also along with you!'—Sintram, looking

round, beheld a loathsome little form, horned, half a boar, half a bear in face, striding upright upon horse's hoofs, with a marvelously hideous hooked or sickle-like weapon in its hand. It was the being, that had been wont to torture him in his dreams, and, alas! it was also at the same time the noxious Little Master, and wildly laughing, stretched forth a long claw towards the knight's hip.

"Sintram murmured, confounded: 'I have surely fallen asleep! and my dreams are now bursting forth!'

"'Thou wakest,' returned the rider of the little horse, 'and me also dost thou know from thy dreams; for lo! I am Death.'

"And his garments fell away from him, and a mouldering fleshless corpse came forth from them, and a half-dead face with a diadem of serpents; what had stuck concealed beneath his mantle, was an hour-glass that had almost run out. This Death held up before the knight with his fleshless right arm. The bell upon the neck of the little horse sounded at the same time very solemnly. It was a death-bell.

"'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit!' prayed Sintram, and rode full of calm resignation after the onward beckoning Death.

"'He has not gotten thee yet! He has not gotten thee yet!' screamed the terrible monster behind him. 'Give thyself up rather unto me. In the twinkling of an eye—for swift are thy thoughts, swift is my might—in the twinkling of an eye thou standest in Normandy. Helen yet blooms ravishing, as when she departed hence, and thine shall she be this very night.'

"And again he took up his godless praise-chaunt of Gabrielle's beauty, and Sintram's heart beat high in his weak bosom glowingly and wildly.

"Death said no more, but he raised the hour glass in his right hand higher and ever higher, and as the sand now ran away more rapidly, a gentle gleam from the glass laid itself upon Sintram's face, and then it was unto him, as if eternity in its still splendour were opening before him, and as if the confused world were plucking him backwards with hideous claws.

"'I command thee, thou wild form, that thus followest me,' he cried out, 'I command thee in the name of my Lord Jesus Christ that thou desist from thy enticing prate, and that thou name thyself unto me with the word, wherewith thou art charactered in Holy Writ!'

"A name more fearful than a thunder-clap roared in despair from the lips of the tempter, and he vanished.

"'He will not come again;' said Death friendly.

"'So then I am now become altogether thine, my solemn companion?'

"'Not yet, my Sintram. Not till after many, many years shall I come unto thee. But thou must not forget me until then.'

"'I will hold thee fast before my soul, thou fearfully healing warner, thou terribly loving guide.'

“ ‘ Oh, I can also look very mild.’ ”

“ And he proved it forthwith by the deed. His form began to melt away ever more and more softly before the growing glimmer that shone out of the hour-glass, his features but now so bitterly severe smiled tenderly, out of the crown of serpents there grew a sparkling palm-wreath, out of the horse a white vapoury moon cloud, and the bell sang forth sweet lullabies invisibly therefrom.”
P. 242.

Sintram, after this final victory over the tempter, breathes comfort to his dying father, and is admitted to the saintly presence of his mother, the Lady Verena. We purposely omit the lame and impotent conclusion.

We know not what sentence to pronounce upon this singular romance. It belongs too much to the diseased school of Germany to obtain general circulation in England. Exclusive of the intended wildness, its plan and conduct is confused and often unintelligible: its pictures are far from pleasing; and its sublimity (for this it sometimes attains) quickly falls into the ridiculous. With all these gross and prominent faults, it has forcibly arrested our attention. We are sorry to remember that it is written by the author of *Ondine*, but we doubt much whether any other author could have written it.

ART. X. *Religio Clerici. Two Epistles. By a Churchman, with Notes. A new Edition. To which is now added, by the same Author, The Parson's Choice of Town or Country.* Murray. 1821.

COMMON place poetry is a thing so pre-eminently common place, that we have almost laid it down, as a rule to ourselves, not to occupy our pages with the various rhyming effusions which issue weekly from the press; and which are really, for the most part so like each other, even to the very types with which they are printed, as nearly to preclude selection. On this very account, however, we are always glad when we meet with any production of superior merit, because it affords us an opportunity of proving that our fastidiousness is, at least, not the effect of mere insensibility. With this view, we know not that we could wish for a stronger argument in justification of our taste, than is afforded us by the marked notice which we propose to take of the composition prefixed to the head of this article; for its brevity and slightness are such as would fully warrant us in overlooking its merits, be they what they may, were we not really anxious to evince that our neglect of indifferent poetry, is in fact only a consequence of our genuine admiration for that which is excellent.

With respect to the author of this spirited and Horatian Epistle, he is so well known to most of our readers, as not to require that we should expatiate upon the subject on the present occasion. The general merit of his style, the elegance, the harmony and vigour of his versification, the keenness of his satirical powers, the delicacy of his wit, and the admirable discretion and good taste with which he has handled the extremely difficult subject which he has chosen as the object of his lash: these are topics respecting which we have already more than once had occasion to deliver our judgment; and it is evident from the appearance of this new edition of the *Religio Clerici*, that the opinion of the public coincides with that which we have expressed. It is no longer as a "new poem," that the volume before us can at this time of day be called for, but (what it well deserves to be) as a standard work, in the same class as the *Baviad* and *Ræviad*, the *Pleaser's Guide*, the *Pursuits of Literature*, and other poems of that character. To the judgment which we before pronounced, we have nothing to add, nor is there any thing in it, which we see reason to alter. The Epistle before us, though it touches upon new topics, is still cast in the same gay and easy mould, as its predecessors; and had it been put into our hands without any intimation of the quarter from which it came, we could have fixed with certainty upon its author.

The subject matter of the poem is announced in the first six lines.

"Your choice arranged, the die already cast,
Examined, titled, and ordained at last;
Cam's piebald honours dangling at your back,
Esquire for Reverend, blue exchanged for black;
What Cure to look for, where to ply your task?
This the first natural question which you ask." *Line 1.*

The questions, then, which the author proposes, are the respective advantages and disadvantages of a town and country cure. These of course are relative to the individual; and accordingly the poet considers the case in reference to the different circumstances and characters of those whom we may suppose to be in debate. Having stated these, he next proceeds to delineate under the names of *Mitio* and *Demea*, the opposite views and feelings, with which different individuals may be actuated. These two characters are sketched with singular elegance and spirit, and one, at least of them, we think the reader will be able to trace to its original; but we reserve our extracts for the latter part of the poem, in which the author paints, in colours true and vivid, the dissimilar scenes and duties which a London parish presents, as compared with those which devolve upon the Clergyman of a country flock. The pas-

sages in which these different pictures are pourtrayed, are long ; but we think that they possess sufficient merit to render any apology on that score unnecessary. Our author first casts his eye upon the duties of a London Priest.

“ ‘ The Poor at least.’—Aye, *there* is food enough
 For bosoms made of ‘ penetrable stuff.’
 So wide the waste of sorrow, that the heart
 Grows palsied, dead, and callous to the smart.
 So vast the fold, the shepherd ill can tend
 Sheep which but little on his voice depend.—
 Try the next crowded alley ; all around
 Lie groups of ragged children on the ground,
 Wasting in squalid idleness their time,
 Or schooled but in the rudiments of crime.
 Some, with a gamester’s quick and greedy eyes,
 The farthing chuck, and follow as it flies :
 Above them others, not less eager, lean,
 Shouting with frequent oath, and phrase obscenc.
 Within a Cellar’s yawning gulph below,
 (‘Tread with a cautious foot while down you go,)
 Wrapt in a blanket, threadbare, old, and torn,
 Groans one who joy’d not when her child was born ;
 Her double curse, for at her bosom lie
 Twin babes, who taste of being but to die.
 Close to her aching head and sleepless eyes
 His noisy craft the surly husband plies ;
 And on the ground, half-naked and unfed,
 Three famish’d children feebly scream for bread.
 Ah ! happier they whom in the holy wave,
 Before they breathe their last, you haste to lave !

“ Or if above, your labouring steps explore
 Some narrow-built, but thickly-peopled floor ;
 On as you creep, from every side arise
 Sounds of hoarse dissonance and mingled cries :
 Shrill notes of angry beldames, sharp return,
 Taunt, curse, and threat, and answer fierce and stern ;
 Coarse jokes quick-bandied, and anon the shout
 Of vulgar revelry and drunken rout.
 A small, dim chamber on the topmost stair
 Awaits you, clogged and foul with close-pent air ;
 All hushed within, save, as you pause to hear,
 A sob half-stifled passes on your ear ;
 And when you enter, by a pallet bed
 Kneels a pale form unconscious of your tread ;
 Fixed on the pillow dwells her aching ball,
 Hot with the tears which start but will not fall ;
 And her quick ear on each more hard-drawn breath
 Hangs, as to catch the minute-gasps of Death.
 Her hands, the little that they could, have spread,
 Rude though it be, the holy cup and bread ;

And called to minister with pious care,
 Before her Father sleeps, the Man of Prayer :
 Before he sleeps, and she, alas ! is thrown
 Loose on the world, unfriended, and alone !
 Oh ! never, while his dying hand she bent
 To take from mine the sacred Element,
 Ne'er did the God she bared her heart to, see
 A heart from any stain of earth more free !—
 Now when I meet her, and the scene of pain
 With all its horrors rushes on my brain ;
 Her look of phrenzy, when upon his brow
 Sprang the last death-drop—oh ! why meet her *now* !
 Of other ills the meretricious cheek,
 Hard eye, forced smile, and sidelong titter speak.
 Ask you what caused her ruin ? She was thrown
 Loose on the world, unfriended, and alone.

“ Griefs such as these the London Priest engage,
 Condemned to witness, powerless to assuage :
 Not his the purse, which yields enough supply
 To quench the dropsied thirst of Penury :
 Not his the counsel, which can Youth secure
 With Want to wring it, Vice at hand to lure.” *Line 141.*

These lines are admirable; we think, however, that the latter part of the picture might have been spared ; not merely because the subject is disagreeably painful, even in poetry, but moreover it is also not a little hacknied. It was perhaps principally, on account of the superior agreeableness of the scene itself, that we preferred the poet's delienation of the life of a country clergyman : and we think it easy to perceive that our author's heart, as well as imagination, entered into the composition of the following beautiful description.

“ But there are spots in which what little cost
 The Pastor's hand can proffer is not lost ;
 Spots where not all the seed his care has thrown
 Is trodden, choked, or withered as 'tis sown.
 Where Sabbath bells, with sweet and mellow fall,
 The willing dwellers of the hamlet call ;
 And Youth, and Age, and all who sojourn there,
 Bend as one family there hearts in prayer ;
 And in the appointed shepherd of their fold
 Each seems a common parent to behold.
 There's not a heart within his little reign
 But bears to him its pleasure or its pain :
 His lips sweet counsel minister, and give
 Life to the Word by which alone we live ;
 Touch every secret spring that moves the soul,
 Confirm, dissuade, soothe, animate, controul ;
 Turn from its bed the torrent rush of woes,
 And gently stem the joy which overflows.

- “ On some bright morning, when the golden Sun
 A three hours' course above the hills has run ;
 And oped those eyes which dare not wish for morn,
 And yet, not wishing, fain would have it dawn ;
 The village Bride, her cheek with blushes spread,
 Forth in reluctant willingness is led.
 Before her path her virgin fellows strew
 Fresh-gathered buds of many-meaning hue ;
 For Love the Rose ; the Lily's spotless white
 For Innocence ; the Goldcup for Delight ;
 For Truth, the flower that bids us ‘ not forget ;’
 For maiden Modesty, the Violet.
 Anon a jocund troop, in gallant trim,
 Merry at heart, and light, and lithe of limb,
 Comes dancing forward, to the measured sound
 Of pipe and tabor, footing its gay round ;
 And one most joyous mid the brother band,
 With ribbons on his hat, and garlands in his hand.
 Then to the solemn rite the Priest proceeds,
 And feels a Father's pleasure while he reads ;
 Joins hand in hand as heart is joined in heart,
 And takes their mutual pledge ‘ till Death doth part.’
 And as his lips the enamoured couple bless,
 Fain would his eyes the starting tears suppress ;
 Tears not of sorrow, for the good man smiled,
 And his heart whispered ‘ Each is as my child.’
- “ Or when the lessening year declines away,
 Slow dawns the Sun, and early sinks the day ;
 When the dank gales of Autumn, subtle thief,
 Pilfer the widowed branches, leaf by leaf ;
 Which point the Poet's moral as they fly,
 Man in his generations so must die ;
 Another rite, perhaps, demands his care,
 The last sad offices a friend can share ;
 Some grey-haired friend whom, ripened for his crown,
 Time has not plucked, but gently shaken down.
 Beneath the Church-yard's venerable shade,
 Hard by the Yew, a decent grave is made ;
 And round the Patriarch's hearse in mourning band,
 Sons, and *their* sons, and kinsmen's kinsmen stand ;
 Next many an old acquaintance ; in the rear
 Idlers, and Gossips, not unmoved, appear ;
 E'en strangers pause a moment as they pass,
 And turn to moralize, ‘ All flesh is grass !’
 There Childhood comes to wonder at the show
 And Age to mark where soon itself must go.
 Till, as the Holy Man with lifted eyes
 Tells how the dead incorruptible rise,
 Of Life and Immortality, and how
 Their Brother, as they hope, reposes now ;

Sorrow and mourning flee away, and pain,
And of *their* loss they think not, but *his* gain.

“ By steps like these the saintly Herbert trod,
And to his ‘ Temple’ led the Priest of God.
He from St. Paul the gifts of Grace displayed,
Their power affirmed, their differing parts arrayed ;
How those who ruled, with diligence should sway,
And those who served, with willingness obey ;
Give with simplicity, with mercy chide,
Love all, and honest things for all provide.
By steps like these in many a green abode
Still treads the village Priest his holy road ;
Labours for bliss above, and tastes below
Such sweets as Life’s mixed goblet can bestow.

“ For there are ills (but what from ill is pure ?)
Which e’en the happiest Vicar must endure.
This year his Tithes, the next his Sermons fail,
And now his Squire is sour, and now his Ale :
Then roads ill-suited to a chaise and pair ;
Guests unexpected, and no bed to spare ;
Some nights abroad when moons forget to rise ;
Some days at home with sad and solemn skies ;
Six miles to fetch the Doctor, if he’s ill,
And just six more if he prescribes a pill ;
No Watchman’s rattle, and no Postman’s bell,
And to thy glories, Gas, a long farewell !

“ And yet with all this weight of petty cares,
Blest is the lot a country Parson shares.
Too sound for cant, in pulpit or in pen,
Well read in books, sufficiently in men ;
Himself no Club-collector, and his Wife
No penny patroness of pious strife ;
Free, loved, and honoured in his neighbour’s eyes,
The Bishop’s self scarce one degree more wise :
If from his flock no private Preachers spring,
(As thought Nassau) he’s happier than a King.” *Line 209.*

“ Good wine needs no bush,” they say ; and certainly such lines as we have just extracted need no comment. The versification would have done honour to Dryden ; but there is in them a softness and playfulness of feeling, the absence of which forms almost the only drawback from the pleasure which Dryden’s verse affords. We conclude, not by recommending our author to our readers, but by recommending our readers to our author. Whether his Muse be a “ goddess of the city or the plain,” we only hope she will not be allowed to remain idle ; but that we may often and soon have the pleasure of again introducing her to all lovers of the true and genuine school of English poetry.

ART. XI. *Notes relating to the Manners and Customs of the Crim Tatars; Written during a four Years' Residence among that People. With Plates. By Mary Holderness. 12mo, pp. 176. 5s. 6d. Warren. 1821.*

THE people, whose manners and customs form the subject of this modest little volume, are so imperfectly known, and what little is known of them, is so well calculated to create a desire for further information, that we took up Mrs. Holderness's work with considerable curiosity, and laid it down with no little regret at finding it so short and compendious. The authoress appears to be a very intelligent person, and the means which she possessed of making herself acquainted with the subject, are such as seldom fall to the lot of travellers, either male or female. She resided four years in the Crimea, in what capacity does not appear, but obviously in a situation which must have given her access to the best information; under these circumstances, that she should have produced so small and cheap a book as this before us, is both mortifying and surprizing. However, we are thankful for the boon, scanty as it is, and are willing to confess that the quantity of facts which she has collected are in a much greater proportion than the size, or number of her pages would have warranted us in expecting.

The work is strictly what it professes to be—mere notes. The subject matter is given in no sort of order either narrative or methodical; but facts and anecdotes are related, apparently without any other arrangement than that which they may have taken in the memory of the authoress. So that the book is composed of fragments, which it would be difficult to reduce into any thing like a continuous account. As a specimen of the manner in which the work is written, we shall select, for the satisfaction of our readers, the following specimens, which we take nearly at random.

“The Tatars of the Crimea may be divided into three classes: the Murzas, or noblemen; the Mullas, or priests; and the peasantry; the latter paying great deference to both the former. The Mulla is considered the head of every parish, and nothing of consequence to the community is undertaken without his counsel. His land is ploughed for him, his corn sown, reaped, and carried home, and it is seldom that the proprietor of the soil takes tithe of the priest.

“The language used in the mosques is the Arabic, which the clergy learn to read without being able to translate, only having a general idea as to the tendency of each prayer. The Effendis (a higher class of the priesthood) are doubtless more learned, but it is considered sufficient for a Mulla of the smaller villages to be able to read, and to understand a few of the mysteries of their religion.

Not even the smallest village is without a minister ; and mistaken as these poor people are in the objects of their belief, and in the observance of senseless laws, at least they are entitled to the merit of sincerity in their devotions, and a strict adherence to those duties which their religion enjoins.

“ The dress of a Tatar gentleman is of cloth, trimmed with gold or silver lace, or in the heat of summer, of Turkish silk, or of silk mixed with stuff. In winter his coat is lined with fur, his trowsers are worn tight and low at the ancles, and are made of some bright coloured linen, frequently blue. He wears upper and under slippers, and no stockings. He has generally a large high cap of broad-cloth (which distinguishes him from the peasantry), and a coloured linen shirt. The priests and old men wear their beards, but the young shave them. All shave the head ; and the Mullas are known by a white linen cloth which they bind round the outside of their caps.” P. 8.

Our readers, however, will be better able to form an opinion of the talents of our authoress, and of her narrative and descriptive powers, by a passage of more sustained interest, than those which we have just now extracted : with this view we select her account of the ceremonies which are observed at a Tatar marriage.

“ When a Tatar desires to marry, and has fixed upon the family from which he intends to choose his wife (in which determination he must for the most part be influenced by interest, although the reputed beauty or good qualities of his bride may perhaps have been described to him by her attendants), his first step is to obtain the consent of the father. This being accomplished, presents are sent according to the circumstances of the suitor, who now visits in the family on a footing of increased familiarity. None of the female part of it, however, are on any occasion visible to him, unless he can by stealth obtain a glance of his fair one, who possesses the superior advantage of seeing him whenever he comes to the house, through the lattice-work which incloses the apartments of the women.

“ At the period fixed for the wedding, a Tatar Murza sends to all the neighbouring villages an invitation, to come and partake of his festivity and good cheer. Two, three, or more villages in a day are thus feasted, and this lasts a week, ten days, or a fortnight, according to the wealth of the bridegroom. Each guest takes with him some present, which is as handsome as his means will allow : a horse, a sheep, a lamb, various articles of dress, nay, even money, are presented on this occasion.

“ Much ceremony takes place in preparing the intended bride, on the evening before the wedding, of which I have been a witness. The poor girl either was, or appeared to be, a most unwilling victim. She was lying on cushions when I first entered, covered so as not to be seen, and surrounded by the girls who were her particular friends, the rest of the women attending less closely. The girls, at intervals, loudly lamented the loss of their companion, and

she joined in the voice of woe. At length, the women told her that it was time to commence the preparations. In an instant the girls all seized her, and uttering loud cries, attempted to withhold her from the women, who, struggling against them, endeavoured to force her away. This scene lasted till the bride was near suffering seriously from their folly, for she fainted from continued exertion, and the heat of the crowd; but this may be said to have ended the contest, for they were obliged to give room and air for her to revive, and some little time after she had recovered, the women took formal possession of their new associate. They then began to dye her fingers, her toe-nails, and afterwards her hair, which being tied up, she at last was left to repose. During the whole time I was there, she would not shew her face; and in general, I have observed, that if one tells a Tatar girl that it is said she is about to be married, she runs immediately out of the room, and will never speak to a stranger on that subject.

“The share which the priest has in the ceremony, is, I believe, very slight: he attends the house of the bride’s father, and asks at her window, whether she consents to the marriage. If she answers in the affirmative, he says some short ejaculatory prayer, blesses the couple in the name of the prophet, and retires. For this he receives a present of considerable value; a horse, or a sheep, or money.

“The principal ceremony takes place on the day when the bride is brought home to her husband’s house; and the chief visitors are then invited. Eating, drinking, and dancing to the music of a drum and bagpipes, form the greatest part of the entertainment, till the cavalcade sets out to meet the bride. She is always met at the frontiers of the estate on which the bridegroom resides, all the guests attending, and conducting the lady to her future dwelling. The party, when on the road, forms a gay and lively concourse, in which he, who in England would be called the *happy man*, is the only person who has not the appearance of being cheerful. Apparellled in his worst suit of clothes, with unshaven face, and perhaps badly mounted, he rides where he is least conspicuous, while a friend has the charge of leading another horse for him, which is always richly caparisoned. When the party attending the bride is arrived at the place of meeting, the mother, or some duenna who has the superintendence of the business, first makes a present of value to the person who leads the horse, which if it be a shawl, as is generally the case, is tied round the neck of the animal. Afterwards, many small handkerchiefs coarsely embroidered, and little pieces of linen, or of coarse printed cotton are distributed, for which the guests contend in horse-races. This occupies much time, and during the whole of it, the carriage which contains the bride waits at the distance of nearly half a mile. It never is brought nearer to the party, but the lady’s father, or one of her brothers, attends it, in order to see the charge safely executed of delivering her *unseen* in o the house of her husband. The better to effect this, the carriage is hung round with curtains inside, and if the party arrive somewhat early at the village, the vehicle is detained

at the entrance of it till near the close of day, and till it is supposed that all are occupied in eating. When she reaches the door of her new prison, sherbet is brought her to drink, and some kind of sweetmeat is given with it. She is next presented with a lamb, which is actually put into the carriage with her, and afterwards transferred to one of her attendants. At length, after much bustle and preparation, the court being previously cleared of all spectators, large coarse blanketing is fixed up, so as to prevent all possibility of her being seen, and then, wrapped in a sheet, she is carried by her brother into the house. Here fresh forms and ceremonies await her. Being received into one of the most private rooms, a curtain is fixed up so as entirely to cover one corner of it. Behind this the poor girl is placed, who, after the annoyance and fatigue she has undergone, is glad to rest as much as she is able in this nook of her cage. Decorated now in all her gayest attire, and glittering with gold and brocade, she is still not permitted to be seen, except by her mother and female friends, who busy themselves in arranging her clothes in proper order, and in adorning the room with a profusion of gay dresses, embroidered handkerchiefs and towels, rich coverlids, and cushions of cotton or Turkish silk. All these are distributed around the room; even the *shifts*, being new for the occasion, are hung up with the rest, along the walls of the apartment, forming an extraordinary sort of tapestry.

“While this arrangement is taking place, the bridegroom, having parted with most of his guests, begins to prepare for a visit to his bride. Being now washed, shaven, and gaily drest, he is allowed about midnight to see his wife for an hour, at the expiration of which, he is summoned to retire. Throughout the whole of the next day, she is destined to be fixed in a corner of the room, and to remain *standing* during the visits of as many strangers as curiosity may bring to see her. The men employ themselves in horse-racing; and three or four articles of some value are given for the winners. The bridegroom makes a point of paying an early visit to those whom he considers his friends, taking with him some little present of his wife’s embroidery.” P. 29.

We take our leave of Mrs. Holderness, with thanks for the amusement and information which we have derived from her work, and we shall be glad to hear that its success has been in proportion to its merits, rather than to the modesty of its pretensions.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

DIVINITY.

Deism compared with Christianity; being an Epistolary Correspondence, containing all the principal Objections against Revealed Religion, with the Answers annexed; in which is shown the insufficiency of the Arguments used in support of Infidelity. By Edward Chichester, M.A. Rector of the Parishes of Culdaff and Cloncha, in the Diocese of Derry. 3 vols. 11. 7s.

A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Magdalen Hospital, on Sunday, July 22, 1821, in Consequence of the Coronation of his Majesty George IV. and published

at the Request of the Committee. By the Rev. Edward Rice, A.M. Assistant Chaplain at the Magdalen Hospital, one of the Classical Masters of Christ's Hospital, and appointed Alternate Morning Preacher of Berkeley and Fitzroy Chapels. 1s.

A Sermon, delivered at Roehampton Chapel, in Surrey, July 22, 1821, in reference to the Coronation on the preceding Thursday, of his most Gracious Majesty King George IV. By the Rev. Edward Patteson, M.A. formerly of Trinity College, Oxford. 1s. 6d.

Sacramental Addresses and Meditations, with a few Sermons interspersed. By the Rev. Henry Belfrage, Falkirk. Vol. II. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sarum, at his Visitation in the Year 1821. By the Rev. Charles Daubeney, Archdeacon of Sarum. 2s.

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Clavis Apostolica; or, a Key to the Apostolic Writings, being an Attempt to Explain the Scheme of the Gospel, and the principal Words and Phrases used by the Apostles in describing it. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham, A.M. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

A Letter to the Rev. Joseph Wilson, A.M. in Reply to his Remarks upon the Bishop of Peterborough's Eighty-seven Questions: with a Postscript, occasioned by his further Remarks. By one of the Curates of the Diocese of Peterborough. 2s.

"God save the King." A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Wellingborough, July 22, 1821, being the Sunday after the Coronation of our Gracious Sovereign King George IV. By Charles Pryce, A.M. Vicar. 6d.

A Sermon, preached before the Worshiptul H. J. Dickens, M.A. Official of the Archdeacon of the East Riding in the County of York, and the Clergy of the Deaneries of Buckrose and Dickering, at the Visitation holden at Scarborough, June 26, 1821. By the Rev. H. J. Todd, M.A. F.S.A. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and Rector of Settrington. 1s.

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Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic; with Practical Details for the Information of Emigrants of every Class, by John Howison, Esq., will soon appear in an octavo Volume.

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Sir George Nayler, is preparing for Publication, by command of His Majesty, a full Account of the Ceremonies observed at the *Coronation*, illustrated by Plates.

Mr. Phillips, of Bayswater, Author of the *Pomarium Britannicum*, or History of Fruits known in Great Britain, has issued Proposals for publishing by Subscription, a History of *Cultivated Vegetables*, comprising their Botanical, Medical, Edible, and Chemical Qualities, their Natural History, and relation to Art, Science, and Commerce. It will form two Volumes royal octavo.

A Practical Treatise on *Diseases of the Liver*, and on some of the Affections usually denominated *Bilious*; comprising an impartial Estimate of the Merits of the Nitro-Muriatic Acid Baths. By George Darling, M.D. is preparing for Publication.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1821.

ART. I. *Substance of Lectures on the Ancient Greeks, and on the Revival of Greek Learning in Europe. By the late Andrew Dalzel, A.M. F.R.S.E. Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. Constable and Co. Edinburgh. 1821.*

IF this rage for posthumous publication continue, it will become the bounden duty of every man, who has ever put pen to paper, and has the slightest regard for his literary character, to burn all his manuscripts before his death. The late Professor of Greek at Edinburgh, unfortunately for himself, as it has turned out, left behind him some scraps of Lectures, which, it should seem, he was in the practice of reading to the boys of his class; and these scraps, which it is acknowledged, the author "never intended for publication," and "received from him no preparation with that view," have now, after a lapse of fourteen years, been given to the world by an ignorant or a very injudicious relative.

Professor Dalzel is known among domestic tutors and masters of academies as the compiler of certain very useful school books, consisting of Selections from those of the Greek Classics which are usually read at school, and illustrated with notes, written in tolerably good Latin. The old practice of exhibiting translations on the alternate pages of Greek school-books was universally regarded as extremely objectionable; as it afforded to pupils a too easy medium for acquiring the general import of an author's writings, without having analyzed his sentences, or even understood the meaning of his vocables separately taken; and it is chiefly on this account that Mr. Dalzel is acknowledged to have rendered by his labours an essential service to the business of teaching; and that he continues to be remembered with no small de-

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gree of respect in both divisions of the island. As a philologist, indeed, or scientific grammarian, his name has never yet been mentioned either in England or Scotland; but it was not till we had read these "*Lectures on the Ancient Greeks*" that we found out the very low place which must hereafter be assigned to him, both as a linguist and as a writer.

It is the silliest of all apologies to say that, as the Lectures were composed for very young persons, the reader must not expect in them any thing learned or profound; because it is obvious that in making such an acknowledgment the editor rests his excuse on the very circumstance which ought to have had the greatest weight with him in determining his mind against publication at all. If he knew even the elements of Greek literature and criticism, he could not fail to perceive that his father's papers contained nothing above the rank of the tritest common place, whether in grammar or annotation: and consequently that, however suitable the Lectures might be for school-boys with the verb-book in their hands, they were by no means such as, in any point of view, to justify the step which he has so unwisely taken. He talks, indeed, of the "*style, the matter, and the sentiment*" of the Lectures as a sort of encouragement for laying them before the public; but of these, alas! we, as more impartial judges, can only say, that the first is bad, the second meagre and trite, and the last exceedingly childish. The "*political freedom*" which they breathe is of a description not more elevated than the ordinary hacknied cant of a recluse pedagogue, who knows nothing of mankind but through the medium of books, and who, in the exercise of his birchen despotism, exhibits an excellent similitude of Grecian government, and of democratic liberty. In a word, making every allowance for filial reverence and affection, we are compelled to blame the ignorant partiality of Mr. John Dalzel; who, to use his own language, is clearly one of those individuals "whose injudicious zeal has often obtruded upon the world posthumous works, which, if they have not sullied the fair fame of the writers, have yet added no wreath to their laurels."

Before we proceed to give a more particular account of these volumes, we beg leave to make a few observations on the method of studying Greek still pursued in seminaries of the North, and also on the advantages of that branch of literature considered as a part of a clergyman's education amongst ourselves. We draw our information on the former point chiefly from the prefatory remarks of Mr. Dalzel, who, whatever other knowledge he may have of the language in

question, has at least had an opportunity of knowing how his countrymen attempt to teach and to learn it.

Till very lately, then, Greek does not appear to have been taught at school at all, in Scotland; and even now the amount of instruction in that tongue in the instances in which it is learned before a young man goes to college, is confined to the mere elements of it. The Greek professor, in general, begins his pupils in the Grammar, literally speaking; hears them decline nouns and verbs, and trains them in the very rudiments of parsing. This duty he performs, at an average, two hours a day, five days in the week, and nearly six months in the year; so that, at the end of the first session or term, the youngsters have just begun to read a little of the New Testament, a few of Anacreon's Odes, or such other authors as boys usually begin with translating. At this stage of their progress, the most precarious certainly of all, the boys are absurdly sent home six months, that is, from the end of April till the end of October; during which long vacation, such of them as have not a very strong natural love of study, or are kept to their books by the authority of parents, will almost necessarily forget the greater part of what they learned during the preceding six months. When college opens again, the young Grecians return once more to enjoy the prelections and commentaries of their learned professor; who arrayed in a gown and seated in his academical chair, renews his labours for another session, by ascertaining how many of his class can recite the usual paradigms of the several nouns and verbs. After the ravages of the summer are repaired in the memories of the less studious, there remains somewhat between four and five months for prosecuting the study of the higher classics, according to the manner in which these are studied in Scotland; and this, generally speaking, is the system of schooling by which the *literati* of the North are accomplished in the noblest of ancient tongues. Can it be surprising, then, that the Scotch should be found almost entirely ignorant of Greek! They are said to be a thinking people and noted for economy in the disbursement of their time and money; but surely never was there such a mockery of education as that we have now described, involving such a waste of time and sacrifice of means. If Greek must indeed be taught at college instead of school, why do they allow the teachers, who are reported to be well paid and greatly honoured, to sit idle one-half of the year, whilst their pupils are running about as idle as themselves? If the work of the schoolmaster behoves to be transferred within the walls of a university, why, in the name of common sense, is that work

not done in a schoolmaster-like way? Wherefore does not the professor labour seven or eight hours a-day, and extend his term to ten or eleven months in the year, instead of limiting his exertions to one or two hours daily and his session to five or six months, as is said to be the case at present?

The absurdity begins to be seen, and a better order of things, we are told, has already commenced. Prejudice and interest have, no doubt, opposed themselves, in several instances, to the meditated reformation; but fortunately the matter is too plain to admit of any material difference of opinion among persons capable of judging concerning it; and the necessity of some change is so obvious to every order of men that the cause of education in this particular branch of it must finally prevail and prosper among our northern neighbours.

We have made these remarks on the method of teaching the classics in Scotland, in order to shew the value of the strictures which occasionally reach us from that quarter, on the undue importance assigned to ancient literature in this part of the kingdom. They accuse us of devoting our time and spending the strength of our faculties in the mere study of *words*, whilst, of course, we entirely neglect *things*, or the subject upon which the words are employed. Now, the charge of studying *words* is perfectly intelligible when proceeding from persons who, in Greek learning at least, never get beyond the use of their grammar and lexicon. To them the reading of a Greek author is indeed a study of words and nothing more. They never attain to that easy and intimate acquaintance with the poets, the historians, and the orators of Greece, which admits the reader to a perception of the beauties and power of their composition, of their fine sentiments, and of their flights of genius. That man, it is clear, cannot be allowed to pronounce concerning the merits of an author, whose works he is unable to peruse, except with a dictionary in one hand and a grammar in the other. The depreciation of ancient literature, therefore, which ever and anon assails our ears from the northern seminaries is totally unworthy of any regard. It comes from men who are really not competent to speak on the subject, and consequently bears upon it a value equal to the judgment of a blind man in relation to colours, or to that of a deaf man on the merits of a symphony.

As our universities are properly clerical establishments, and intended to qualify a regular succession of men to fill the various offices of the church, we deprecate most earnestly the approach of that innovating spirit which would substitute for

the profound erudition which has hitherto distinguished her functionaries, that paltry and superficial philosophy which is so much in vogue elsewhere. A clergyman even amidst the duties of his profession may very soon make himself master of all that it is necessary he should know of those branches of natural history for example, which are so eagerly cultivated in the present age. He will by means of a little well-directed reading attain to the main facts and principles of chemistry, mineralogy, and even of political economy; and understand sufficiently all that is intelligible in the systematic views of the principal authors who have written on these studies. But it requires the application of many years to make a good classical scholar. The spring of life and its best powers must be devoted to literature, else no proficiency will ever be attained; for to this above all other pursuits the remark of Horace is strikingly applicable:--

Qui Studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit.

Besides, the ancient languages, and particularly Greek, are the proper study of a clergyman, and qualify him much better than any other kind of reading for the investigations connected with his profession. Hence the high professional character of our Clergy compared with those of every other Church: and hence the numberless works on theological doctrines and biblical criticism which do so much honour to the establishment of England. In other countries where literature is less valued, the Clergy arrive at no distinction in the line of their profession. In Scotland, for instance, the Church has not since the era of the revolution, produced more than two writers in the department of theology whose works are ever heard of; for her ministers being deficient in classical learning, and finding themselves unequal to the task of expounding sacred truth, as expressed in the original tongues, have usually betaken themselves to some other branch of literary pursuit, such as history, agriculture, or finance. We trust, therefore, the time will never come when that superficial *pangnósis* so characteristic of the present times, and so frequently recommended to us by our neighbours, will take the place of a system of clerical instruction to which we owe so much, and which, humanly speaking, has rendered the Church of England at once the ornament and the bulwark of the Reformation.

The history of religious controversy during the last thirty or forty years, has illustrated very strikingly the paramount value of a profound erudition in the clerical members of our

Church. The standards of our national faith have, in the course of that period, been assailed in a variety of ways, and on one or two occasions, by writers who appealed, in support of their opinions, to the judgment of antiquity, and in particular to the import of the language employed by the Greek fathers. A field was hereby opened for learned skill and scholarship: the champions accordingly took their ground and plied their weapons in defence of their respective tenets or assertions: the believer against the infidel, or the orthodox divine opposed to the heretic; and it is with no slight emotion of triumph we relate that, wherever the cause of truth has been connected with the exercise of accomplished learning, the victory has uniformly remained on the side of the Church. The system of education, therefore, which has produced the Horsleys, the Marshes, the Middletons, and the Magees of our Establishment, ought not to be tampered with, merely to make way for an empty metaphysical jargon, or for inept discussions on sinking-funds and the formation of worlds.

The author of the work now before us is, in his own way, a great advocate for classical learning, and is not unsuccessful in his endeavours to point out its manifold uses both as a source of knowledge and of refined enjoyment. In one or two places, indeed, he indulges in sarcastic observations in regard to mechanical scholarship and verbal study; but he adds, that if the youth

“ were not taught to admire the Greek and Latin purity, it is to be feared that our own languages, such as they are, would soon degenerate instead of improving; that the standard of fine-writing would be lost, and that an inelegant or affected phraseology would succeed.” “ If the notion that such knowledge is not necessary should be allowed to prevail, we shall soon get into a flimsy and superficial way of thinking and writing, and our reputation in the republic of letters will, of course, soon dwindle into nothing.”

As to the charge of being mere *students of words*, it is evidently founded on a view of human weakness, which is but too frequently perceptible in every pursuit and occupation of life. It applies to science as well as to literature, to theology, and even to mathematics, as well as to the labours of the philologist. There are *verbalists* in every study and in every profession: and in no department perhaps, does the substitution of words for things go farther than in those enquiries in favour of which the men of this age are so desirous to supplant all elegant literature. Nor is it necessary to observe that he, who, in perusing the sublime and the beautiful of ancient learning, confines his attention to the mere structure

of a verse, or the rounding of a sentence, would make no great figure in any other line of study to which his mind might be directed. Genius, on the other hand, will never be restricted to the mere mechanism of speech. To the man of talents, language never appears in any higher light than that of an instrument; and he uses it the most efficiently perhaps when he pays the least regard to the minutiae of its structure, and to the technicalities of its application.

In his "Historical Account of the Greeks," Professor Dalzel divides the whole period of their existence, as independent tribes, into four ages, denominated, The Rise of the Greeks; The Liberty of the Greeks; The Glory of the Greeks; and finally, The Decline and Fall of the Greeks. The first of these ages, comprehending 905 years, terminates with the destruction of Troy: the second ends with the battle of Marathon, which the author describes as the prelude to Grecian glory: but unless this glory was perfectly independent of freedom, we cannot see good ground for the distinction which characterizes the second and third epochs. The Age of Glory passed away with the Theban Epaminondas, and was succeeded by the last era of the Grecian Commonwealth; that namely, which came to a close, when Mummius the Roman Consul destroyed Corinth, and reduced the whole of Greece into the form of a province.

Without wishing to be severe, we must make free even with the reputation of a dead man, so far as to declare that this "historical account" is the most meagre, common-place, ill-written essay that we have ever happened to see on the same subject. As an example of the kind of composition which pervades it, we give the following sentence, intended by the author to set forth the power and valour of the Grecian states, during, what he is pleased to call, their Age of Glory. "The different invasions of the Persians afforded the Greeks an opportunity of displaying such an amazing extent of ability and vigour *as could scarcely be supposed to be compatible with human acquirements.*" Is there, we take leave to ask, any extent of ability and vigour which becomes *incompatible* with human acquirement?

We are next conducted to certain enquiries into the origin of government, on which topic we have the following most original and felicitous observations. "This is a subject which is of the greatest importance." "It therefore behoves those in a particular manner who aspire at a liberal education, to beware that they be not ignorant upon this subject." "That man is a social animal admits of no doubt. Wherever men are found, they are *generally* found in society, whether you

search for them in the cold regions of Nova Zembla, or within the tropics, still they are found to associate together."

"We have already remarked that nations originally were found in a savage or unpolished condition. By the term *originally* I do not mean to go back to the times before the Flood. We have such an obscure knowledge of them, that I do not mean to enquire into them—nor is it at all necessary that we should." "As man is a rational, as well as a social animal, it follows that the society he enters into will be guided by the dictates of reason." "If every individual among men were solely to consider his own proper gratification, exclusive of that of the rest of the species, *he would be no better than a sensual brute*. But this is not the case."

In this lofty style of speculation and writing, there is unfolded to the inquisitive reader, the source and origin of government. Truism follows truism, and one borrowed thought succeeds another from beginning to end: conveying, we will admit, information suitable enough for very young boys, supposing they were excluded from all means of access to Goldsmith's History of Greece, or Archbishop Potter's Antiquities. Next in order come the institutions of Lysurgus, the laws and government of Athens, the Courts and Magistrates, the Colonies, the Oracles, the Priests, the Religion and the Festivals; which are, in their turn, followed by Manners and remarkable Customs, Situation of the Athenian Women, Treatment of Slaves, Olympic Games, and the Pentathlon, all taken from the same, or similar recondite sources as those just alluded to.

A portion of the twelfth Lecture is entitled "Grecian Energy," a topic which gives occasion to a few very sage remarks—not, we think, taken from Potter. The author informs us, for example, that the Greeks were a people who knew the art of calling forth all the "faculties of the human frame," and who knew how to engage them in a much more intense state of occupation than is known in these latter days: and he accounts for this sharpness and unwearied activity of theirs, upon the ingenious hypothesis that, as their language was a good deal inverted, they were compelled to exert all their attention to make out the meaning of whatever was addressed to them in conversation.

"I shall soon take an opportunity of shewing," says he, "that the genius and structure of the Greek language were much more favourable to this vigorous exertion of the human mind than those of the modern tongues—that the variety of its arrangement tended to keep alive the attention of the reader or hearer, till the end of the period, when *truth* beamed upon his mind with irresistible force;

whereas the modern tongues, *which creep along with a hopping and unconnected pace, dissipate the rays of conviction*, without affecting the mind with half the necessary energy." "It may be considered then," he adds, "as a certain fact, that the human faculties, among the ancient Greeks, *were made much more of*, if I may so speak, than among the moderns. They employed the talents bestowed upon them by the Author of nature to much better purpose than men now do. Various reasons may be assigned for this. The democratic forms of government were one prime source of this superior vigour of their faculties, the *structure of their language* co-operated to produce the same effect, and the exercise of their bodies effectually joined in promoting the same important purpose."

Now, upon this theory of mental acuteness, the Roman, whose language was still more complicated and varied in its arrangement than that of the Greek, ought to have been by so much the more active and ingenious of the two: and in modern times, the German ought, in like manner, to be infinitely cleverer than the native of France, the tongue of the former being considerably more involved in its structure than that used by the latter. On the same principle, too, our indigenous English must be dull dogs indeed, as using a speech which, "creeping along with a hopping and unconnected pace, dissipates the rays of conviction, without affecting the mind with half the necessary energy." The reading of *Paradise Lost*, and Davidson's *Virgil*, may, perhaps, be attended with good effects in rousing the latent vigour of our faculties; or perchance a few paragraphs of the work now before us, where the meaning is wrapped up in phrases sufficiently obscure and enigmatical, may be found useful in rescuing our dormant powers from a premature and complete extinction. Strange, that it did not occur to the learned Professor, that the curious mechanism of their speech, and their proneness to bodily exercise was the effect, rather than the cause of the activity which he extols so much in his favourite Greeks!

Proceeding, in the course of his Lectures, to the "Polite Learning of the Greeks," the author takes occasion to draw freely from the stores of his profound and original reflection. He undertakes to shew, in particular, that "man is endowed with powers and faculties superior to those of the other animals, and that we are distinguished from them by a variety of marks;" such as "the peculiarity and variety of our features, and our risibility or faculty of laughter." He likewise reminds us, that "if men had been framed for living in a solitary manner, they would have felt no inclination

to converse with one another; and if they had been without reason like the brutes, they could not have distinguished betwixt right and wrong, or known *the proper subjects of conversation*." "Speech," he farther states, "is that faculty by which we can communicate to others what passes in our own minds, and it ought to be always under the guidance and direction of reason; for if we allow the *organs of speech to move at random*, this would produce nothing better than the inarticulate sounds uttered by the other animals." Mankind, he sagely remarks, "are universally found to be possessed of the faculty of speech:" "Indeed without this power, and the proper use of it, society would be but a poor and insipid enjoyment." "If, says he," "all nature existed merely, and if, at the same time, every part of it were constantly without energy, or action, or motion, *then* there would be no employment for sentient beings, and consequently no use for speech or language. But as we perceive the universe to be not less *remarkable for its existence* than for the motion or animation with which it abounds, and as language," &c. &c. that is, as there are not only *things* but also *qualities* and *actions*, so there must be different classes of words to denote *being*, *energy*, and *operation*. This discovery leads the learned Professor to make some remarks on the important subject of grammar, which we are sorry to add, are as meagre, jejune, trite, and tiresome as any other part of his book. In fact, they are a mere abridgment of the commonest observations to be found in the most common treatises in the hands of school-boys.

We, however, beg leave to request the attention of our learned readers to the following speculation on tenses;—a subject, we own, of considerable nicety, and involving no small degree of metaphysical abstraction, and which has proved the occasion to many shallow grammarians besides Professor Dalzel of speaking and writing the grossest absurdities. To do justice to his reasoning we give it at length and in his own words.

"If the energy expressed by the verb coincides with the present epoch, then the present tense is the form made use of; as, *I am striking now*: that is, at this present epoch. If the energy expressed by the verb be anterior to the present epoch, then a past tense is the form made use of; as *I struck or did strike*. If the energy expressed by the verb is posterior to the present epoch, then the tense is a future tense; as, *I shall or will strike*. But an energy is, in respect of time, either definite or indefinite. If it is definite, that is, if it happens (who ever spoke of an *energy happening*?) at some present time or other, or at any present time; if

it happens at some past time or other, or at any past time ; or if it happens at some future time or other, or at any future time ; then the tenses expressive of those times are called Aorists. As, *I strike*, i. e. *I strike at any present time*, is an aorist of the present, &c. &c.—The Greek language expresses all these aorists commodiously, without any circumlocution,—as the aorist of the present φιλεω, *I love* : the aorist of the past ἐφίλησα, *I loved*, or *did love* : the aorist of the future φιλησω, *I shall or will love*.—

“ But, if the action or energy expressed or affirmed be restricted to precise epoch of time, whether present, past, or future, then reference must be made either to the beginning, to the continuation, or to the perfection of that action or energy, which produces *three definite tenses for present time*, three for past time, and as many for future time. As when we say of the present *I am beginning to love*, *I am loving*, *I am done with loving* ; of the past *I was beginning to love*, *I was loving*, *I was done with loving* : and of the future, *I shall be beginning to love*, *I shall be loving*, *I shall be done with loving*. In each of these times we call one (one what ?) the Inactive, another the Extended, and a third the Perfect.”

“ But we are not to expect in any language separate forms without a circumlocution for all these tenses. The Greek, however, will be found most complete in this respect. φιλεω, *I love*, is an aorist of the present : φιλεω is likewise used indefinitely to signify an inactive present, and is *I am beginning to love* : φιλεω is likewise an extended present, and is *I am loving* : But the present-perfect is πεφίληκα *I am done with loving*.—With respect to the three definite past tenses, the analogy is the same : and ἐφίλειον signifies *I was beginning to love* ; ἐφίλειον is likewise, *I was loving* ; but ἐπεφίληκειν is *I was done with loving*. Which last is in the same ratio to ἐφίλειον *I am loving*, as πεφίληκα, *I am done with loving* is to φιλεω *I am loving*.”

In excuse for this most contemptible drivelling, we are willing to believe that the Professor did not write it at all, or at least in the manner in which it is here printed. The Editor, his son, though certainly not one of the δῖες Ἀχαιῶν, has unquestionably used freedoms with this portion of the manuscript, in the prosecution of his endeavours to prepare for the public eye what “never was intended for publication, and received no preparation whatever with that view.” Throughout the above remarks the notion of *time* it is obvious, is confounded with that of *action* or energy, whence we have the absurd expression *extended present*, where the author evidently means nothing more than a continuance of the state or action denoted by the verb. It is the same confusion of ideas too, which has led him to enumerate three *definite* tenses for the present, the past, and the future respectively, at the very moment he describes two out of every

three as mere aorists. And who that has read a single page of Greek with attention would have translated *πεφίληκα* *I am done with loving*? The present-perfect tense in verbs denoting state or feeling, expresses, as every one knows, that the state or feeling in question has subsisted previously, and up to the very moment the term expressive of it is employed by the speaker; without, however, giving any intimation that it has ceased, or that it is about to cease. On the contrary, when the present-perfect, or, as it is more commonly called, the preter-perfect tense is used to express a state, or habit, or sentiment of the mind, it is to be inferred that the habit, or sentiment, or state or impression spoken of, still continues in full activity: and on this principle, the preterite comes to have the same import with the present tense, and is even said by superficial grammarians to be used *instead* of the present. For example, when St. John says *ἐν τούτῳ ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην κ. τ. λ.* "In this we have known the love," &c. his meaning evidently is that, from the fact which he mentions, all men know at present, and all men will hereafter know, the love of Christ in laying down his life for the salvation of the world. How ridiculous would it sound, were we to render the above passage, "in this, we *have done knowing*." Again, when Homer, speaking of Jupiter, describes him as *ταμῖς πολέμοιο τέτυκται*, he does not insinuate that the god *is done with being* the arbiter of war; but, on the contrary, that he is, and that he will still continue to be, the sovereign ruler in all such matters. When Ovid, too, in the well known verse asserts of the magpies, that

"Nunc quoque in alitibus facundia prisca remansit,"

so far from stating that their loquacity has ceased, he evidently intends to say that they still prate as much as ever, and that they will continue to prate as long as they exist. When indeed the verb expresses an *action*, the use of the preter-perfect denotes that the action is performed, and consequently, by inference, that the agent has ceased to act. For instance *τέτυφα, λέλεχα, γέγραφα*, I have struck, I have spoken, I have written, are expressions equivalent to I have *done* striking, speaking, writing; because the very words of themselves denote completion of the act performed, and consequently imply cessation from action. To say the best, then, Professor Dalzel has been very unfortunate in his examples; for it is abundantly obvious that the phrase "I have loved" cannot import, directly, the cessation of the sentiment expressed by it, any more than *τέθνηκα*, I have died, could mean *I have done* with dying, and therefore I am alive.

But we have devoted too much time to a mere trifle; nor can we recompense the reader by bringing forward from the two volumes before us, a single philological remark worthy of his attention. We never, indeed, travelled over ground so utterly barren and uninviting. No flowers of learning, no stores of metaphysical ingenuity reward our toil at any step of our progress. All is beaten, common, withered, and obsolete—the mere gatherings and gleanings of a second-rate grammarian, expressed, too, in very inelegant language. We cannot venture to follow the author through the “*Polite Literature*” of the Greeks any further, nor attempt to give any account of his trite sayings on the *Fable of the Iliad*, nor on the *Life and Character of Homer*, nor on *Statius*, *Silius Italicus*, *Lucan*, *Tressino*, *Camoens*, *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, *Voltaire*, *Glover*, *Wilkie*. Our courage is not equal to an abridgement of his observations on *Dramatic Poetry*, on the *Unities*, *Tragedy*, *Greek Chorus*, *Comedy*; because we have read the whole ten times over in other books, better written, and not half so long. We have the same thing to say of his *Remarks on Lyric Poetry*, *Pindar*, *Anacreon*, *Sappho*, *Horace*, and the *English Lyric Poets*. His *Life and Doctrines of Socrates* are tiresome in the extreme; so are his *Disquisitions on Taste*, *Criticism*, *Aristotle*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Horace*, *Longinus*, *Vida*, *Scaliger*, *Vossius*, *Boileau*, *Pope*.

The *Historical Sketch of the “Revival of Greek Learning in Europe”* is the best part of the second volume—meagre, no doubt, and defective, but such, still, as might prove useful in the hands of boys at school. This is more, however, than we can say for a “*Lecture on the British Constitution*,” given in the form of an Appendix at the end of the work; being perfectly satisfied that six out of every ten boys on the first form of any of our large schools could write a better *Essay on the constitution of their country*, and get no praise for it when done. It is truly a poor affair in every point of view.

From the respect which we have hitherto entertained for Professor Dalzel, we are sorry that this work has appeared, for it cannot fail materially to lower his character, both as a man of talents and of literature, wherever it shall happen to be read. Deep research and laboured composition were not, we grant, at all necessary in compiling *Lectures for boys*; but there are numerous littlenesses as well as a common place cast of thinking throughout the whole performance into which a man of any mind would never have fallen, and from the imputation of which the character of the Professor would probably have escaped, had not his son unfortunately

printed his manuscripts. A popular teacher has many advantages in point of reputation as long as he lives. The boys who have long sitten at his feet take a pride in extolling him: their own importance is to a certain extent measured by his fame; and they boast of their master much on the same principle that they boast of the city or country where they were born, as having finer buildings or finer scenery than any other. They blow and puff to keep up the glory of an instructor as they do to keep in the air the soap-bubbles which they have created with their breath; and the glory and the bubble have often been found to have an existence equally secure and permanent—the boys cease to puff and each falls and bursts. If, however, a favourite master should escape this destiny before death, an injudicious relative, it appears, may bring it upon him when he is cold in his grave.

ART. II. *Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire, and more particularly at the Court of Amarapoorah. By Captain Hiram Cox, of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Native Infantry.* 8vo. pp. 440. 16s. Whittakers. 1821.

THE empire, whose name forms the subject of the above title page, is so little, or so superficially known to Europeans, that we opened the volume before us with something like eagerness. The entertaining account which Captain Symes published upwards of twenty years ago of his embassy to the court of Ava, though it entered but slightly into details concerning the Burmhan government and people, yet told us sullicient to create a strong desire for further and more accurate information. All curiosity of this sort, this work of Captain Cox's seems to have been contrived almost purposely to disappoint. In the first place it is the account of transactions which happened about twenty-five years since; that is to say, in the year immediately following the embassy of Captain Symes. When Captain Symes was in Ava, the country was only just beginning to recover from the effects of long and destructive civil wars; and we should particularly have desired to know what the state of the country is at the present time, now that a long peace will have exhibited its resources under a more favourable state of things: hopes which cannot of course be gratified in Captain Cox's book. In the second place, it is a posthumous

work, and does not appear to have been ever intended by its author for the public eye. The consequence is, that no other particulars are set down, at least the exceptions are so few as to be unworthy of notice, but such as were personal to the writer, or immediately connected with the business upon which he was sent. And although many of these are sufficiently curious, and most of them characteristic of the silly vanity, and absurd pretensions which all the eastern nations, not less than the court of Amrapoorah, invariably display in their diplomatic policy, yet there is in the volume before us sadly too much of this subject. If there is any instruction to be derived from Captain Cox's narrative, as to this particular subject of national manners, it is that our own government in the East is just as absurd and childish in its silly jealousy respecting precedence, and the forms of court etiquette, as any of the ignorant governments by which it is surrounded.

But the greatest fault of all in the work before us is, that to a reader who has not read Captain Symes's book, it is absolutely unintelligible. Not only are we left in ignorance of the objects of the embassy, so that the reader continues in the dark as to the *why* and the *wherefore* of all that he is told, even to the end of the volume; but even the very language, in which events are described, is unexplained. We hear of whoonghees, and mhee whoonghees, and mayhoons, and ray whoons, and sere-dogees, and ever so many other barbarous-sounding appellations; and the whole pith of the story commonly depends upon the respective ranks of these several functionaries: but who they are, or what they are, the reader is left to make out for himself in the best manner he is able. All these, and many other causes of confusion might easily have been obviated by a few brief notes appended to the bottom of the page, and with no other learning than the editor might have acquired by looking through Captain Symes's book; but as it is, we must warn our readers, that except they possess the last mentioned work, this before us will be completely devoid both of interest and amusement. It is only as a supplement to Captain Symes's embassy (which in point of fact the mission of Captain Cox really was) that the volume before us possesses any value whatever; and such was the merit of that work, that in this point of view it is still able to reflect a fair portion of interest even upon the volume now under our hands, which we are compelled to say is in itself as meagre and unsatisfactory a performance as could well be presented to the public.

Before we proceed to make any extracts from Captain Cox's narrative, it will be useful to say a few words respecting the country to which it refers, and the objects (as we presume) of the mission upon which he was sent; and for these particulars we must take down the book to which we have already more than once alluded. Captain Symes is not very copious in the information which he conveys about matters which did not fall under his immediate hand, but what he does say will be sufficient for our present purpose.

Next to China, the kingdom of Ava, or more properly the Burmhan empire, holds the first rank among eastern nations, whether we consider its power or natural advantages. In the former respect it is formidable only to eastern nations: to our dominions it cannot, of course, threaten any danger. The people, however, of the Burmhan Peninsula are the bravest and most active, and most intelligent of any in that quarter of the globe. Their religion is that of Boodha, and consequently they are not divided into casts, like their neighbours the Hindoos. In the time of Captain Symes, when they were only beginning to recover from a long continuance of civil wars, their population was estimated at 17,000,000; at the present time it is probably very greatly more numerous; for the government our author describes as mild, and the soil was capable of sustaining, even according to their own modes of cultivating it, almost any increase.

It is, however, in a commercial point of view that Ava is more especially deserving of the attention of our own government. No country whatever in the East either possesses or offers the same advantages for trade. Great Britain possesses the western side of the Bay of Bengal, the Burmahans the eastern. Now from the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Cormorin, the whole range of our continental territory, there is not a single harbour capable of affording shelter to a vessel of 500 tons burthen; it is an unbroken line of exposed shore, where ships must ride in open roads. But Ava comprehends within her comparatively small extent of coast three excellent ports; Negrais, one of the finest harbours in the East, Rangoon, and Mergui, each of which is almost equally convenient, and any one of which is infinitely superior to the river of Bengal, which is the only port in our possession within the bay. This last is valuable to us, as the only harbour which we possess in those seas, otherwise it labours under the disadvantage of as intricate and dangerous an entrance as any that is known.

Not only does Ava possess the finest harbours, and the best situated for trade of any eastern nation, but it possesses

also the finest materials for ship building of any nation in the known world. It is in Pegue that those forests of teak are to be found, which render Indian built ships the most valuable that sail. So superior, indeed, both in respect to quantity and quality, is the timber of Pegue, to that of any other part of India, that while Madras and Calcutta are entirely supplied with this commodity from Rangoon, even Bombay finds it worth while, notwithstanding its nearness to the coast of Malabar, to import annually a large quantity of planks from the same port. The government of Ava is enlightened enough to appreciate perfectly the advantages which these circumstances afford for commerce.

“The Burmhans,” says Captain Symes, “sensible of the advantages of commerce, but inexpert in the practice of it, desirous to improve, but unacquainted with the principles of trade, had of late years given toleration to all sects, and invited strangers of every nation to resort to their ports; and being themselves free from those prejudices of cast, which shackle their Indian neighbours, they permitted foreigners to settle and intermarry among them.”

They even selected foreigners to fill public employments in the departments relating to trade, and it was in consequence of this policy on their part, that Sir John Shore sent Captain Symes upon the mission which he brought to so satisfactory a result.

In the treaty of commerce which was concluded with the government of Ava, it was agreed that all goods of Europe, or of British manufacture, should pay a duty of ten per cent.; in the other clauses of the treaty, the price of anchorage and pilotage, for ships of every rate was determined; the fees of the provincial and port officers, charges for warehouse-room, for interpreters and clearance were accurately defined; and teak timber, to us by far the most valuable commodity of commerce which the country produces, was ordered to pay an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent., at whatever port it might be exported. An instance, however, of the just views of the government, on commercial policy, and one which shews how rightly they understood the interests of the Burmhan nation in particular, occurs in the articles which were excepted from the operation of this treaty.

The progress made in the art of ship-building, at the time when Captain Symes visited the country, (1795) was striking and rapid. They were at that time the best artificers in the East, and ships could be built at Rangoon for one third less

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cost than at Calcutta, and at not much more than half of what they cost at Bombay. Aware of these circumstances, the Burmhan government remitted all duties on cordage, canvass, and wrought iron, provided these articles were brought, *bonâ fide*, for the equipment of a new vessel; neither were the port charges exacted from a new ship when sailing on her first voyage. To take this single example alone: a people who can build as fine ships as any in the world, and who understand the proper use that ought to be made of them, may not be a learned people, and they may be immersed in religious error, but they are removed to a great distance from the character of barbarians; and certainly if we do not cultivate relations of commerce and amity with them, it is either our fault or our misfortune.

The people of the Indian seas offer an almost boundless market for our manufactures and trade; and we are persuaded that little more is required than some modifications of our own commercial and colonial policy, to render it as valuable as it is capable of being made. With respect to China and Japan, there are limits placed to commercial enterprize arising from the absurd and impracticable prejudices of their governments on the subject of foreign intercourse. But in the case of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, all that seems to be required, in order to draw from them the advantages which they may be made to afford, is some relaxation of the almost barbarous regulations with which our trade to India has hitherto been, and still continues to be shackled. As to the Burmhan empire, it seems to have been subject to such frequent and violent revolutions that it is perhaps not safe to judge of what its state now is, from what it was twenty years ago; but assuredly if the principles upon which it is at this time governed be not very greatly altered indeed, from those which appear to have guided its councils at the time when Captain Symes and our author visited the country, nothing but some fault on the part of our government in the East can be the cause, if we do not reap some, at least, of the benefits which the favourable dispositions both of the people and their rulers held out to commercial enterprize. In 1795 the value of the imports into Ava, from the British settlements, amounted to about 134,000*l.*; this was before any understanding as to commerce had been entered into between them and us; what it has been since we possess no means of ascertaining; but we greatly fear it has not increased in proportion either to our wants, or to the facilities which Captain Symes's treaty might have allowed us to hope.

When this officer left the country, on his return to Bengal, all the solid and substantial objects of his mission, appeared to have been accomplished. Some regulations of detail remained to be adjusted, and it was with a view to arrange them, and to secure the advantages already conceded that Capt. Cox seems to have been sent to Ava in the following year, in the same capacity as his predecessor. Although there is no reason to suppose that the treaty which Captain Symes concluded had been revoked, it is however pretty evident that his successor was disappointed in whatever further objects he was instructed to obtain. A very large portion of Captain Cox's book, and all that part of it which relates to the history of his mission, is occupied with an account of the quarrels which he was forced to undergo in the maintenance of his pretensions to be considered as the representative of a sovereign power. At one time he is made to wait at a gate which ought to have been immediately opened; at another he is made to take off his shoes when he ought to have been allowed to wear them; now we are involved in a negociation between him and a whonghee, about which ought to call first upon the other; and in all these and a thousand similar debates our author is as stiff and precise, and as grave, and indignant as he could have been had he been educated for a master of the ceremonies.

The fact seems to be that the Burmhans persist in regarding our eastern envoys as the representatives not of a sovereign prince, but a subordinate and delegated authority; which, in point of fact, is all they are. Besides this they knew very well that Captain Cox was merely an inferior officer, and not a person of any rank in our army, as unquestionably a person with such high pretensions ought to have been. He appeared among them with no sort of splendour, no suite, nor any of those appendages of power which eastern nations are accustomed to consider as the most substantial part of greatness. Captain Symes mentions that when the court, which had been convened to grant him an audience, broke up, it was calculated that 50,000 people quitted Amara-poorah, in the train of the several great officers of state, who had assembled on the occasion. He himself saw one of those governors of provinces, who was returning to his charge, by water, and surrounded with boats, filled with his followers, to the number of between three and four thousand men. A government of this character may be excused for making some little demur at assembling all the members of the state, with all their pageantry, (for such their customs appear to have required) in order to give a royal audience

to plain Captain Cox, of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal native infantry; to say nothing of the real want of respect which the appointment of such an embassy does, in fact, indicate. Either our rulers in the East should send ambassadors, or they should send commercial consuls; but to send individuals of the rank of the latter, and to insist upon their being treated with all the respect and magnificence which can be due only to the former, is quite extravagant. If the Burmhans, or any other nation of the East choose to stand out upon the punctilio of admitting our governor general to the same rights and precedency as the king of Great Britain, surely our eastern empire is great enough to despise the indignity, if it be one. Let us then send out mere consuls and agents, who have no rank to support; who can take off their shoes, a mile off if it be necessary, and kiss the hand or the foot indifferently, of any who will pay them in proportion. If they *ill-treat* our agents or our subjects, that is another matter; in that case we possess the means of teaching the surrounding states a lesson in the law of nations, which will be much more intelligible and efficacious than the means which Captain Cox resorted to, of shutting himself up in his house till he became so bilious that it was no longer necessary to affect a sulkiness and indignation which he did not feel.

But however we do not wish, nor are we indeed sufficiently informed, to dissert farther upon this subject; all we hope is, that the attention of our government at home may be drawn to the subject; and that the management of whatever measures they may think it expedient to adopt, with a view to the furtherance of our commercial interests, among the people and states by whom our Indian possessions are surrounded, will at least not be permitted to fall into the hands of the East India Company; who, we own, seem to us, a body of men as unfit to conduct the policy of a great empire as any who could well be selected; for narrower or more selfish views, than those by which they seem to have been actuated in all matters of *trade*, more particularly, would, in some instances, hardly be found even among the Chinese. But it is time to present our readers with some account of Mr. Cox's book.

He remained in the country from December of 1795 to the October following; and travelled pretty nearly in the track of Captain Symes; that is to say, he penetrated to Amarapoorah by water, and what excursions he made by land were confined to the parts immediately adjacent to the Rangoon river. His work is in the form of a diary. At first it is tolerably entertaining. Matters proceeded smoothly enough

during the first month or two of our author's residence; and so long the people were a fine race—their rulers polished and hospitable—the country rich and fertile, and the weather healthy and pleasant. Soon, however, the mhee-whonghees and even the maywhoons, began to shew symptoms of shyness. Our author would not be treated as a mere British officer, or even as the representative of a vice-royal authority; and they on the other hand would not allow him any other rank—and from this moment we were concerned to find the national character completely changed. We will not repeat all the hard names which our author, at the latter end of his volume, heaps upon the poor Burmhans; we only wish he had himself preserved his good temper and philosophy; for the tone of the work becomes towards the conclusion sadly altered for the worse. And not only the tone, but the matter; for it becomes at last little better than a record of nonsensical and uninteresting disputes about unintelligible points of punctilio, in which it would be difficult to say which side was most absurd.

After describing the port of Rangoon, which seems to be admirable, praising the soil, and the climate—admiring the robustness of the men and the modesty of the women (this was before our author had acquired that full knowledge of mhee and pacaan-whonghees, which he afterwards obtained) Captain Cox proceeds to give us the history of a trial by ordeal, at which he was so fortunate as to be present almost immediately after his arrival;—we only wish some such sensible plan of deciding contending claims and probabilities were resorted to in our Court of Chancery; we doubt whether less injustice would not be inflicted than by the existing system.

“ This day the following trial by ordeal took place to ascertain the truth of an accusation of adultery against a native. The defendant denying the charge, the principals, witnesses, and court, adjourned to a small pagoda without the walls of the town, when all the parties were solemnly sworn according to the rites of the Burmhan faith, the depositions of the witnesses taken down, and the deity invoked by the priest to judge between the parties. A certain quantity of wax was weighed in two equal portions, and formed into two candles, which were lighted at the same instant. One was held by the plaintiff, the other by the defendant; and the holder of the candle which first burnt out, was adjudged to have sworn falsely, and of course lost the cause, and would be sentenced to pay the costs of the suit, amounting to four hundred ticals, and damages three hundred ticals. In this case the defendant's candle burnt out first, when the people gave a shout, and the plaintiff's friends, having previously prepared a band of music and dancers,

they exhibited before the people. This much only I have been able to authenticate ; whether the woman is liable to be repudiated, or whether there are any variations in the fines, I have not as yet ascertained." P. 14.

After leaving Rangoon, our author proceeded by water up to Amarapoorah ; near Ranargoong, he visited some wells of naphtha, which appear to be valuable and productive. It forms the principal commodity of the town, there being in the neighbourhood of it upwards of 400 wells, the average net profit of each of which was 1200 sicca rupees. The average produce of each well was estimated at 1,825lbs. avoirdupoise. The oil is a genuine petroleum, possessing all the properties of coal tar, or rather being actually the self-same thing. Our wonder is, as to the use to which such enormous quantities of this commodity are put by the nation.

We shall not trouble our readers with Captain Cox's account of his presentation at court, which is uninteresting enough, and in substance contains only a repetition of what Captain Symes has related ; the following detail, however, of an interview which he had with one of the whoonghees*, though long is characteristic, and will perhaps entertain our readers. The gravity with which the whoonghee, at the end of the conference, requests, as the greatest favour by which our author, or his government, could oblige the Emperor of the Burmhans, that he would procure for his Majesty one of Gaudema's teeth, has a very comic effect.

"About two P.M., the whoonghee came over in his own war-boat, attended by two gilt and several other war-boats. When he landed he was preceded by his sword-bearer, dressed in a red velvet gown, silk lungee, a large broad-brimmed white hat, with a large Burmhan sword on his shoulder, the scabbard black, ornamented with gold fillagree work, the handle grasped in both his hands ; and he advanced with a swaggering kind of antic step. The whoonghee was dressed in a green velvet robe richly embroidered with gold, fillet handkerchief on his head, the same as in the morning, and over it a large broad-brimmed French black hat edged with scolloped French gold lace, a silk lungee, with Burmhan sandals on his feet ; over his head was carried a large gilt chatta, and his retinue following with the various insignia of his office and rank, dressed in their state coats. As he passed, my guard presented their arms when he came to the edge of the platform, he took off his sandals, as a compli-

* The whoonghees are the chief ministers of state, Captain Symes informs us, and next in rank to the princes of the blood. The established number is four, and these form the great council of the nation ; they issue mandates to the maywhoos or viceroys of provinces ; and in fact govern the empire, subject always to the pleasure of the King, whose will is absolute.

ment; I did not wear my shoes. I received him when he ascended the platform; we then shook hands, and I led him to a chair placed at the north end of the room; then seated myself in a chair on the eastern side, about three yards from him, so that he was on my right hand; every one else were seated on the floor." P. 157.

After some introductory conversation and refreshments, our author shewed his highness various curiosities; such as a microscope, a camera obscura, a clock, telescope, and other similar instruments; and shortly after presented him with a pair of handsome gold mounted pistols. The whoonghee was not behind in courtesy.

"He accepted them with much satisfaction, and gave them to one of his relations to take care of. He then made the sword-bearers bring him several of his swords; he chose out one, and presented it to me with his own hands. The scabbard and hilt were plated with gold; and as he presented it, he said the gold is pure and weighed twenty-five ticals, but he did not mention the gold to enhance its value; it was to be valued for the temper of the blade, which he had proved on numbers of the enemies of his country. He said it was to be further valued, as it was the first sword of the kind he had been allowed to carry; and, that no other subject in the Burmhan dominions was allowed to carry such a sword. But I might carry it, and if any one asked me by what authority I did so, I should say the mhee whoonghee had given it me. He desired I would keep it for his sake, and transmit it to my son, to remain in my family as a memento of his friendship. Of course I made suitable acknowledgments for this very strong mark of his attention. During this conversation, his officers were employed in regaling themselves with tea and offee, and demolishing the cakes and sweet-meats, which they completely finished. After some pause, he introduced a request he had to make in the following discourse; He said that there were a number of bad people at Mergin, whose tricks he had found out, and had ordered a number to be put to death a few days ago. His majesty, he said, has intrusted me with the power of life and death, so that it is unnecessary for me to report to him a criminal whom I have condemned. I observed that the end of all government was the security and happiness of the people, but that it would be impossible to preserve harmony without the inflexible administration of justice. 'You see,' said he, 'that I am a great man, invested with great power, and acknowledged first subject in his Burmhan majesty's dominions: yet me has his majesty sent a considerable journey down the river to receive and visit you according to your wish. Hence is proved how high a regard his majesty has for the English nation. His Burmhan majesty neither wants gold or jewels, or any kind of riches, but there is one thing which he prizes above all earthly treasures, and which he hopes to obtain through the friendship of the Governor-General; you must therefore promise me to use all your influence with him

that his majesty's wishes may be gratified. Some years ago his majesty sent messengers to the king of Candy, to endeavour to obtain the tooth of Gaudema which is deposited in the principal pagoda of Ceylon. The king of Candy returned him for answer, that he was prevented from sending it by the disturbances between the Dutch and English; but he has since written to his Burmhan majesty, that the English have conquered all the Dutch settlements of Ceylon, and that he is ready to send the tooth by the first safe opportunity. Now his majesty is determined to send Gunneva, the governor of Rangoon, as his ambassador to Calcutta, and he wishes that you should send some person with him and write to the Governor-General, so that he may be properly received, and have every assistance towards obtaining this tooth. I told him, that it was a rule with us never to promise what we were not sure of being able to perform; that the king of Candy, although our good ally, was an independent prince; it therefore depended solely on him to grant his Burmhan majesty's request: I however made no doubt that the Governor-General would support that request as far as was consistent with the respect due to an independent sovereign.' " P. 159.

Mr. Burnett, who attended Captain Cox, in the capacity of secretary, having been sent to Keounmeoum (where the Court then was) with a letter, (as he came with no pretensions and not as a public character,) he was at once admitted to an audience of the Emperor; and the account which he gave Captain Cox upon his return, of the conversation which he held with his majesty, is really pleasing, and much more interesting, than our author's description of his own public presentation.

" The morning after his arrival he was admitted to an audience of his majesty, whom he found seated on a common mat on the floor of his bungalow, with pillows covered with green velvet to lean upon. He was dressed in an open jamma of white cloth, a common silk lungee round his loins, his hair gathered into a knot on the crown of his head in the Burmhan style, without any handkerchief round his head. The courtiers and Mr. Burnett were arranged on the same level, but on the bare bamboos. The levee commenced before sun rise, and as the whoonghee and Mr. Burnett had to cross the river, it had begun before they arrived. The conversation had taken a religious turn, in consequence of the examination of some of the heads of keouns, or priests, which had passed the day before. It appears they had been found very ignorant, and his majesty was much dissatisfied with them. Among the observations that were made by him on the subject, he said, that he feared too many resorted to a religious life from a love of indolence; that he did not pretend to be learned in these matters himself, but, as the head of the religion of his dominions, it was his duty to see that those immediately intrusted with its rites were well informed; and in conse-

quence he gave orders that candidates for the superiorities of keouns should in future undergo a more strict examination. His courtiers maintained a humble and profound silence, except when occasionally answering in the affirmative. It appears that his majesty is much dissatisfied with the present state of religion in his dominions, and meditates some great changes. He has found the priesthood in general miserably ignorant; even his arch-priest cannot satisfy his doubts. He says, they read over their canonical books, when they first enter on the monastic life, as a task imposed on school-boys; and although they have no other employment to engage their attention, they never afterwards investigate or inquire into the mystical meaning of their rites; so that they are totally unfit to instruct the people. Hence the various abuses that have crept into their religion; the building of small pagodas, the use of beads, &c., all of which are cloaks for hypocrisy, and unauthorized by the tenets of their ancient faith. These he means to forbid; also the practice of the poonghees taking servants with them to carry the provisions they collect in the morning, and to restrain the number of poonghees. These severe strictures and meditated reforms alarm his courtiers very much: they dare not remonstrate, and are afraid to obey. Mr. Burnett informs me that his majesty is a hale-looking man, rather corpulent, with an arch and penetrating eye. He frequently glanced a look at his audience, as if he would read their minds. Religion has been the constant theme during this excursion, and has precluded all other business. He often looked at him, but asked no questions, when he was present. The levee lasted about two hours; he then retired, and the court broke up. Some time after Mr. Burnett was seated, the king's grandson came in and seated himself on his majesty's left hand. His majesty put his arm round him and kissed him. The prince of Prone's daughter seated herself on his right hand. She is the intended wife of the grandson, and their nuptials are soon to be celebrated. Three or four of the king's daughters also came into the court, bowed to the ground, and then seated themselves opposite his majesty, in a line with the mhce whoonghee. Mr. Burnett was seated in a line with the woondocks*." P. 229.

The passage, which we have just given, presents the Emperor in a light which is, we think, creditable to his principles; but for all his disposition to encourage learning among his clergy, still we cannot but think that the following extract shews that his claws are much too long and sharp to be trusted to a man of even the best intentions.

* The woondocks are associated with the whoonghees in the government, and assist at the councils, but are allowed to give only their opinions; they have no vote or voice in the determination; they have however access to the King at all times, a privilege which the whoonghees do not enjoy, who, however, are greatly the superiors in point of nobility.

“ In the morning I sent my interpreter to make a last effort with the attawhoon of the palace, to deliver a letter from me to his majesty ; but both of those he saw positively refused, saying, that they dared not. One of them said, his majesty’s sword is too sharp ; you see a rich man was beheaded but yesterday without committing any fault. He then stated his case ; the unfortunate man had been ruler of a considerable district, and amassed wealth by oppression ; complaints were lodged, he was tried, found guilty, mulcted, and declared incapable of serving his majesty, who ordered him to retire from court, and never appear before him again. Unfortunately for him, his ambition would not permit him to remain quiet in obscurity ; his wealth enabled him to find patrons, and through them he twice petitioned his Majesty for permission to reside at the capital, and be enrolled as one of his merchants ; these petitions were rejected. He, notwithstanding, persevered to a third attempt, and to ensure success, offered a considerable bribe to one of his majesty’s favourite daughters to present it, which she undertook. The king, on receiving the petition, was extremely enraged, and exclaimed, I have repeatedly ordered this villain not to presume to approach me ; let him be immediately apprehended and confined. This order was given at four o’clock in the evening, and immediately executed. The man, too late dreading the effects of his majesty’s wrath, immediately began to scatter his wealth among the royal family ; money and jewels were sent to all such as were supposed to have influence ; the bribes were received, and he was told not to suffer any apprehension ; however, at seven, the same evening, his majesty ordered that he should be beheaded, and his property confiscated. The sentence was immediately carried into execution, and the myrmidons of the palace took possession of his property. His body is exposed above ground, pinned to the earth, where it is to rot ; the king’s doctor cut off the tip of his nose, ears, lips, tongue, and fingers, which, with some of his blood is to form a compound in some medicine of wonderful efficacy in ensuring longevity, and prosperity to those who are so happy as to obtain a portion of it from his majesty’s bounty.” P. 340.

In the extracts which we have made, we have gratified our readers with few passages that throw light upon the condition or manners of the people in general, because the book is in fact altogether silent respecting such particulars. Soon after our author’s presentation at court, which happens pretty early in the volume, some evil disposed persons appear to have gained access to his Majesty’s ear, who informed him, that our author was only a “ resident.” What a resident was, it does not seem that they very clearly understood ; only that after the discovery our author seems almost to have been considered in the light of a person who had gained the honour of a public reception under false pretences ; and in consequence it was resolved in council that our author should drink a mixture, which

he appears to have held in abomination ; though, for our parts, we would have swallowed it with alacrity ; the following passage will explain the case ; it is taken from a conversation of our author with the chobwa's son ;—what a chobwa is, we are not told, but however the chobwa's son observed

“ ‘ But your case is different ; you are a resident.’—‘ Well, and pray what is a resident ?’—‘ Why a resident is a governor, the same as the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy ; you may hang people, &c., if you choose, and therefore you must pay for your commission.’ In truth, they seem altogether to have a very confused idea of the nature of my office. The king, in his messages, and when he speaks of me, calls me his resident ; and among the number of wise proposals intended to be made me by the looto, is, that I shall take an oath of allegiance to his majesty, according to the Burmhan form. That is, I am to swallow a quantity of holy water, in which muskets, lances, and other warlike instruments have been immersed, in public, at the great pagoda, attended by the principal ministers, &c. A man had great need of patience in dealing with these people, who are the most ignorant, presuming, and rapacious set of beings that I ever met with.” P. 236.

From the moment our author was discovered to be only a *resident*, nothing can exceed the hostility with which he treats every Burmhan officer of state whom he meets with, except the indifference with which they seem to have regarded him. And, moreover, from this period, nothing can be more evident, than that a more improper person, for the situation to which he was appointed, could not have been selected. We confess that we close the volume with a very unfavourable opinion of Captain Cox's command of temper, and with not a very high opinion of his talents. His book, however, is still not without value.

ART. III. *Don Juan, Cantos III. IV. and V.* London.
Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars. 1821. 8vo.
pp. 218. 9s. 6d.

IT is an observation of the most agreeable of all historians, (may we not extend the phrase, and say at once the most agreeable of all writers ?) that Divine Wisdom has so constituted the nature of offensive and noxious animals, that they are by no means fruitful in their generation. As far as the lioness is concerned, Messrs. Pidcock and Polito, we

fear, will disprove the validity of Herodotus's remark; and in this instance at least he has not been fortunate in his illustration: but without inquiring too closely whether the assertion will hold good on an average in the natural world, we most heartily wish it could be predicated with truth of the moral world. That this cannot be Lord Byron once for all is a sufficient proof. Like the historian's other example, the hare, his Lordship's muse, is given to "foeneration and usury" of rhyme from her "fecundity and superfœtation," yet, alas! unlike the hare, his muse for the most part is but foul feeding either for man or beast.

"Vipers indeed," continues Sir Thomas Brown, whom our readers must doubtless have recognized in the last paragraph, "though destructive are fruitful and if we more nearly consider their condition, we shall discover a higher provision of nature: how although in their paucity she hath not abridged their malignity, yet hath she notoriously effected it by their secession or latitancy." Something to our purpose may, we think, be deduced from this. The king of birds, in his noble and generous nature, builds his eyrie aloft, under the mid-light of heaven, and gives his callow brood full cognizance of the sun. It is the eel, and toad, and lizard on the other hand, the slimy, and creeping, and venomous tribes, which shrink from observation, and bring forth in covert. The Poem before us is one of these hole and corner deposits; not only begotten but spawned in filth and darkness. Every accoucheur of literature has refused his obstetric aid to the obscure and ditch-delivered foundling; and even its father, though he unblushingly has stamped upon it an image of himself which cannot be mistaken, forbears to give it the full title of avowed legitimacy. It is not a little to the honour of the respectable publisher who hitherto has been Lord Byron's channel to the press, that in the present instance he has refused his customary assistance; for, though in common with "all the booksellers" as the advertisement notifies, he *sells* Don Juan, no one, we are sure, who knows his character, will do him the injustice to suppose that he *publishes* any work to which he is ashamed or afraid to affix his name.

The rare merit of consistency must be granted in its very utmost extent to Lord Byron. Whatever be the masque which he assumes for the moment, whether he struts and mouths under the tinsel and pasteboard trappings of the melodramatic hero, or jingles the cap and bells of the motley jackpudding, the same "Mungo every where" peeps forth from his disguise. One pervading *ἕλνξ*, as the Aristotelians say, is cut and carved by him into numberless forms. His

table is perpetually spread, like that of the old noble whose fare was so piteously bewailed by his chaplain, with "rabbits roasted and rabbits boiled;" or perhaps more like that of the Barmicede with a seeming variety of dainties, which when closely examined, resolve themselves one and all into—nothing. Now we have no quarrel with a single dish so long as it affords clean, wholesome, nutritive, substantial aliment; but when *sauce piquante* and high seasoning are called in to disguise corruption, and our ragout when stripped of its garnish turns out to be garbage, it is no wonder that our appetite fails.

In the balance of moral turpitude there is little to incline the scale on either side between Giulio Romano and Peter Aretin, for the intention of each was equally criminal. But in depravity of taste (and with Lord Byron perhaps this would be the weightier accusation) we place the ribald sonetteer far beyond the licentious painter. The highest excellence of painting, its conception, is derived from and subject to poetry; and as he who comprehends but a part is manifestly inferior to him who understands the whole, we need not trace the Muses up to Jupiter in order to prove the pre-eminence of their votary. But it is not only because his powers are of a nobler cast that the poet becomes more guilty than the painter if he abuses them. There is, we think, greater elaboration requisite for his wickedness, and he must step farther out of his obvious path in order to commit it. The pencil is more conversant with matters of mere sense than the pen, and as it addresses itself in the first instance through the eye to the intellect, the pleasure which it affords of necessity must in part be organic. But we grow too metaphysical. Lord Byron shall take his choice as to precedence, for it is of little consequence to the main question. We are content to class his Lordship with Aretin, be Aretin's relative guilt what it may.

Of the story of these cantos we cannot be expected to present any detail. It consists of a few scenes closely imitated from Louvet and Laclos (and this does not surprize us, for vice after all is drearily monotonous,) done into rhymes, which may furnish mottos for the snuff-boxes of the Palais Royal. Besides these, there is a profusion of episodical matter, from which we collect that matrimony is still the thorn in his lordship's flesh; that though now approaching to the confines of middle age and (if we are not misinformed) inclining to *embonpoint*, he is still desirous to be thought a *beau garçon*, and well with the ladies; and that he is most sensitively jealous of the fame of all contemporary poets,

excepting (neither does this surprize us) Mr. Rogers ! ἐν ἀμύσσοις καὶ κόρυδος φθεγγέται.

The ink is scarcely dry with which we expressed our opinion (British Critic, May, 1821,) that Lord Byron, in spite of appearances to the contrary, was at heart a merry wag. We think our readers will agree with us, that none but a *very* merry wag, indeed, could have penned the two facetious stanzas which we subjoin.

LII.

“ Here I must leave him, for I grow pathetic,
 Moved by the Chinese nymph of tears, green tear!
 Than whom Cassandra was not more prophetic ;
 For if my pure libations exceed three,
 I feel my heart become so sympathetic,
 That I must have recourse to black Bohea ;
 ’Tis pity wine should be so deleterious,
 For tea and coffee leave us much more serious,

LIII.

“ Unless when qualified with thee, Cogniac !
 Sweet Naiad of the Phlegethontic rill !
 Ah ! why the liver wilt thou thus attack,
 And make, like other nymphs, thy lovers ill ?
 I would take refuge in weak punch, but *rack*
 (In each sense of the word), whene’er I fill
 My mild and midnight beakers to the brim,
 Wakes me next morning with its synonym.” P. 97.

The pun and the playfulness of the four last lines are in the happiest manner of gentle waggery. In the reasons, however, which he is pleased to assign for adopting his present style, the noble lord again puts on his crying face ; nevertheless we are convinced that even here also a coquetting jocoseness and lurking pleasantry, a

Risus in angulo,

may be detected through the crumpled folds of his convenient pocket handkerchief.

III.

“ As boy, I thought myself a clever fellow,
 And wish’d that others held the same opinion ;
 They took it up when my days grew more mellow,
 And other minds acknowledged my dominion :
 Now my sere fancy ‘ falls into the yellow
 Leaf,’ and imagination droops her pinion,
 And the sad truth which hovers o’er my desk
 Turns what was once romantic to burlesque.

IV.

“ And if I laugh at any mortal thing,
 ’Tis that I may not weep ; and if I weep,
 ’Tis that our nature cannot always bring
 Itself to apathy, which we must steep
 First in the icy depths of Lethe’s spring
 Ere what we least wish to behold will sleep :
 Thetis baptized her mortal son in Styx ;
 A mortal mother would on Lethe fix.

V.

“ Some have accused me of a strange design
 Against the creed and morals of the land,
 And trace it in this poem every line :
 I don’t pretend that I quite understand
 My own meaning when I would be *very* fine ;
 But the fact is that I have nothing plann’d,
 Unless it was to be a moment merry,
 A novel word in my vocabulary.

VI.

“ To the kind reader of our sober clime
 This way of writing will appear exotic ;
 Pulci was sire of the half-serious rhyme,
 Who sang when chivalry was more Quixotic,
 And revell’d in the fancies of the time,
 True knights, chaste dames, huge giants, kings despotic ;
 But all these, save the last, being obsolete,
 I chose a modern subject as more meet.” P. 72.

Would that such *sermo merus* was all ! for where mischief is the object we will readily compound for insipidity. A single word before we part respecting Pulci. Lord Byron either deceives himself or seeks to mislead others, in claiming this poet as his model. In spite of much that is offensive to good taste and correct feeling, the corruption of others is not the design of the *Morgante* ; and its occasional licentiousness is rather the overflowing of a mind too sportive for control, than the slowly concocted venom of deliberate wickedness. It is the bordering not the ground-work of the web, and may be thrown off and disregarded as we peruse the poem. Parts of this are most pathetic ; for instance, the story of Meridiana and Manfredonio (Canto vii) : parts in a style of great elevation ; as the stanzas which announce the approach of the day of Roncesvalles (Canto xxiii) ; from that point, indeed, in its serious portions, all bears the stamp of loftier character. In the *Morgante* also is to be found a literary moral which Lord Byron has overlooked in reading it. He may learn from it that the reputation which the

wind of popular caprice has bestowed, is liable also to be taken away, for that in spite of the mythological belief to the contrary, the laurel may be shivered by a thunderbolt.

E mentre spaventati eran costoro

Venne una folgor che cadde lor presso

La qual percusse di cima un alloro,

E abbruciollo, e insino in terra è fesso.

O Febo, come hai tu quei bei crin d'oro

Così lasciato fulminare adesso !

Dunque i suoi privilegi il lauro or perde,

Che per ogni stagion suol parer verde?—Canto xxv.

But it was by the presence of the traitor Gano (to kick whom to his heart's content Don Quixote we are told would have given his housekeeper and his niece into the bargain,) that this ill augury was occasioned. We know not whether Ben Jonson ever read these lines of Pulci, but in "the Staple of News" he has a passage which may be thought strongly allusive to them, and with the recommendation of which to Lord Byron's notice we shall take leave of the noble writer till his next appearance ;

" ——— do I blast

The ever-living garland, always green,

Of a good poet, when I say HIS wreath

Is piec'd and patch'd of dirty wither'd flowers?"

ART. IV. *Views of Society and Manners in America ; in a Series of Letters from that Country to a Friend in England, during the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820. By an Englishwoman.* 8vo. 534 pp. 13s. Longman & Co. 1821.

ART. V. *Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819. By William Tell Harris. In a Series of Letters to Friends in England.* 12mo. 200 pp. 4s. Sherwood & Co. 1821.

HERE are a lady and a gentleman, each with very little regard to the expence of double letters and distant postage, amusing themselves and their correspondents with bird's-eye views of North America. Their correspondents in turn have recommended them to extend this benefit to the public at large: and beyond doubt all who buy the printed letters will get them on much cheaper terms than if they had received them in MS. instalments. Whether or no they are

worth the trouble attendant upon this literary metempsychosis is a question to the decision of which for themselves we shall endeavour to draw our readers.

And first, as common courtesy requires, for the lady. Her transatlantic prepossessions come early into the field. Her daily conversations with one or other of the crew of the American brig which bore her to New York, invariably ended with the attainment of some useful knowledge, or the exaltation of her ideas regarding the country which she was about to visit: and, on landing, these marine anticipations were by no means disappointed, for during her whole residence in America she never conversed with *any* man who could not inform her of *all* facts regarding the past history and existing institutions of his nation with readiness and accuracy.

At New York she found the young men very solemn and the young women very silly: the mental condition of the latter we are bound to admit is not summed up with the blunt brevity which we have ventured to use; but such is the substance which we easily collect from five pages of well-bred circumlocution. The bar is the commonest profession in this city, and Mr. Emmett, "whose history is in his name," is at the head of it.

"In the mild manners, in the urbanity and benevolence of Mr. Emmett's character, one might be at a loss to conceive where oppression found its victim. Is it in his powerful talents and generous sentiments that we must seek the explanation?" P. 39.

We presume that the Dr. M'Neven, mentioned in a closely following paragraph, is the patriotic physician who submitted a plan for the invasion of Ireland to the French Directory, in 1797; and who, in consequence of its unlucky discovery, became equally "a victim of oppression" with Mr. Emmett.

The humanity of the republic of Pennsylvania is somewhat oddly established. "Solitary imprisonment," says the fair authoress, "is proved by experience to be a sentence more dreadful and more dreaded than death;" and it is on account of the substitution of solitary imprisonment for death that the praise of humanity is assigned to the Pennsylvanians. This we are inclined to class with the humanity of a surgeon who lets his patient die of a broken leg in order that he may not give him pain by setting it.

At Philadelphia society improves but little upon that of New York. They are "admirable listeners;" this to be

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sure is one degree beyond having *un grand talent pour la silence*: "facts form the ground works of their discourse," and imagination is a dead letter with them: "they are entirely without *mauvaise honte*," and talk very glibly of philosophy, political economy, and the general sciences of government; just like a Scotch academic fresh from his lectures, or a young gentleman educated at home by a papa who reads a little Latin but no Greek.

The settlers in Upper Canada, it seems, are somewhat discontented; and the lady could not always understand the grounds of their complaints. Yet in one place she informs us of "the horrors of their voyage; ill fed, ill cloathed, and not unfrequently crowded together as if on board a prison-ship, it is not uncommon for a fourth and even a third of the live cargo to be swept off by disease during this mid-passage:" (p. 269) then they are "turned adrift in this Siberia, as it often happens, at the close of autumn; the delays, perhaps unavoidable, which occur after their landing, before they are sent to their station in the howling wilderness, kills (kill) some and breaks (break) the spirit of others: after fearful hardships, some rear at last their cabin of logs in the savage forest; polar winds and snows, dreary solitudes, agues," &c. (p. 270.) These (we speak for ourselves only) would be sufficient "grounds of complaint," without referring to those "prejudices and predilections" which many emigrants, we are told, bring with them, and which "can only be rubbed away by a free intercourse with the natives of the country." (p. 263.) Mr. Birkbeck's "intellect" was sufficiently "vigorous," and his "sentiments" sufficiently "liberal" to enable him to effect the necessary change of mind as well as climate. Next to him the Dutch and Germans have thriven best; then comes the wary Sawney: but, for the most part, the French turn hunters, the Irish sots, and the English speculators; so that amusement, indulgence, or self-sufficiency, are equally ruinous to each of the three.

The facilities of correspondence in many parts of America must hold out infinite attraction to the merchant and the lover. The *bill of parcels* and the "soft intercourse," the *little accompt* and the "waisted sigh," appear to have much the same chance of reaching their destination securely.

"I remember, when taking a cross cut in a queer sort of a caravan, bound for some settlement on the southern shore of Lake Erie, observing, with no small surprise, the operations of our charioteer; a paper flung to the right hand, and anon a paper flung to the left, where no sight or sound bespoke the presence of human beings. I asked if the bears were curious of news; upon which I was in-

formed, that there was a settler in the neighbourhood, who ought to have been on the look out, or some of his children for him. 'But when I don't find them ready, I throw the paper under a tree; and I warrant you they'll look sharp enough to find it; they're always curious of news in these wild parts;' and curious enough they seemed, for not a cabin did we pass that a newspaper was not flung from the hand of this enlightener of the wilderness. Occasionally making a halt at some solitary dwelling, the post-bag and its guardian descended together, when, if the assistance of the farmer, who here acted as post-master, could be obtained, the whole contents of the mail were discharged upon the ground, and all hands and eyes being put in requisition, such letters as might be addressed to the surrounding district, were scrambled out from the heap; which, being then again scrambled together, was once more shaken into the leathern receptacle, and thrown into the waggon; but it sometimes happened that the settler was from home. On one occasion, I remember, neither man, woman, nor child, was to be found; the stage-driver whistled and hallooed, walked into the dwelling, and through the dwelling, sprang the fence, traversed the field of maize, and shouted into the wood; but all to no purpose. Having resumed his station, and set his horses in motion, I enquired how the letters were to find their destination, seeing that we were carrying them along with us, heaven knew where? 'Oh! they'll keep in the country any how; it is likely, indeed, they may go down the Ohio, and make a short tour of the states; this has happened sometimes; but it is a chance but they get to Washington at last; and then they'll commence a straight course anew, and be safe here again this day twelvemonth may be, or two years at farthest.'

"At Carthage we found the post-master, very naturally fast asleep; after much clatter against his door and wooden walls, he made his appearance with a candle, and according to custom, the whole contents of the mail were discharged upon the floor. The poor Carthaginian rubbed his eyes, as he took up one letter after another from the heap before him; but his dreams seemed still upon him. 'Not a letter can I see,' he exclaimed, as he again rubbed his eyes, and snuffed his candle. 'Friend, lend me your eyes, or you may just take the whole load away with you.' 'I am none of the best at decyphering hand-writing,' replied the driver. 'Why then I must call my wife, for she is as sharp as a needle.' The wife was called, and, in gown and cap, soon made her appearance; the candle and the papers placed in the middle, wife, husband, and driver, set about decyphering the hieroglyphics; but that the wife had the character of being as sharp as a needle, I should have augured ill of the labours of this triumvirate. Whether right or wrong, however, the selection was soon made, and the budget once again committed to the waggon." P. 228.

We in the Old World, the lady assures us, are so educated

that the greater part of our life is passed in unlearning. (p. 418.) The Americans do these things better; for though all their children are educated, as nothing seems to be taught, of course nothing is to be unlearned. We have taken some pains to elicit from the letter on education *what* it is which "fits youth for the state colleges," but, alas! we only hear that children carry satchels, bloom with health, and make courtesies to old travellers. The spirit of liberty is a fine thing, and forms very magnanimous little boys. "Do you dare to strike me?" said a scarce-breeched urchin to his schoolmaster on one occasion, "you are my teacher but not my tyrant!" The alliteration, the instinctive hatred of "arbitrary power," and the memory of Washington, all conspired to rouse the flame of slumbering freedom. The school made common cause in a moment. The fact was enquired into, the master was dismissed, and, we suppose, narrowly escaped the destiny of the Faliscian pedagogue. But thus, as the lady remarks, in opposition to king Solomon and Dr. Busby, the boy learns to feel "his own importance as a human and a thinking being." Women are taught all that Dr. Rush considers requisite; but as yet they are brought up rather too much after the European manner, without attention to "philosophy, history, political economy, and the exact sciences," and with equal neglect of the exercise of the bodily organs; so that from the want of being "taught in early youth to excel in the race, to hit a mark, or to swim," "the two sexes have less in common in their pursuits and turn of thinking than is desirable."

The lady is very fond of Lieutenant Hall, (B. C. October, 1818.) and therefore does not perceive any want of religion in America. The Unitarians "have had some prejudices to encounter;" but "these mild teachers of morals and simple Christianity" are now making rapid progress. American theology is of "a quiet and unassuming character;" it never troubles itself about doctrinal disputations, it inculcates no creed, it lets people "believe or disbelieve as little or as much" as they like, it thinks an affirmation equal to an oath, and in two or three states (of course not the most liberal) it requires "that the chief officers shall be Christians, or *at least believe in a God*; but as no religious test is enforced the law is in fact a dead letter."

"The tone assumed in the debates of Congress has for many years been worthy of the Roman Senate in its best days, nor is the oratory and sound reasoning displayed in them less remarkable than the temper which is invariably preserved." (p. 413.) On the "tone of the Roman Senate in its best

days" we are not prepared to offer any remark, for we have not been fortunate enough to meet with the parliamentary debates of that particular time, be it what it may; but as a proof that Congress is justly praised for its moderation and temper, for its avoidance of the "party rancour," "scurrility," and "personal invective," which too often disgraces the English House of Commons, we may advert to the paragraph immediately preceding that which we have last cited; from this we learn that the conduct and language of the representatives is "*invariably decorous and gentlemanly*;" for that once, when in the course of debate, "one member gave another the lie, upon which he was felled by his adversary to the ground," both were expelled the house.

We cannot but wish that this lady had devoted less of her work to speculative and statistical enquiries, and had rather followed the true bent of her genius by indulging her readers with more in which

"Pure description takes the place of sense."

She is evidently a quick, lively, clever woman; and we have not often been more powerfully interested in the same way than by her account of the falls of the Genessee river.

"The second fall is inconsiderable compared to that either above or below. The third, though not upwards of eighty feet, is the most picturesque of the whole. The effect, is at present, singularly heightened by a stupendous bridge, thrown across the chasm, just below the basin of the fall, in the manner of that over the Wear at Sunderland. The chord of the arch, as I was informed, is upwards of 300 feet; the perpendicular, from the centre to the river, 250. We were desirous of viewing it from the bottom of the chasm; but to do this it seemed necessary to go two miles farther down the river to seek a boat, which even then, we were assured, it would be but a chance if we found. To descend to this spot and wait this chance, day-light would hardly have served us. To see what we could, we scrambled a fourth of the way down, first by means of the wood-work of the bridge, and then by advancing cautiously along the shelving edge of the precipice, resting our weight on one hand, until we reached an acute angle, formed by the roots of a blasted pine, which afforded us a narrow footing, while the broken stem yielded us support.

"Having assumed this position, which, had we duly considered, we should perhaps not have ventured upon, we gazed up and down with a sensation of terror, that I do not remember to have felt in an equal degree more than once in my life. Beneath us, on either hand, the precipice now shelved perpendicularly, or rather we were projected over it, so that a pebble would have dropped into the gulf of water below. To the left, we looked upon the falling river;

beneath us was the basin, broad, deep, and finely circular; opposite, the precipice answering to that we stood upon; on our right, was the bridge, suspended as it were in mid-air. We were on a level with the spring of the arch, and I shuddered to observe that, on the opposite side, projecting over the precipice, the beams which sustained it seemed to rest on a hair's breadth. Tracing also the semicircle with my eye, I perceived that it was considerably strained, about 20 feet on the same side from the centre. Afterwards, on crossing the bridge, we found several heavy logs placed over the spot to prevent the springing of the arch. You cannot conceive the horror with which we gazed upwards on its tremendous span. After a while, it appeared as if in motion; and the impulse was irresistible which led us to shut our eyes, and shrink as in expectation of being crushed beneath its weight. I cannot yet recall this moment without shuddering. Our sight swimming; our ears filled with the stunning roar of the river, the smoke of whose waters rose even to this dizzy height; while the thin coating of soil which covered the rock, and had once afforded a scanty nourishment to the blasted tree which sustained us, seemed to shake beneath our feet. At the time I judged this to be the work of busy fancy. To restore our confused senses, and save ourselves from losing balance, which had been the loss of life, we grasped the old pine with considerable energy, and it was at last, with trembling knees, and eyes steadily fixed upon our footsteps, neither daring to look up nor down, that we regained the height from which we had descended. Having regained it, I thought we never looked more like fools in our lives.

“ Crossing the bridge, (which brought us down not quite to the level we had sought by a more perilous descent on the other side,) we walked round upon a fine carpet of verdure, kept always fresh by the spray from the basin beneath, till we stood above the brink of the fall, and nearly facing the arch. While making this circuit, we again shuddered, perceiving, for the first time, that the point we had descended to on the opposite side, had a concealed peril more imminent than those which had so forcibly affected our imagination. The earth beneath the old pine, being completely excavated, and apparently only held together by one of its roots. A young man, who the next day became our fellow-traveller, told me that he had seen us take this position with such alarm, that his blood ran cold for many minutes after we left it; adding, that he had observed the earth crumble beneath our weight, and strike in the water below.” P. 222.

Our next extract will be long, but we do not think our readers will on that account complain of it; it is in the same vivid manner.

“ One of the finest steam-boats ever built in the United States lately ran upon this inland sea, and was destroyed, ten days since, by fire, in a manner truly terrible. The captain of the vessel had

fallen sick, and entrusted its management to his son, a young man just turned of one and twenty. Making for St. John's, with upwards of forty passengers, they encountered the equinoctial gale which blew with violence right a head. The fine vessel, however, encountered it bravely, and dashed onwards through the storm, until an hour after midnight, she had gained the broadest part of the lake. Some careless mortal, who had been to seek his supper in the pantry, left a candle burning on a shelf, which, after some time, caught another which was ranged above.

"The passengers were asleep, or at least quiet in their births, when a man at the engine perceived, in some dark recess of the vessel, an unusual light. Approaching the spot, he heard the crackling of fire, and found the door of the pantry a glowing and tremulous wall of embers. He had scarcely time to turn himself, ere he was enveloped in flames; rushing past them, he attempted to burst into the ladies' apartment by a small door which opened into the interior of the vessel: it was locked on the inside, and the noise of the storm seemed to drown all his cries and blows. Hurrying upon the deck, he gave the alarm to the captain, and flew to the women's cabin. Ere he leaped down the stairs, the flames had burst through the inner door, and had already seized upon the curtains of the bed next to it. You may conceive the scene which followed.

"In the mean time the young captain roused his crew and his male passengers, warning the pilot to make for the nearest island. Summoning all his men around him, and stating to them that all the lives on board could not be saved in the boats, he asked their consent to save the passengers, and to take death with him. All acquiesced unanimously; and hastened to let down the boats. While thus engaged, the flames burst through the decks, and shrouded the pilot, the mast, and the chimney, in a column of flames. The helmsman, however, held to the wheel, until his limbs were scorched and his clothes half consumed upon his back. The unusual heat round the boiler gave a redoubled impetus to the engine. The vessel dashed madly through the waters, until she was within a few roods of land. The boats were down, and the captain and his men held the shrieking women and children in their arms, when the helm gave way, and the vessel, turning from the wind, flew backwards, whirling round and round from the shore. None could approach to stop the engine; its fury, however, soon spent itself, and left the flaming wreck to the mercy only of the winds and waves. With dreadful struggles, the naked passengers got into the boats, and received the women and children from the hands of the captain and the crew, who, while the flames whirled over their heads, refused the solicitations to enter the overburdened barks, and pushed them off from the fire which had nearly caught their sides. It was now discovered that one woman and a youth of sixteen had been forgotten. Hurrying them to the windward of the flames, the youth was bound to a plank, and a skillful swimmer of the crew leapt with him into the lake. The

captain, holding the frantic woman in his arms, stood upon the edge of the scorching and crackling wreck, until he saw the last of his companions provided with a spar, and committed to the waters; then, throwing from him with one arm a table which he had before secured for the purpose, and with the other grasping his charge, he sprang into the waves. The poor woman, mad with terror, seized his throat as he placed and held her upon the table; forced to disengage himself, she was borne away by the waves; he tried to follow, and saw her, for the last time, clinging to a burning mass of the vessel. One last shriek, and the poor creature was whelmed in flood and fire. Swimming round the blazing hulk, and calling aloud to such of his companions as might be within hearing, to keep near it, he watched for the falling of a spar. He seized one while yet on fire, and, quenching it, continued to float round the wreck, deeming that the light might be a signal, should the boats be able to return; but these had to row, heavily laden, six miles through a mountainous sea. It was long before they could make the land, and then, leaving their helpless freight naked on the shore of a desert island, in the dark and tempestuous night, they turned to seek the drowning heroes.

“The day broke while they were labouring against the roaring elements, seeking in vain the extinguished beacon that was to guide their search; at length a blackened atom appeared upon the top of a wave; stretched upon it was a human figure. It was, I rejoice to say, the young captain—senseless, but the generous soul not quite departed. He is alive and doing well. One other of these devoted men was picked up late in the morning, and wonderously restored to life, after having been eight hours swimming and floating on the water. Seven perished.” P. 295.

But it is time now to turn to the gentleman. He quotes a good deal of poetry, but is on the whole, we think, a much less ambitious writer than his female rival. He wishes now and then that the characteristics of European populations were “improved understandings coupled with benevolence, hospitality, and virtue;” and he believes that Athens on the *Hockhocking*, which he reached by the *Big Road*, is intended “to compare in literary fame with *that* (qu. what?) ancient seat of learning.” If we are right in our conjecture of his meaning, we readily grant that the modern Athens may some day be as like the ancient city whose name it has abused, as the *Hockhocking*, under its present title, is to the Ilissus. Duck Creek and Olive-green Creek lead him on to “the interlocking of the Cayahoga with the Muskingum;” hence by the Wabash he proceeds to Wapakanetta, and afterwards at Shakerstown has an opportunity of witnessing the orgies of that sect from which it is named. He describes the essentials of their creed to be blasphemous, and their doctrine

respecting marriage to be "so opposite to any thing like decency, that none but the filthiest pen could prostitute itself in detailing it." Their worship, at which he was present, consisted of a short discourse to prove that dancing and clapping of hands were acceptable to God; a hymn was then sung, and in conclusion,

"A general movement now of the feet took place, accompanied by clapping of hands, twirling on their heels, leaping, shouting, screaming, while the regulators on the flanks sung with some little variation, 'Lo diddle! ho diddle! lo diddle ho!' ceasing at intervals, to recover from the violent exertions; some, however, unable to resist the impulse of their feelings continued to start suddenly, screaming and leaping in such a manner, that a stranger could not suppose them any other than unfortunates who had eluded the vigilance of their keepers." P. 122.

Big Bone Valley, the seat of the late Dr. Goforth's inquiries concerning the mammoth, afforded him the comfort of a sulphur and magnesia draught. French Lick gave another of saline sulphur. By the Three-notch road he reached the villa of Major A., whom he found "busily employed in making shoes for his family;" upon which patriarchal act he moralizes prettily enough.

"Be not surprised, that a man of such rank, and possessing large property in land, negroes, &c. should be employed in a way so repugnant to your old-country notions. A nearer acquaintance with these independents would convince you that knowledge, comfort, and the embellishments of human nature, are perfectly compatible with the exercise of any lawful calling, and that no honest employment can increase the degradation of fallen man." P. 141.

We will not run the chance of weakening, by any foreign addition, the effect of this simple but philosophic reflection, which is equally creditable to its author and its object.

As for America we really neither undervalue the energies which she has hitherto shewn, nor still less the capabilities which she may possess for the future. Our quarrel is not with her, but with those who do her injustice, who forget that maturity of civilization is the work of ages, who imagine that because the New World displays signs of vigour the Old World is therefore necessarily effete, who cackle, as geese have done before them, about a gingerbread capitol, and think that log-cabins and mud-hovels become temples and palaces by the magic of the nicknames Cincinnati and Utica. Of these doings there is plentiful matter in the volumes before us; and if the writers really think all they so broadly say, they cannot do better than plant themselves in the Elysium of the back settlements without loss of time.

ART. VI. *Historic Notices in Reference to Fotheringhay. Illustrated by Engravings. By the Rev. H. K. Bonney, M.A. Author of the Life of Bishop Taylor. 8vo. 136 pp. 7s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1821.*

THE design of this pleasing and unpretending little volume, as announced in the Preface to it, is to afford such a history of a place distinguished beyond any other in Britain except the capital, for the misfortunes of royalty, as will answer the inquiries of the traveller when on the spot, without compelling him to refer to those more standard topographical works, which from their expence and bulk are little likely to agree either with his pocket or portmanteau. The sources from which the writer's materials are compiled, in themselves speak sufficiently for the value and authority of his information; they are an ancient MS. in his own possession, sundry others belonging to the vicar of Fotheringhay, the Harleian Collection, Records in the Chapter House Westminster, Bridge's History of Northamptonshire, the fortieth Number of the *Typographia Britannica*, Camden's *Life of Elizabeth*, Rymer's *Fœdera*, and an unpublished Record of Dugdale, in the possession of George Finch Hatton, Esq. Mr. Bonney has thrown his antiquarian lore into an agreeable form; and illustrated it by plates very creditable to his pencil.

Fotheringhay, on the north bank of the river Nen, in Northamptonshire, was once a market town, and the principal seat of the Plantagenets. It stands in a country described by Leland as "being marvellous fair corn ground and pasture, with but little wood." In Domesday it is called *Foddringeia*, which the same author interprets *Foderingeye*, or *Fodering inclosure*, meaning that part of the forest (of Rockingham) which was set apart for the produce of hay.

The present village contains forty houses, and about three hundred inhabitants. In it is a grammar school, endowed with a small stipend from the exchequer, whose foundation is supposed to have taken place in the reign of Edward VI. In the year 1716 five pounds was bequeathed to this institution for the purchase of books, a commodity which was somewhat cheaper a century ago than it is now, as the following bill of fare will abundantly avouch.

- " Athenian Oracle, 4 vols.
- Cicero's Select Orations.
- Clarendon's History, 6 vols.
- Cole's Dictionary.

Greek Common Prayer and Testament.

Greek Testament.—Oxford Accidence.

Bentley's Horace.—Leigh's *Critica Sacra*.

Ovidii *Metamorphoses*, Delphin Edition.

Prideaux's *Connection*, 2 vols.

Schrevelii *Lexicon*.

Terentius, Oxford Edition.

Virgil, Menelius' Edition.

Walker's *Particles*, and Walker's *Idioms*." P. 8.

Honest John Dunton was in great repute about these times; in our own the Athenian Oracle would hardly maintain its ground between Cicero and Clarendon.

The castle stood at the eastern extremity of the town. It was built at the close of the eleventh century by Simon de Liz, second Earl of Northampton; from the Earl of Richmond, the nephew of Edward I. it passed by a royal grant to Mary de St. Paul, daughter of Guido de Chatillon, Comte de St. Paul in France, by Mary, daughter of the deceased Earl of Richmond. This lady (St. Paul) is better known to most of our readers as

“ Sad Chatillon, on her bridal morn
That wept her bleeding love.”

She was Baroness de Voissu and Montanai, and married to Audemare de Valentia, Earl of Pembroke, who fell in a tournament on the day of their nuptials. In Cambridgeshire she is remembered as the foundress of Pembroke Hall, in the University, and of Denny Abbey, on the Ely road. Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of Edward III. on the death of this lady became possessor of the castle. He laid the ground plan of the keep in the form of a fetterlock, which, inclosing a falcon, was afterwards the favourite device of his family. Edward, Earl of Rutland, his son, fell at the battle of Agincourt, and at his own desire was interred in Fotheringhay church. His nephew Richard, afterwards Duke of York, succeeded to the castle, and lies also in the same church with his son the Earl of Rutland, killed by Clifford.

Within this castle Richard III. was born. It was the settlement upon Elizabeth, Henry the VIIth's. Queen, the only representative of the House of York; and the dowry of Katharine of Arragon. Henceforward we hear of it only as a prison of state. In Sir Thomas Wyatt's conspiracy, Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, was confined here, and its last and most illustrious captive was Mary, Queen of Scots. Fuller, the church historian, visited it, and read on one of

the windows the following distich, from an old ballad, written by the Queen's diamond.

“ From the top of all my trust
Mishap has laid me in the dust.”

From a survey in James the First's reign (1625) it appears to have been then strong, and in good repair. There is a false tradition that this king pulled it down as the scene of his mother's death. It was Sir Robert Cotton, who purchased the hall in which Mary had been beheaded, and removed it to Connington, in Huntingdonshire. The stone of other parts was bought by Robert Kirkham, Esq. to build a chapel at his house Fineshead in the neighbourhood, and the last remains of it were destroyed in the middle of the eighteenth century, to repair the navigation of the river Nen. The ground on which it stood, the surrounding moats, and some small fragments of the walls near the river on the east of the mount are now the property of Thomas Belsey, Esq. of Margate.

A nunnery was coeval with the castle, and a college was founded by Edmund of Langley, who built the choir also at the end of the old parish church. The House of York in the two next generations largely contributed to the magnificence of this structure. But both the choir and the college were dilapidated in the time of Elizabeth. The remains of the collegiate church exhibit an admirable specimen of the architecture of the fifteenth century, and are classed by War-ton with the Divinity School at Oxford, and King's College Chapel, Cambridge. The monuments erected by Elizabeth, who visited Fotheringhay in one of her progresses, to her ancestors the Dukes of York, are in the usual bad taste of her age.

Mr. Bonney has subjoined a full account of the trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, taken partly from Camden, and partly from a letter written three days after the last event to Lord Burleigh; from this we shall extract a few particulars. When the sheriff announced that all the mournful preparations were ready,

“ forth she came, being of stature tall, body corpulent, round shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, and hazel eyed *; her borrowed hair abame, her attire was this:—on her

* “ In the collection of the Duchess of Buccleuch, at Boughton in Northamptonshire, is a portrait of the Queen of Scots, which answers to this description. Lord Montague of Boughton, was one of the Peers who sat on her trial, and would probably endeavour to obtain as accurate a likeness as the time would

head she had a dressing of lawn, edged with bone lace, a pomander chain, and an Agnus Dei about her neck, a crucifix in her hand, a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them, a veil of lawn fastened to her cowl, bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bone lace; her gown was of black satin, printed, with a train and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn buttons of jet, and trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black satin, cut, with a pair of sleeves of velvet whole under them; her kirtle wholly of figured black satin, and her petticoat-upper-body, unlaced in the back, of crimson satin, and her petticoat skirt of crimson velvet, her shoes of Spanish leather, with the rough side outward, a pair of green silk garters, her nether stockings worsted coloured watchet, clocked with silver, and edged in the top with silver, and next her legs a pair of Jersey hose, white." P. 97.

Some difficulty being made by the Earl of Kent as to the attendance of her own servants on the scaffold,

" ' My Lord,' said the Queen of Scots, ' I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not deserve blame in any of the accusations you have named. But, alas, poor souls, it would do them good to bid their mistress farewell: and I hope, said she further to the Earl of Kent, ' your mistress (meaning her majesty) being a maiden Queen, will vouchsafe in regard to womanhood, that I shall have some of mine own people about me at my death.' ' And I know,' said she, ' your mistress hath not given you any such straight commission, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy than this, if I were a woman of far meaner calling than the Queen of Scots.' And then perceiving she should not obtain her request without some difficulty, of mere grief she burst out into tears, saying, ' I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from the blood royal of Henry the Seventh, and a married Queen of France, and an anointed Queen of Scotland; ' at which time upon great consultation had betwixt the two Earls, and others in commission, it was permitted that she

afford. Other Portraits represent her in the height of beauty; this shews her at an age when time and care had changed both her figure and countenance.

" The false portraits of Mary are infinite (says Lord Orford) — but there are many genuine, as may be expected of a woman who was Queen of France, Dowager of France, and Queen of Scotland. Lord Orford had a drawing, by Vertue, from a genuine portrait unengraved. That artist was a papist and a Jacobite, and idolized Mary. At Lord Carleton's desire, and being paid by him, Vertue engraved a pretended Mary, in that nobleman's possession, but loudly declared his disbelief. Yet has this portrait been copied in Fieron's curious *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, Londres (Paris) 1742, 2 Vols. 12mo. and in many other works; while the Genuine Mary by Vertue, with the skeleton and her age, has not been re-engraved. This is the engraving in Rapin's *History of England*; and is from a painting in St. James's Palace, taken in 1530. Grainger enumerates twenty-eight engravings of this Queen from various paintings; of which, that from the portrait at St. James's Palace has the preference."

should have some of her servants about her, according as before she had instantly intreated; and, withal desired her to make choice of half a dozen of her best beloved men and women.'” P. 100.

After much persecution on the score of religion from Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, and some rude harsh speeches to the same effect from the Earl of Kent, she made ready for the block.

“ ‘ Then the two executioners kneeled down unto her, and desired her to forgive them her death: she answered, ‘ I forgive you with all my heart, for I hope this death shall give an end to all my troubles.’

“ ‘ Then they, with her two women, helping her up, began to disrobe her; and when she laid her crucifix upon the stool, one of the executioners took from her neck the agnus dei; then she began to lay hold of it, saying she would give it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he should have money for it. Then she suffered them, with her two women, to take off her chain of pomander beads, and all her other apparel, and then with a kind of gladness and smiling, she began to make herself ready, putting on a pair of sleeves with her own hands, which the two executioners before had rudely put off, and that with such speed as if she longed to have been gone out of the world. During all these actions of disrobing the Queen, she never altered her countenance, but smiling, (as it were) at it, said, ‘ she never had such grooms before to make her unready, nor ever did put off her clothes before such company.’ At length, she being unattired, and unapparelled of such and so much of her attire and apparel as was convenient, saving her petticoat and kirtle; her two women, looking upon her, burst out into a very great and pitiful shrieking, crying, and lamentation: and when their shrieking began to decline, they crossed themselves, and prayed in Latin.

“ ‘ Then the Queen, turning herself to them, and seeing them in such a mournful and lamentable plight, embraced them, and said these words in French, ‘ Ne cry vous, jay promè pour vous,’ and so crossed and kissed them, and bid them pray for her, and not to be so mournful; ‘ for, (said she) this day shall end your mistress’s troubles.’ Then, with a smiling countenance, she turned herself to her men servants, Melvin, and the rest, standing upon a bench near unto the scaffold, who were sometimes weeping, and sometimes crying out aloud; and continually crossing themselves, and praying in Latin; and the Queen, (thus turned to them,) did herself likewise cross them, and bid them farewell, and prayed them to pray for her even to the last hour.

“ ‘ This done, one of her women, having a Corpus Christi cloth, lapped it up three-corner wise, and kissed it, and put it over the face of her Queen and mistress, and pinned it fast on the caul of her head.

“ ‘ Then the two women mournfully departed from her, and

then the Queen kneeled down upon the cushion, at which time, very resolutely, and without any token of the fear of death, she spake aloud this psalm, in Latin, ‘ In Te Domine, speravi, ne confundar in æternum, &c.’

“ ‘ Then groping for the block, she laid down her head, putting her chain over her back with both her hands, which holding there still, had been cut off, had they not been espied. Then she laid herself upon the block most quietly, and stretching out her arms and legs, cried out, ‘ In manus tuas, Domine,’ &c. three or four times. At last, while one of the executioners held her straightly with one of his hands, the other gave two strokes with the axe, before he did cut off her head, and yet left a little gristle behind ; at which time she made very small noise, and stirred not any part of herself from the place where she lay.

“ ‘ Then the executioner which cut off her head, lifted it up, and bade ‘ God save the Queen :’ then her dressing of lawn fell from her head, which appeared as grey as if she had been three score and ten years old, poled very short, her face being in a moment so much altered from the form which she had when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face ; her lips stirred up and down almost a quarter of an hour after her head was cut off.

“ ‘ Then said Mr. Dean, ‘ So perish all the Queen’s enemies.’ And afterwards the Earl of Kent came to the dead body, and standing over it, with a loud voice likewise said, ‘ such end happen to all the Queen’s and the Gospel’s enemies.’

“ ‘ Then one of the executioners, pulling off part of her dress, espied her little dog, which was under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth but by force, and afterwards would not depart from her dead corpse, but came and laid between her head and shoulders, (a thing diligently noted ;) the dog being imbrued with her blood, was carried away, and washed, as all things else were that had any blood, except those things which were burned.’ ” P. 110.

Mr. Bonney’s volume is a pleasing accession to the library of the Topographical Antiquarian, and a very useful manual to a visitor of Fotheringhay.

ART. VII. *A Narrative of the Conduct of the Swiss Regiment of Guards, in the Service of his late Majesty, Lewis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre, on the memorable Day of the Tenth of August, 1792. Written by Colonel Pfyffer D’Altishoffen, Chevalier of the Military Orders of Saint Lewis, and Saint Maurice, and Lazare ; formerly an Officer in the Swiss Guards,*

afterwards in the Service of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, and since in that of his late Majesty King George the Third. 4to. pp. 76. Were. 1821.

THE massacre of the Swiss Guards, on the 10th of August, 1792, must be fresh in every recollection. The attachment of this devoted body to its royal master is amongst the most honourable memorials of fidelity and loyalty on historical record, and it has recently been proposed, by a few patriotic Swiss, to raise a monument at Lucerne to their fallen countrymen. Colonel Pfyffer d'Altishoffen, who was a captain in this regiment at the time of its massacre, and who has not long been dead, entered ardently into the plan, and superintended a subscription to effect it. The Chevalier Thorwalsen has executed a model, and committed the execution of its sculpture to Monsieur Eggenchwiler, an artist who formerly was a pensioner of the French Institute. It is a finely conceived basso relievo, two and thirty feet in length, reprecenting a lion expiring on a heap of broken arms, with two shields, one blazoning the bearings of France, the other those of Switzerland. Near the public garden of Lucerne is a rock surrounded by trees, beautifully grouped, and an excavation on its side has been well chosen for the site of this simple, but touching cenotaph. The inscription is briefly to state the event which it commemorates, and to record the names of the individuals who perished.

The little work before us was originally published in French, as far back as 1819, in order to make the subscription more generally known; and ultimately was intended for distribution among the subscribers themselves. As such it is scarcely a fair mark for criticism, and we insert this brief notice of it with no intention of passing a judgment on its merits, but solely from the interest excited by a few of the facts which it contains.

For some time before the month of August the Swiss regiment had been deprived of its artillery, by order of the French government, and notwithstanding repeated applications it was permitted to remain with great deficiency of ammunition. Thirty cartridges only could be spared to each man when guard was mounted in the Tuilleries, on the day preceding the massacre. At 11 o'clock on the night of the 9th of August, the tocsin sounded, and it was understood that the resolutions adopted by the insurgents of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine were to the following purpose. To besiege the palace; to put every one found in it, particularly the Swiss, to death; to compel the king to abdicate; and to

retain him with the queen and royal family, as hostages at Vincennes, in case the foreign troops, which had just entered France, should press their march on Paris.

Pethion, the mayor, who had resorted to the palace as a place of security, was alarmed at the sound of the tocsin, and expressed a wish to retire. Some of the national guards resisted, and sought to keep him as a hostage. The king ordered Baron Rodolph de Salis Zitzers, the Swiss adjutant-major, to escort him, and in order to re-assure the trembling magistrate, this nobleman gave him a most comfortable pledge. "Be composed Monsieur Pethion, for I promise you, that the first who kills you shall instantly lose his life." Sir Thomas More, if we recollect right, when a plot had been discovered against his life, thanked Henry the Eighth for the assurance that if it had succeeded he would, on the moment, have beheaded every one of the conspirators. "Your Majesty's intentions are most kind, yet I doubt, after all," he added, "whether any of these gentlemen's heads would fit my shoulders."

The infuriated populace was gathering during the whole night; about six in the morning the king, leading the dauphin by the hand passed through the Royal Court, before the National Guard and the Swiss, and was received with shouts of *Vive le Roi*. As he was returning to the palace a deputation from the National Assembly invited him to place himself under its protection. Unhappily, in spite of the remonstrances of the queen, this offer was accepted. At the moment in which Louis repaired to the hall of the assembly, the national guard abandoned the Swiss troops; part joined the assassins, and the remainder dispersed itself through the city.

A hollow square formed the escort of the royal family; as they crossed the garden of the Tuilleries a band of ruffians, bearing the head of Monsieur Mandat on a pike, forced the gate of the terrace, and approached the king. Monsieur Mandat had, in his possession, the order signed by Pethion, to repel force by force. Early in the morning he had been sent for to the municipality, and was murdered on the steps of the Hotel de Ville, in order to prevent this document from becoming public. The troops halted, and their position awed the blood-hounds into retreat.

It was impossible to defend the courts of the Tuilleries, after the desertion of the National Guard; and the Swiss were ordered to retire into the palace. Six pieces of ordnance were left in the court, by a strange inadvertence, and the

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troops were disposed on the stair-case and the several great apartments. The king's porter opened the gate to the Marseillois, who advanced waving their hats, and making signs to the Swiss to join them. One of them fired a pistol in at a window, and numerous insults were offered to the soldiers, and endured with the utmost patience.

“ At the commencement of the combat, the following was the state of things:—seven hundred and fifty Swiss soldiers were distributed to fill twenty different military posts; two hundred noblemen, or gentlemen of the chamber, without appropriate arms; and a few of the National Guard who had remained faithful; the whole, without a commander-in-chief, without ammunition, and without cannon, attacked on all sides by an infuriate mob, amounting to one hundred thousand men, having in their possession fifty pieces of artillery, visibly encouraged by the members of the legislative body, and having the municipality at their command. The band commanded by Santerre began by a discharge of musketry, which wounded several soldiers. The grenadiers of the Filles St. Thomas answered, and were followed by the Swiss. The Marseillois next made a general discharge of artillery and musketry, which made great havoc. Mr. Philip De Glütz, lieutenant of grenadiers, lost his life, and Monsieur De Castleberg, who had his ankle-bone broken, was afterwards massacred on the steps of the great stairs, but, in the act of expiring, fatally wounded a Marseillois in the head with his broad sword. The action became general, and was soon decided in favour of the Swiss; for the fire from the windows and from Captain De Durler's corps of reserve did great execution, so that, in a short time, the court-yard was evacuated by the assailants, strewed over with the dead, the dying, and the wounded.” P. 24.

A vigorous sally, headed by Messrs. de Durlen and Pfyffer, recovered the royal gate; but all the efforts of the soldiery were unable to silence a discharge of canister-shot from a battery placed on the little terrace opposite the guard-house, which played into the court with murderous effect. The Swiss, however, remained masters of the field. But their ammunition was fast failing, latterly indeed they had derived all their cartridges from the pouches of the dead.

At this moment, amid a brisk fire of cannon and musketry, a messenger summoned the main body to attend the king's person, in the National Assembly. About two hundred collected for the purpose; to cover their retreat two pieces of loaded cannon were pointed against the vestibule, and a sentinel placed by each, with orders to discharge them by firing his musket over the touch-hole in case of pursuit. The preparation for the march, and the march itself,

through the garden, was attended with severe loss. On their arrival at the hall of the Assembly, one of the members desired the commanding officer to order his men to lay down their arms, the request was refused; when the king addressing Captain de Durlen, said, "You must deposit your arms in the hands of the national guard: such brave men as you are must not perish;" and delivered a written order to this effect, of which a fac simile, with the royal signature, is annexed to this volume. "*Le Roi ordonne aux Suisses de déposer à l'instant leurs armes, et de se retirer à leurs casernes*" The order was received with astonishment and consternation, but implicitly obeyed; the officers were placed in the hall of the inspectors, the privates in the Church of the Feuillans; towards evening a few of them were enabled to escape in disguise, by the generous assistance of well-affected individuals. Various stratagems were resorted to for their preservation: among others,

"Monsieur Dusault, who was principal surgeon of the Hotel Dieu, received several wounded soldiers, with others, who had escaped, and concealed them in the beds of the patients; when a mob of furious wretches assailed the hospital, demanding that they should be delivered up to them, 'I have already had a dozen of them thrown out of the window,' said Monsieur Dusault, and I will treat all who attempt to come here in the same manner." This declaration was not contradicted by any of the assistant surgeons who were present, and the Marseillois retired." P. 35.

On the departure of this body Santerre and his followers rushed into the palace, and a general carnage took place among the wounded. A small party of Swiss still remained in occupation of the apartments, having been unable to join the detachment which withdrew to the assembly. As the Marsellois entered the palace this little band descended the stair-case, and profiting by the two pieces of cannon which Captain de Durler had left loaded, under their discharge reached the garden. Showers of musketry and cannon-balls pursued them; and as they approached the National Assembly they were met by a volley in that direction. Having gained the Place of Louis XV. they were attacked by the horse gendarmerie, and the greater part were overwhelmed by numbers, and slain.

Small straggling parties were still scattered in different posts of the Tuilleries, ignorant of the order to retreat. Few of them escaped, for few attempted to fly; all who fell sold their lives most dearly. Eighty, who were killed to a man, on the great stair-case, after a contest of twenty minutes, are

said to have dispatched four hundred of their assailants. A fact not easily to be verified in a case in which the slaughter was promiscuous, and in which not one of the vanquished survived.

The officers who accompanied the king to the National Assembly were confined in the Abbaye and the Concergerie, and given up to the mob on the equally bloody 2d of September. Baron Bachman alone, the major of the corps, perished on the scaffold.

Such was the tragedy of the 10th of August, in which little less than 700 brave men fell victims to popular fury, and were inhumanly butchered by a blood-thirsty mob. A false tenderness for the lives by which their own were sought, forbade them to resist at the moment in which resistance might have availed. But we acknowledge no principle which excludes the soldier, as such, from the universal right of self-defence; and in transactions with the ferocious and ungovernable rabble of a great city, we are convinced that vigour in the outset is mercy in the end.



VIII. *A General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism.* By Christopher Bethell, D.D. Dean of Chester. 8vo. pp. 282. Rivingtons. 1821.

THE learned author of this treatise has already distinguished himself as a controversial writer. In an early stage of that warm and prolonged discussion of the doctrine of Regeneration, which occupied so unusual a portion of the public attention, he published two pamphlets, which, though confined, in great measure, to the particular question in agitation, sufficiently proved his competency for the task he has now undertaken; and after a careful perusal of the volume before us, we have no hesitation in saying, that the cause of truth would have been deprived of a valuable advocate, had he been deterred from communicating to the world the result of his inquiry into this important doctrine, by the apprehension under which he seems to have laboured, that, by so doing, he might expose himself to the charge of "attempting to revive the sleeping enibers of an unprofitable dispute." That the dispute was unprofitable, few will be disposed to admit, who can appreciate the learning and ability which it called forth in defence of the truth. And though the principal comba-

tants have retired from the conflict, and the interest which it excited, has in great measure subsided, to the persons who feel it their duty to watch the ever varying features of theological opinion, it will be manifest, that much remains to be done, before the generality of those who venture to write and speak upon the subject, will attain any correct or comprehensive knowledge of its real bearings. The question, as at first discussed, was comprehended within comparatively narrow limits. The disputants, on both sides, professed an equal readiness to acquiesce in the authorized doctrine of the Church of England on the subject, while they differed in their interpretation of her language. One party contended, that she views Regeneration, strictly speaking, as the inward and spiritual grace of Baptism: the other party denied that such was the true meaning of her authoritative declarations, and her Baptismal Offices; endeavouring to establish this negative, by bringing forward evidence that the authors of these formularies held different opinions themselves on the subject, and therefore could not be supposed to have designed to inculcate such a doctrine. When then a critical examination of the phraseology adopted by the Church in her Liturgy and Articles showed, that they explicitly teach the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration; and the appeal which was made to the writings of our leading Reformers only tended to prove that their private opinions were strictly conformed to the public forms which they jointly framed, the question, as originally mooted, might fairly be considered to be decided; and it remained with those persons, who had unhappily taken the opposite side to consider, how far, as members and ministers of the Church of England, bound, as such, to maintain and teach her doctrines, they could conscientiously adhere to any private interpretation of her language which affixed a sense to it, not only different from, but totally irreconcilable with its real meaning. Thus reduced to the necessity of either resisting the decisions of the Church, or submitting their own opinions to her standard, they have unhappily chosen the former alternative: some, indeed, confessing, that they felt the choice which they had thus virtually made a burden upon their consciences; and others, with less reserve, appealing from the Church as the interpreter of Scripture, to the Scriptures themselves; and thus, (in effect, renouncing that obligation by which, as churchmen, they had bound themselves,) they have obliged her defenders to prove what, in any argument with them, might otherwise have been taken for granted, that she has the certain warrant of the word of God for the doctrines which she holds. The question then is far from

being set at rest. The ground of the controversy has been shifted, but the parties are still at issue. The opponents of Baptismal Regeneration appear indeed to have tacitly allowed, that the language of the Church of England, when fairly interpreted, is against them; but they deny the truth of the doctrine which that language conveys; and some of them have not scrupled to confess the embarrassment which they feel, when called upon, in the discharge of their ministerial functions, to promulgate opinions by the use of her Liturgy, which are inconsistent with their ideas of the truth.

Taking then the case of such persons, upon their own statements, to be one of difficulty and distress; and not doubting their conscientious desire to regulate their opinions by the authority of Scripture; we presume that they will be well disposed to listen to any one, who, by taking a general view of this controverted question, endeavours to shew what the Scriptures really teach; and in what sense their language was uniformly and constantly received by the primitive Church. And, if the result of the enquiry be, that the doctrine of the Church of England is Scriptural; and that she maintains no other positions, than those which the Apostles laid down, and the Church in her purest days has held; we cannot anticipate any disinclination on their parts to yield to such authority. On the contrary, we may hope, that they will be found among the first to express their thanks to the author of such an investigation, for having removed an oppressive load from their consciences, by convincing them, that the obligation which they have contracted to teach the doctrine of the Church of England, contravenes no higher duty, and calls for no sacrifice of principle or truth. Such is the object of Dr. Bethell in the treatise before us, which is written in a style of fairness and candour well suited to conciliate every serious enquirer after Divine Truth; and has also higher claims upon the attention of all such readers, in the proofs which it exhibits of learning and talents, of patient and persevering research, and of a discriminating and comprehensive view of the doctrine it discusses.

It is not peculiar to the present controversy, but rather to be considered as one of the evils attendant upon all literary subjects which have been fiercely agitated, that the disputants have sometimes lost sight of the real object of their contention; so that, after a time, it has been as difficult to persuade the opposite parties to agree in the point which they undertake to argue, as to assent to any common view of the result of this discussion.

The real questions in debate, in the present case, are thus clearly stated by Dr. Bethell:—

“ Whether, according to the doctrine of the Scriptures, and the Church of England, Regeneration, in the strict sense of the word, is or is not the inward and spiritual grace of Baptism? Whether the word can, with propriety, be applied to any other change, not considered in conjunction with Baptism? and what is the nature of that change which the word Regeneration denotes.” Preface p. xii.

In the investigation of these important points, Dr. Bethell has certainly not hazarded any novelties either of opinion or argument: and it is no slight recommendation of his volume, in these days of rash assertion, and presumptuous speculation, that he has been contented *stare super antiquas vias*. But he has not lost sight of any argument of force and value, which has been used by former enquirers into any part of the doctrine of which he has here given a general view; nor has he, as far as we have been able to discover, neglected to notice any opinion which came recommended, even by the semblance of fair reasoning, or plausible statement. He is a fair and manly disputant; thoroughly furnished himself for the contest; meeting his antagonist on open ground; and disdaining every advantage which cannot be obtained by honourable adherence to the rules of controversial warfare.

The volume commences with some judicious remarks on the obvious advantages of adhering, as much as possible, to the strict and determinate usage of words, in all theological contests and enquiries. Nothing indeed can be more certain, than that a vague and inaccurate use of terms is incompatible with the establishment of true doctrine, or unity of opinion. And the very controversy in question is an instance in point; for it has been chiefly founded upon a loose and indeterminate employment of the single word Regeneration. This term was originally appropriated to the spiritual grace of Baptism; and, even when used in a figurative sense by the early writers, it always expressed some change of such magnitude and importance, as to be analogous to the change effected in Baptism. Hence, perhaps, we may derive that loose and popular mode of using the word which has obtained among divines since the Reformation; who make it to signify a great and general improvement of habits and character; and substitute the words “ regenerate and unregenerate” for the terms “ converted and unconverted,” “ renewed and unrenewed,” “ righteous and wicked.” In the hands of the Calvinists the word once more acquired a strict and definite

meaning, but one materially differing from its original sense ; for

“ They pronounced Regeneration to be an infusion of a habit of grace, or a radical change of all the parts and faculties of the soul, taking place at the decisive moment of the effectual call. From hence the transition to a sensible change was easy and natural, and what was a theological speculation in the system of the scholastic divines, became, in the hands of less subdued and less calculating spirits, the strong hold of enthusiasm.” p. 10.

When then, from a charitable desire to check the propagation of those erroneous and enthusiastic opinions on the subject of the new birth, which had been found to lead in practice to most mischievous consequences, and were altogether built on the inaccurate use of this word, learned and prudent divines endeavoured once more to restrain it to that sense, in which it had been originally employed by the ancient fathers, and to which it had been uniformly limited by the Church of England in her public formularies ; and they affirmed that Regeneration is the spiritual grace of Baptism ; they were immediately assailed by all who had attached a different signification to the term, as if they had broached some novel and heterodox tenet. Furious contests have thus been maintained upon the subject by persons who, had they paused to enquire into each others meaning, would have found that they were both beating the air ; the one side contending with the primitive Church, that Regeneration is conferred in and by the use of water Baptism ; the other side nominally denying the position, but in reality employing the term Regeneration to express a very different notion from any which their opponents held ; a notion not to be met with in the writings of the earliest and best divines, and not supported by the authority of Scripture. Until then both parties can agree to attach some definite meaning to the word Regeneration, it is obvious that the dispute will be both fruitless and interminable. And, comparatively speaking, it matters little what this meaning is, so that it be universally acknowledged and understood. There is indeed, as Dr. Bethell well observes, an obvious connection between the right use of words and sound doctrine ; but, as soundness of doctrine is, or ought to be, the true object of all controversial debate, as long as this is preserved, the choice of the terms in which it shall be clothed is of minor importance.

“ ‘ Let it be allowed,’ ” says the Dean, “ that such a change, as we denote by this word, does actually take place in Baptism, and it is of inferior consequence by what name it may be called. Let

it be allowed that that change of heart and manners, whose necessity is universally acknowledged, is not such as the scholastic Calvinists or the enthusiasts contend for, but more conformable to the moral nature and reasonable faculties of man, and no great mischief will arise from its being styled, in a popular way of speaking, and in compliance with the usage of many of our Divines, *Regeneration.*” P. 11.

In order however to justify that use of the term which the Fathers of our own reformation adopted in our Liturgy, Dr. Bethell proceeds to lay before his readers a statement of the opinions held by the ancient Christians on the subject of *Regeneration*; and of the principles on which their usage of the word seems to depend. In this statement he takes the celebrated Sermon of Dr. Waterland as his guide; and after giving a neat analysis of that writer’s argument, he repeats those quotations from St. Augustin, which he produced in his remarks* in Mr. Faber’s Reply to his Charge, for the purpose of establishing the position which he lays down, that the doctrine maintained by Waterland, manifestly pervades the writings of the Fathers; who, while they hold what may perhaps be called the identity of *Regeneration* and *Baptism*, do not imagine that this Sacrament produces any saving effect on adults without faith and repentance, or that any positive or active renewal of the soul takes place in infants. From whence it follows, says he,

“That they must have maintained this distinction between *Regeneration* and *renovation*, or *conversion*, which in the present day has been styled by a strange fatality, a novel contrivance.” P. 19.

Persons who have read the extracts from the Fathers given in the notes to Waterland’s discourse, can scarcely doubt the truth of this statement; and those who have taken the further pains to consult the various works therein referred to by that learned author, will find it established upon irrefragable testimony. It is the fashion among a certain class of writers to undervalue Waterland; and we have sometimes seen his labours spoken of in terms nearly bordering on contempt, by those who were little qualified to appreciate them. We shall not deny the policy of this practice, as it may tend to preserve the influence of these sages over that numerous class of religionists who are now contented to receive their decisions as oraculous, and to submit the di-

* *Expostulatory Remarks on Mr. Faber’s Reply to the Dean of Chichester.*

rection of their studies to their wisdom; but we may be allowed to entertain some doubts of its candour or its justice. Having ourselves no other interests to promote but those of truth, which can never be served by merely listening to one side of any question, we earnestly recommend those who would know what the primitive Church believed and taught upon this subject, and are not afraid to examine what a clear and powerful writer may find to object against the opinions of these doctors to whom their confidence has hitherto been exclusively given, not to suffer themselves to be deterred from devoting some portion of their attention to the pages of *Waterland*. If they can convict him of mistating facts, of misquoting authorities, or of inconclusive reasoning, they may then consign his works to the neglect, of which some are disposed to consider them worthy: but if none of these things can be justly laid to his charge, then it may be hoped that, as "he spake not in his life time without commanding attention, he will not now speak in vain." "His words," as seem to have been anticipated by the last editors of the Sermon in question. "being the *words of one truly wise*, have been *as goads*, pricking those to the heart who have with such indefatigable industry, propagated heresies, which he has long ago completely refuted." We doubt not that the remainder of their predicted effect will also be accomplished, and that they will be "*as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies* * , not to be driven from their hold even by the united effort of fanatical violence †.

The principles on which the inward and spiritual grace of Baptism, and the change of condition which it implies, have been called Regeneration, Dr. Bethell seems to consider to be these; that the change thus designated is equivalent to a passage from one state of existence to another, and is entirely the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit, a work in which the infants can bear no part at all, and the adult has no other province than that of preparing and qualifying himself for it. In these respects this change is analogous to the Birth of Man into the world; and the word "Regeneration" or "New Birth" seems to have been chosen, because, by the natural force of the metaphor it clearly marks the distinction between this change, and any other in the production of which Man is taught in the Scriptures that it is his duty to co-operate with God. And hence appears the error of those Divines,

* Eccles. xii. 11.

† See Churchman's Remembrancer, vol. I. Preface to *Waterland's Sermon on Regeneration*.

who have hastily concluded, that the word Regeneration, and certain expressions in the Old Testament which denote the spiritual renewal and improvement of the inward frame, are equivalent and synonymous.

“ It is evident,” says Dr. Bethell, “ that so far as Regeneration implies repentance and the renewal of the inner man, so far it implies the creation of a new heart, a new spirit, and a heart of flesh. But this renewal of the heart and spirit is described in these texts, compared with one another, as the joint work of God, or the Holy Ghost, and of man himself: as a gift or blessing bestowed on us by God, and as a duty which we owe to him and ourselves. On the other hand Regeneration, though it requires certain previous qualifications in those who are capable of them, is entirely the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit: a change in which the principle of self-action implanted in man can bear no part.” P. 25.

In a note to page 29, he further endeavours thus to explain his meaning.

“ What is contended for is, that Regeneration, according to the language and doctrine of Scripture and our own Church, is a *mystical* change of spiritual condition and relationship to God, implying in capable subjects a *moral* or practical change already begun, and requiring from all baptized persons a *moral* change and improvement: and that it is not a *mystical renewal* of the inward frame, a *mystical* or miraculous change of man's *moral* nature, qualities, and habits.” (P. 29.)

Perhaps there may be some little obscurity in this statement: but we understand the author to mean, that the change effected in Regeneration is wholly different from that expressed by Renovation; different as respects its own nature, and the agency by which it is produced. In the former, the Holy Spirit acts singly, in the latter, conjointly with man. In the former, man is admitted (on the conditions of Faith and Repentance if an adult) into a new state of relationship to God, a state which does not alter his moral nature, qualities, or habits, but makes him a partaker of certain spiritual privileges, and among the rest of divine grace and assistance, which he is required subsequently to use for the purposes of moral improvement. In the latter, which is gradually produced by such an employment of spiritual grace in aid of our own exertions, a renewal takes place of the inward frame and disposition, new habits and manners are acquired, and the man is morally changed.

Having thus stated the reasons which appear to justify the appropriation of this word Regeneration to Baptism; Dr. Bethell next produces the Scriptural authority on which the

doctrine expressed by this term and other words of the same family is grounded. This is a valuable portion of the work, containing much sound and useful expository criticism of the several passages of Scripture to which particular reference is made. These passages he arranges under four different heads.

“ I. Those which speak of this change by the name of Regeneration, and connect it with water and baptism.

“ II. Those which speak of it in parallel and corresponding expressions, with an evident allusion to the same ceremony.

“ III. Those which attribute it simply to washing and Baptism.

“ IV. Those which describe this change in other figures and phrases, not parallel to the former.” (p. 32.)

Having reviewed in detail the various texts of Scripture which arrange themselves under these several heads, the Dean concludes this chapter with the following observations.

“ 1. We may observe that, according to the doctrine of Scripture, such a change as that which we denominate Regeneration, does actually take place in Baptism. Christians are represented as receiving the remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost in Baptism; as being *saved by Baptism, washed, sanctified, and justified*; as being *buried with Christ by Baptism into death*; *buried and risen again with Christ in Baptism*; *crucified with Christ, putting on Christ in Baptism, sealed and anointed, endowed with the earnest of the Spirit, and the Spirit of adoption*; and *circumcised with the circumcision of Christ made without hands*. Now all these expressions terminate in a mystical collation of grace, in a mystical passage from a carnal state in Adam to a spiritual state in Christ, or in our admission into this latter state, carrying with it the forgiveness of sin, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and a covenanted and conditional title to everlasting happiness.

“ 2. Several of the figures, by which this change is denoted, resemble the expression, Regeneration or the New Birth, and lead us to suppose that they were intended to designate the same change, and to convey the same ideas to our minds. But since these figures speak of a change to which Baptism is instrumental, we reasonably conclude that to be *born again of water and of the Spirit*, and to be *saved by the washing of Regeneration*, signify a change effected through the same medium. And this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of these figurative passages with those texts of Scripture, which connect salvation, the forgiveness of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost with Baptism, in plain and literal language. We are therefore fully justified in the use which we make of this word Regeneration, and other words of the same family, to signify in one comprehensive phrase the spiritual benefits conveyed over to us in the Sacrament of Baptism.

“ 3. In some of the passages recited, Faith, (or that *Word*,

which is the object of a Christian faith, and implies faith as its correlative,) and Repentance, are spoken of in connection with Baptism, as qualifications for the saving use of it. But, where these qualifications are not mentioned, they are obviously implied and understood. Hence we conclude that faith and repentance are necessary qualifications for Baptism, wherever the subject is capable of them.

“ 4. We must observe that, according to the whole tenour of Scriptural doctrine, Regeneration uniformly implies a strict obligation to newness of life, and improvement in Christian virtues. These are the duties of regenerate man; not the necessary, but the legitimate and intended effects of the New Birth, depending on the right use of the means of grace and spiritual assistance, and the right exercise of that principle of self-action, which God has implanted in us. For what St. Peter says of our Regeneration in Baptism, and first entrance into the Christian state, applies with equal force to every stage of the life of trial. *Baptism doth save us, not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.*” P. 67.

Dr. Bethell next considers the principal objections which have been taken to the doctrine of baptismal Regeneration from passages in Scripture. It is evident, that there can be no real contradictions in Scripture; and that doctrines founded upon the plain sense of undisputed passages in Holy Writ, and the analogy of the Faith, cannot be set aside because some more obscure texts may at first sight appear to militate against them. It will be found that, as we increase in our knowledge of the language of the sacred writers, and our powers of critical investigation are invigorated by exercise, many of these apparent contradictions will be removed; and the darker places of revelation will be found to harmonize with those which are plain, and to “exhibit one scheme and one form of doctrine,” as all being “parts of one great whole, issuing from the same spirit, and ministering to the same purposes.”

But, as at present we find some passages which appear to be opposed to those on which the Universal Church has grounded established points of doctrine and discipline; so we must not be astonished, if texts are brought forward, which, to some minds less accustomed to deep and accurate research, or less open to a candid and impartial view of the subject, may seem to contradict and confute the doctrine in question. Of these, the most material are those which have been selected from the Epistles of St. John, for the purpose of shewing that the supposed connection between Baptism and Regeneration does not in reality exist.

“For since the apostle teaches us that whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; that whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world; that every one that loveth is born of God; and that whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God; from hence it is argued, that they in whom these signs concur are regenerate, whether baptized or not; that they, on the contrary, in whom these signs are not to be found, though they may have been baptized with water, have not certainly been born again of the Spirit.” P. 76.

In answer to such arguments, it might be urged, that the Apostle clearly could not intend to invalidate his lesson, or derogate from his institution. And, as it has been already shewn by the author from the texts cited by him, and explained in the preceding chapter, that “to be saved,” and “to be born again,” are parallel terms; since our Saviour has taught us, that *he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved*, we shall not easily believe that “St. John intended to say, that he who believes is regenerated or saved, whether he be baptized or not; or that the other qualifications can, according to the tenure of the Gospel covenants, entitle many to salvation independently of Baptism.”

But, he justly considers, that the confidence with which these texts have been brought forward to confute the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, makes it expedient that they should be more carefully examined, in order to shew that they do not afford to the opponents that impregnable position which they have fondly expected to find in them. As the best clue to the meaning of St. John’s words will be found by investigating the object and aim of his reasoning, and the circumstances and positions of the parties to whom it was addressed, he shews that St. John’s intent was to combat the pernicious error of those, who “boasted that they had been born of God, while they took no care to maintain good works, men who perverted the received and orthodox notions of Regeneration to the worst purposes, and laid claim to the privileges and blessings of the Gospel Covenant, while they were dispensing with its obligations, and despising its sanctions.”

“But, (as he shrewdly argues,) if Christ and his apostles had taught that Regeneration is a radical and entire change of the mind and moral nature, and, consequently, that in the eye of reason, and the nature of things, a sound faith and habitual holiness are the only evidences of a new birth, the misconstruction would have been almost impossible, and the heresy would have confuted and condemned itself. If, on the other hand, their doctrine was the same which we find in the writings of the early

Christians, men of corrupt minds would easily be induced to separate the grace and privileges of Baptism from the qualifications which they presuppose, and the duties and obligations which they imply. They would endeavour to persuade themselves and their fellow Christians, that he who has been once mystically grafted into Christ will *abide* in Christ for ever; that he who has *known* God once will *know* him to the end intimately and vitally; and that he who has *been born of God* in a sacramental and mysterious manner, will never cease to be the child of God.

“The Apostle therefore secures the sound part of his converts against the infection of this heresy, by carrying their thoughts from the blessings and privileges to the duties and obligations of Christianity, and insisting on their inseparable union. To *have fellowship with the Father and the Son, to abide in the light, to abide in the Father and the Son, to know Christ, to have, to see, to know the Father, and to be the Sons of God*, are different phrases which express in significant language the great privilege of our religion; a mysterious union with the Deity, and a spiritual relationship to God and Christ. But since this union implies and requires a moral resemblance, it will necessarily go to decay and expire without the exercise of the corresponding duties. These are, a †sincere faith in Jesus as the Christ and the Son of God, and a ‡resolute confession of the Father and the Son; § a steadfast attachment to the word of truth, ||love and fellowship with each other, ¶walking as Christ walked, **an unfeigned obedience to the commandments of God and Christ, and ††a life of righteousness and purity.

“As therefore the whole tenour of the Epistle shews that St. John is not teaching us how we are to acquire our Christian privileges, but how we are to preserve them, so it will satisfy an attentive reader that, in the passages which bear upon this question, he is not pointing out to us the tests of Regeneration, but the criterions by which we must learn whether we are indeed God’s children in a practical point of view, *walking in the light and abiding in the Father and the Son*. With this clue to our enquiry we shall find that these passages are so far from contradicting the doctrine of baptismal Regeneration that they evidently imply and presuppose it.” P. 81.

His position, therefore is this, that the phrase here used by the Apostle, “have been born of God,” is employed,

“In an enlarged sense, (expressing the continuance as well as

* 1 John i. 3, 7.—ii. 10.—ii. 24, 27, 28.—iii. 6.—iv. 13, 15, 16.—ii. 23. 2 John ix. 3 John xi. 1 John ii. 4.—iii. 24.—iv. 7.—iii. 1.—v. 20.

† 1 John v. 1, 5.

‡ 1 John iv. 2, 3, 15. 2 John vii.

§ 1 John ii. 5, 14, 22, 23, 27.

|| 1 John ii. 9, 10.—iii. 14, 16, 23.—iv. 8, 11, 16, 20, 21.—v. 1, 2.

¶ 1 John ii. 6.

** 1 John ii. 3, 4.—iii. 22, 24.—v. 3.

†† 1 John, ii. 29.—iii. 3, 7.

the commencement of the spiritual life,) with a view to a particular controversy, and the correction of a dangerous error; that consequently the effects which he ascribes to the mystical new birth are not its necessary and inseparable, but its legitimate and intended consequences; and that the tests to which he remits us are not, strictly speaking, the criterions of our Regeneration, but of our continuance and advancement in the spiritual and new life, of our abiding and dwelling in God, and of his abiding and dwelling in us." P. 86.

And that this interpretation of the Apostle's words, while it harmonizes with the other Scriptures, does not put any force on their constriction, will be evident to those who can see the justice of the following critical remarks upon the phrase in the original *πας ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

"It frequently happens that the indefinite and past perfect tenses of the Greek verb (*γεννηται, γεννηθη, γεγεννημενος*) not only signify a past and particular action, but a permanent act consequent upon it; and imply the natural or moral effects of that action, and a continuance in the state of which it is the commencement. So the words *δικαιωθεντες, καταλλαγεντες, Χριστω συνεστυρωμαι*, imply a continuance in that state into which the parties had been admitted. Thus these expressions of St. John not only denote the new birth, but a continuance in that state of new life, of which the new birth is the commencement. This expression therefore, "*he that hath been born of God*" is equivalent to the expressions, *he that abideth in God*, and *a child of God*, even on grammatical principles. In order to express this sense in our own idiom we must make use of a periphrasis—*He that hath been born of God, and continues to be a child of God*. We must of course decide from the nature of the argument, and a general view of the passages before us, when the past tense implies continuance, and signifies a permanent act. The grounds on which this tense is assigned to it in the present case, will be seen in the body of the work." P. 76.

We cannot follow the learned author through his explanation of all the texts in question; but it will, we think, be found to contain a just view of their real meaning, and to shew, as he affirms, that "they are so far from contradicting the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism, that they imply and presuppose it; and seem to confirm its reception as an established article of faith in the days of the Apostle.

The Dean next undertakes to prove, that the doctrine of Regeneration, as taught by the Church of England, is in strict conformity with the views of the ancient Christians.

The object of our Reformers, as plainly stated by themselves, was to revert in all points as nearly as possible to the primitive standard. In their doctrine, and in their public

formularies, they not only conformed to the opinions of the Apostolic age; but, as far as they were able, they adopted the language of that period, incorporating it into their Liturgy, and in their ceremonial also preserving such of the primitive usages as came recommended by satisfactory evidence, and by their own tendency to preserve the beauty of holiness in public worship. The Dean has already shewn that the universal Church, and all orthodox writers till the era of the Reformation had held, that Regeneration is made over to us in Baptism, in the ordinary course of the Gospel dispensation.

“ We may, therefore, (says he,) expect to find the same doctrine taught in our Articles and Liturgy: and we have reason to think that our Reformers would have rejected at once any novel opinions, ‘ which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops had not gathered from the doctrine of Scripture.’ Accordingly, when we consult these documents, we find that they make use of their phraseology, and adopt their opinions, which are in fact plain and obvious deductions from Scripture, unwarped by fanciful interpretations and religious prejudices.” P. 94.

This he fully establishes by a detailed examination of the different Articles which speak on the subject; by referring to the Homilies; and to the phraseology of our Liturgical Offices for Baptism and Confirmation. The Dean is here treading upon beaten ground. This part of his subject has been so often, and so ably discussed, that any attempt to illustrate it by the introduction of new matter must be hopeless. It was however necessary to the completeness of his enquiry that he should restate the argument, and it is barely doing him justice to say, that it does not suffer in his hands.

In the next chapter, he examines the various attempts which have been made to extract a different opinion from the public writings of our Church. Her statements on the subject are so perspicuous, and she so carefully confines the word Regeneration to the spiritual grace of Baptism in her Articles and Liturgy, that, as Dr. Bethell remarks,

“ It may seem a difficult business to make the language which was meant to express one theory correspond with another of a very different kind. Yet with the aid of a few subtle distinctions, arbitrary suppositions, and seeming analogies, ingenious men will easily satisfy themselves that they have accomplished this task, and will probably persuade others, whose views and opinions coincide with their own, that they have succeeded in their undertaking.” (P. 113.)

The first attempts to reconcile the language of our Church

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with the opinions of some of her members, who having formed different notions on the subject of Regeneration, seem to have attracted but little attention, and to have produced no perceptible effect. Our early Calvinistic divines had too much learning not to know what were the sentiments of the primitive Christians; and too much candour to represent our own Church as departing from those sentiments, at the same time that she preserved the language in which they were recorded. They therefore allowed, that she explicitly teaches the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism, and readily

“Granted, that every baptized infant receives forgiveness of sin, and is born again of water and the spirit. But they endeavoured to solve their own system by maintaining that the effectual call, and saving special grace are the effects of God’s firm predestination, whereas Regeneration in Baptism is only the effect of his supernatural Providence.” P. 115.

Bishop Hopkins, whose opinions on these subjects are of great weight with some modern controversialists, endeavoured to reconcile his own tenets with the language of the Church, by drawing a supposed distinction between ecclesiastical and spiritual Regeneration. But this experiment does not seem to have been considered a successful one by his admirers; at least this is not the ground on which they chuse at present to rest their case.

“The favourite method of solving this difficulty consists in an endeavour to shew, that when our Church pronounces the baptized person regenerate, this declaration proceeds upon the ground of charitable supposition, or general language, and we are taught that these principles pervade every part of our liturgy.” P. 117.

We shall extract a passage, as a fair specimen of the argument, by which the dean has met this attempt to get rid of the difficulty upon general principles.

He has afterwards followed the opponents through the various nice distinctions and subtleties, by which they have endeavoured to defend themselves against the powerful attacks which have been made from different quarters upon their theory. But for this part of his reasoning we must refer our readers to his volume. They have perhaps already made up their minds, from what they have before seen of the progress of this controversy, that there is nothing more vain and futile, than an attempt to reason away the sense of language so plain as that held by our Church on this subject; nothing so little creditable as the adoption of such arbitrary suppositions, and sophistical arguments, as have been used

in this case, to throw a veil over the indecency of publicly maintaining opinions irreconcilable with the doctrines of that Church among whose ministers these persons are enrolled.

But we proceed to our promised extract, in which we conceive that Dr. Bethell has sufficiently exposed the fallacy of this attempt to explain away the phraseology of the Church.

“ It is universally allowed, indeed it is plainly taught in our Office for the Baptism of those of riper years, that the baptized Adult is declared regenerate upon the supposition of his sincerity. But in the case of Infants no such supposition can possibly be made : and consequently this principle of charitable supposition* fails, upon the common grounds of analogical reasoning. But it is urged, that because sincerity is supposed in the case of adults, something like sincerity is supposed in the case of Infants : or, what is more tangible ground, and appears to be the upshot of the argument, that the Infant is pronounced regenerate, on the presumption that his vows and promises will be performed. Here again, if I mistake not, this principle of charitable supposition totally fails. We pronounce an Adult regenerate not upon a presumption that his promises will be performed, but upon the supposition that his professions are sincere. His performing his promises and continuing God’s servant are the objects of our hope, our prayers, and our exhortations : but we are too well acquainted with the weakness of our nature, and the condition of a life of trial, to act upon the presumption of such contingencies. Precisely in the same manner we pronounce the Infant regenerate, not upon the supposition of an imaginary sincerity, but because we know that he cannot be insincere, and are convinced that there can be no other bar to his Regeneration : whilst, with respect to the performance of his vows and promises, we hope, we pray, we remind the Sponsors of their duty, but we form no presumptions of his future conduct. The Adult is bound to keep his engagements from the moment that he enters into them : the Infant, when he is of an age to understand and perform them. But neither party is declared regenerate upon a presumption that he will acquit himself of his obligations.” P. 118.

We add the following useful suggestions from the close of this chapter, which are particularly addressed by the dean to his younger brethren of the Clergy, and to those who are candidates for the sacred office.

“ The Services of our Church, connected with this question, are

* “ In fact the judgement which we pass upon Adults can scarcely be called a charitable supposition. For after they have been instructed and examined, and their motives and principles scrutinized, we have no right to form any other judgement.”

formed on the principles and expressed in the language of the ancient Christians, and assert in the most unequivocal manner their doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism. That every baptized person with the exception of unworthy adults, is born again of water and of the Spirit in this Sacrament, is an opinion which they affirm in a way level to every capacity. If therefore the Ministers of our Church should propagate from the pulpit opinions widely different from those which they teach, when they are ministering the Sacrament of Baptism, let them consider what confusion they will produce in the minds of their hearers; what distrust in themselves, or in the Church whose Ministers they are. But, what is perhaps still worse, the desire to reconcile these services to doctrines entirely at variance with them, will tend to impair the sincerity and simplicity of their own minds, by giving them a taste for that unnatural and artificial mode of interpretation, to which an attachment to preconceived opinions too frequently gives entertainment. We are told that these services make us of a general phraseology, or of hypotheticalal language, and expressions of hope and charity. But plain sense, sober criticism, and historical research, refute these artificial attempts to affix to them a meaning, very different from that which they bear at first sight, and foreign from the views and principles on which they were originally constructed. Our Liturgy speaks a plain, simple, and ingenuous language, "adapted to popular comprehension and instruction *:" and the attempts, to which system has had recourse to wrest it from its genuine and native meaning, may act as beacons and warnings to the inexperienced, and teach them that it is a dangerous experiment to tamper with its literal construction. "There is nothing," says Hooker, "more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing." P. 132.

In the eighth and ninth chapters of his work, Dr. Bethell enters at large into a consideration of the theory of Regeneration, and the principal variations which have been made from it. This is perhaps the most valuable portion of his work. For it successfully refutes the charges of those, who have opposed themselves to the doctrine of our Church on the ground of its unreasonableness; and have endeavoured to shelter themselves from the accusations of inconsistency, and departure from a sacred obligation, by pleading a supposed necessity which lay upon them to explain away a tenet which, if adopted without reserve, as the formularies of our Church appear to teach it, involves in their opinion a strange variety

* Dr. Laurence.

of absurd and formidable consequences. The distinct explanation which Dr. Bethell has given of the nature of the change implied by the word *Regeneration*, leaves no room for the legitimate deduction of any such inferences; and the view which he has taken of the probable grounds and reasons of our Saviour's institution, and of the close connexion which he has established by his word and promise, between Baptism and spiritual *Regeneration*, will, we think, carry conviction to every unprejudiced and candid mind, and shew that the doctrine is in no sense contradictory to reason and experience, and that it harmonizes with the whole system of revealed religion; "is suitable to our wants, and analogous to the general course of the divine *OEconomy*." The following observations on the nature of the change effected by baptismal regeneration, will enable our readers to judge of the ability with which the author has conducted this interesting portion of his argument.

"Three things are to be considered in Baptism—The qualifications which it requires, the act of grace which it conveys, and the engagements and obligations which it imposes. In Adults faith and repentance are required as qualifications, and these spiritual acts necessarily suppose the preventing and co-operating grace of God. It is however the decided doctrine of the Church that the convert is regenerated in Baptism, and then, and not till then, receives remission of his sins, and the covenanted grant or infused virtue of the Holy Ghost: and that Infants, who can possess no positive qualifications, partake in their measure and proportion of the same blessings; receive remission of their sins by spiritual *Regeneration*, and are washed and sanctified with the Holy Ghost. But though Infants are endowed with this infused virtue and mysterious earnest of the Holy Spirit, his active influences and operations appear to be commensurate with our natural faculties. In enlightening the understanding and forming the moral habits, he follows the order of intellectual and moral causes, proportioning his effects to the expanding and elastic qualities, and the corresponding exertions and activity of the human mind. In the case of Infants therefore the spirit of grace, which is designed to be a principle of spiritual life, is merely a potential principle: or, to speak perhaps more properly, the Holy Ghost does not, as it would seem, act upon the soul, till there are materials on which to act, and, so far as we can judge by experience, till those means of grace are resorted to on man's part, to which his abiding and practical influences are promised and tied down. Hence when religious instruction and moral discipline are neglected, *Regeneration* in Baptism is productive of no practical effects. The infused virtue of the Holy Ghost is, to speak in the mildest terms, dormant and inactive: the soul continues in its natural state of darkness and ignorance,

and that infection of nature, which remains in the regenerate, experiences no check from the supernatural and remedial principle. At other times, as children advance onward in life, evil dispositions and unruly passions, or the influence of worldly customs and bad examples, counteract the effects of discipline and instruction, and that power of the Spirit, which attends upon them." P. 146.

The departure from the true doctrine is clearly traced to its origin in the operation of that feeling which induced our Reformers cautiously to avoid the errors of the Romish Church. Those more discreet and moderate, may we add, without offence, those more learned persons to whom the conduct of our Reformation was providentially entrusted, were led by this feeling to draw a clear and sufficient line of distinction between the *opus operatum* of the Romanist and the real spiritual efficacy of the Sacraments: but it unfortunately induced others, who were more rash and hasty in their views and conclusions, to reduce the sacrament of Baptism nearly to the formal inefficacy which has since been imputed to it by those, who most unscripturally, if not profanely, have ventured to describe it as a mere outward act of man upon the body. Other causes of the depravation of this doctrine may be found in the great stress laid upon Faith by some teachers, as the instrument of salvation, independent of moral qualifications; and, above all, in the attachment of the same class of divines to the doctrine of indefectible Grace, a doctrine wholly incompatible with the view which our Church has taken of Baptismal Regeneration.

"For, it is evident, that final Salvation is no necessary consequence of Baptism. But according to the principles of Calvin and his followers, no one, who has been washed from his sins, and endowed with the Holy Ghost, can possibly fail of everlasting happiness*. They therefore rejected the doctrine of the Universal Church, in deference to their own theory—a theory flattering to the pride and presumption of the human heart, but manifestly at variance with the whole truth of Scripture, and the first principles of natural Religion." P. 172.

In the latter part of this chapter Dr. Bethell gives a view of the different opinions held, on the one side by Melancthon

* "Fieri non potest, ut qui Spiritus Sancti opere Christo unitus fuerit, ut unus cum illo Spiritus evaserit, in Christum credere suo tempore vel negligat, vel deinceps etiam desinat. Gataker, p. 150.

"Cui non Orthodoxo mirum, si non horrendum dictu, videatur, aliquem in Christi mortem sepultum, Christo incorporatum, Christo indutum, in æternum posthac exitum devenire? Ditto, p. 157."

and the Lutheran Divines, on the other by Calvin and his followers. He shews that the former, though they used the word "Regeneration" somewhat loosely, as equivalent to "justification," and in the more popular sense of conversion or renovation, maintained with steadiness the doctrine of regeneration in Baptism: while the opinions of Calvin, varying and inconsistent in themselves, departed from the received doctrine and language of the Church, and have since been carried by his disciples to an extent in comparison of which his own views were sober and moderate.

In the succeeding chapter he examines more at length the grounds of that theory which has been opposed with the greatest confidence to the doctrine maintained in this treatise; for the purpose of shewing that it is built upon scholastic paradoxes, or exaggerated views of Christian truth.

The Calvinistic theory of Regeneration represents it

"as a kind of general revolution in the moral nature and reasonable faculties of man, effected by the sole power of God's Holy Spirit, in the way of creation or miraculous operation; as an implantation of new qualities or habits; or as that turning point from evil to good, in which a radical change of all the parts and faculties of the soul takes place." P. 207.

But this theory, which is evidently irreconcilable with the views of the Church of England, is proved by Dr. Bethell to be inconsistent with the reason of the thing, with the experience and history of mankind, and the drift and purposes of natural and revealed religion.

The changes which take place in our moral and intellectual nature, through the medium of religious instruction and exercises, are the joint work of the Holy Spirit and our own free agency. That we contribute by our own exertions to the increase of our knowledge, to the amelioration of our dispositions, and the correction of our habits, is a fact which conscience and experience sufficiently establish. That these exertions, unless aided by the Holy Spirit would be ineffectual, is a truth which the Scriptures teach us, and which we embrace as a fundamental article of our Faith. These changes, Dr. Bethell admits, take place in various ways, and differ materially in their times and occasions, degrees and measures. But they all proceed on the same principles, and present no appearances inconsistent with the usual relation between moral causes and effects. Were it indeed otherwise, all those changes in which the power of the Holy Spirit is at all exerted, must be deemed miraculous.

and wholly destructive, as far as they are concerned, of the freedom and responsibility of Man, as a moral agent. The metaphysical notion on which this whole theory is built, that the change produced in the inward frame of man by the agency of the Holy Spirit, must commence in all its parts at some turning point or precise and definite moment, is thus confuted by Dr. Bethell.

“ Our acquaintance with the operation of moral causes is altogether practical and experimental, and no arguments can be valid and conclusive which are not borne out by an induction of facts and the history of human nature. But uniform experience contradicts the theory which we are examining. For it proves that we have such faculties and principles in our nature as we might expect to find in the frame and constitution of religious and responsible creatures; that they must be brought into action by instruction and moral discipline; and that habits of holiness and spiritual discernment are not infused into us, but are formed and matured in the same manner as our other moral and intellectual endowments. The same imperceptible transition from evil to good, the same fusion and absorption of habits, the same process of causes operating in silence, and elements of reformation working their way, till they acquire, we know not how, some shape and consistency, characterize those changes which are purely moral, and those which are, properly speaking, religious and spiritual. The reason is obvious. For this is the only method of spiritual and supernatural agency which will allow man to work out his own improvement and salvation, as a free and voluntary agent. The Holy Spirit, therefore, is not bestowed on him * to give new properties to his soul, nor to supersede his own faculties and endeavours, but to excite, encourage, and strengthen them, to prevent and correct his will, and to give a right turn and bias to his affections. It is, indeed, generally allowed that evil is not extinguished at any turning point or decisive period, nor mastered by violent and miraculous remedies, but must be encountered and subdued by moral and religious discipline. Nor does analogy or experience justify us in supposing that good principles are developed, or good habits formed, in any other manner.” P. 211.

* “ It has been a subject of dispute, whether the grace of the Holy Spirit is moral suasion or power. The truth seems to be that it is both. Preventing grace is that influence which the Holy Ghost exercises upon the soul, in turning it from evil, giving a right bias to the will and affections, and bringing into play the good principles of our nature: and this change must be wrought through the medium of moral instruments. Co-operating grace is that power of the Holy Spirit superadded to our natural faculties, which enables us to do those things, to which the will, when prevented and rectified, prompts and determines us, and to form our good principles into habits by use and exercise.

“ Preventing grace requires on man's part consent, or the yielding himself to the influence of reasonable evidences and moral arguments and persuasions; co-operating grace, the active exertion and diligent use of those faculties with which God has endowed him.”

The inconsistency of this theory with the genius and purposes of natural and revealed religion, is argued from the certainty that their great aim is the moral and intellectual improvement of man by moral means, and in a moral measure.

“ But this theory assumes an entire change in all the parts and faculties of the soul as a first step to religious improvement; it supposes that habits of belief and holiness are not formed by moral means and discipline, but implanted in the soul by a literal creation, or miraculous action of the divine power; that previous to this change man is utterly incapable of any spiritual exertion, or any movement of the soul to God and holiness; that this revolution of the inward frame takes place at some turning point, or at least within some particular compass of time; and, consequently, that habitual godliness is not the moral and legitimate, but the necessary consequence of Regeneration. In short, it substitutes a scheme of necessity for that system of intellectual and moral discipline, in which all the parts and branches of religion, whether natural or revealed, whether addressed to our faith or our reason, uniformly centre.” P. 215.

Our limits will not allow us to follow Dr. Bethell through the contents of this chapter; but we particularly recommend to the attention of our readers his observations on original sin, and on those exaggerated views of the depravity of our nature consequent upon Adam's fall, on which the Calvinistic theory of Regeneration is mainly founded. We cannot however refrain from inserting the following passage, which contains a seasonable reproof to those, who rashly indulge in representations of human nature as unfounded as they are mischievous: representations which are, in truth, as derogatory to the honour of God, as they are degrading to man; and while they contradict the testimony of Scripture, deprive us of powerful motives to moral exertion by overcharging the picture of our natural incapacity.

“ In the system of which I am speaking there are no paradoxes more common, and at the same time less conformable to the fact, or to the truth of Scripture, than that man naturally hates God, and has a fierce antipathy to his laws, or rather to the very principle of holiness. If by hating God we mean, according to the Scriptural phrasology, not loving him as we ought, and preferring our own passions and devices to his will and wisdom, in this sense man may be said with great propriety to hate God, and his whole history bears witness to the truth of this Scriptural lesson. Nor is it less true that man has an antipathy to God's laws, if by antipathy we mean an inherent unwillingness to attend to them and obey them, and a dislike to their restraints and provisions. But the theory before us

speaks of 'fierce antipathies' and 'inveterate hatred,' and represents man as hating God, and resisting his will, on principle and system: not as disliking and fretting against the restraints which are imposed upon his sensual and selfish desires, but as actuated by a determined animosity to those principles of holiness, to which God's laws are conformed: as hating God because he is God, and goodness in the abstract, because it is goodness, and loving evil for evil's sake.

"But the truth is, that if man ever does positively hate God, and the principles on which his laws are grounded, this state of mind is so far from being natural, that it can only be the effect of great degeneracy, of deplorable and brutal ignorance, or of confirmed habits of wickedness and impiety. The history of our nature furnishes us with ample proofs of our weakness and vanity, our low views, our supineness and self-sufficiency, and our dislike of serious exercises and self-inquiry; of the perverseness of our wills, and the corrupt state of our affections; of our proneness to evil, and unwillingness to submit to wholesome restraints and moral discipline. But it does not bear us out in affirming that the natural man is actuated by a settled hatred of God, or a fierce antipathy to holiness. We shall therefore speak more consistently with the fact, if we allow that the corruption of human nature, when aggravated by habits of sin, leads men by degrees to an hostility to the principle of holiness, and that this hostility to the principle of holiness may, in extreme cases, end in a direct hatred of God himself; and if we affirm, generally speaking, that the passions and will of fallen man, instead of being misled by the intellect, impair the faculties, darken the vision, and pervert the judgements of his understanding." P. 231.

In the eleventh chapter, Dr. Bethell enlarges upon the difficulties with which this theory of Regeneration is encumbered: difficulties inseparable from that system of which it forms an integral part, and which no modification of it can wholly remove. One of the consequences resulting from this theory is, that it is inimical to the main purposes of religious instruction and discipline. For, while the picture which it draws of human depravity is so exaggerated, that it fails to act upon the conscience of the sinner, who cannot plead guilty to the charge it conveys; it has

"A powerful effect on the passions of the weak and unreflecting, and naturally serves to kindle and encourage the maladies of religious enthusiasm and self imposture. For when men are taught that a sense of their own utter and unmixed depravity is the first, or rather the sole qualification for Regeneration, they endeavour to throw themselves into that posture of mind, which the lesson that they have heard seems to require. Hence they give themselves up to certain vague and desultory feelings of unworthiness, which they mistake for religious

convictions, and establish within themselves a kind of factitious conscience, which taxes them with utter depravity, and a determined hatred of God, whilst it overlooks the specialties of sin; and calls them off from the task of self-enquiry, and the pursuit of self-knowledge. But the transition from this state of mind to a state directly opposite to it, is easy and natural. For he who can persuade himself that he is exactly such a creature as these views of original sin represent, will find no difficulty in persuading himself that he has experienced that mystical change and revolution of soul, on which the corresponding theory of Regeneration insists. Such in fact is the history of the most prevalent kinds of enthusiasm; and it plainly confirms an observation made in a former part of this treatise—that the speculative errors of Divines naturally slide into practical errors and fanaticism, when they fall into the hands of the weak, the passionate, and the injudicious.” P. 255.

We are reluctantly compelled to pass over this chapter without dwelling further on the many useful remarks which it contains: we think that few who have not already made up their minds on the subject, after they have fairly weighed the author’s arguments, will feel disposed to dissent from his conclusion, that this theory of Regeneration, resting as it does, on these exaggerated views of the depravity of our common nature, involves in it consequences highly unfavourable to the simplicity and genuine character of the Gospel dispensation.

The concluding chapter is chiefly recapitulatory. It briefly restates the line of argument which Dr. Bethell has pursued, and the conclusion at which he has arrived; and it closes the whole subject by some judicious remarks on “the harmony of the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism with the drift and principles of revealed religion, and its consistency with the internal evidences and moral tendencies of the Christian dispensation.” We shall conclude our extracts with the following passage, in which the author states his motives for committing this volume to the press.

“Several reasons have induced me to pursue my inquiries, and arrange and publish my sentiments on this subject. Many excellent and orthodox statements of this doctrine have been given to the world, and it has been touched upon, professedly or incidentally, by several of our most eminent Divines. But I know of no book which contains a general and systematic view of its bearings and authorities, of the objections which have been made, and the theories which have been opposed to it. I could not but apprehend that much danger must accrue to the evidences of religion, from setting up novel opinions and private interpretations of Scripture in opposition to the received doctrine, and practical and unanimous testimony of the whole Church of Christ, from the days of the

Apostles to the era of the Reformation. I perceived the evil consequences which would result both to the Ministers of our Church, and to their congregations, from the attempts which have been made to explain away the clear and unequivocal language of our baptismal offices. And I saw with regret, that the theory, which is principally opposed to this doctrine, substitutes a scheme of necessity for the probationary system of scriptural religion, removes the appeal which the Gospel makes to mankind from the conscience to the passions, fascinates the human understanding, and flatters the vanity of the human heart, and naturally slides into such a shape as generates enthusiastic notions, and leads the way to a habit of gross self delusion.' P. 274.

No person who is really master of the subject can deny, that this statement is as true as it is forcible. And to admit its truth, is to admit the necessity and value of such a publication as this; which discusses the question with great clearness and admirable temper, and is well calculated not only to instruct the ignorant, but also to reclaim those who are in error. For it speaks the words of truth and soberness; and offers its opinions in a spirit which the candid must approve, and which will scarcely administer to the most prejudiced and petulant a plausible occasion of offence.



ART. IX. *Pomarium Britannicum: an Historical and Botanical Account of Fruits, known in Great Britain, by Henry Phillips.* Royal 8vo. Pp. 400. Price 11. 1s. Allman. 1820.

MR. PHILLIPS tells us in his preface, that his work is the first historical account of fruits which has been attempted in the English language; and we certainly do not remember, at this moment, any single book to which this precise title could with propriety be affixed, although there are, of course, many books in our language in which a history of fruits, more or less complete and full, will easily be found. Be this, however, as it may, the volume before us is a very useful and entertaining compilation, and contains a great variety of facts that are not commonly known, but which it is pleasant to be acquainted with. It is written with great modesty and good sense, and displays a very respectable degree of learning; and we recommend it warmly to the notice of our readers. Although Mr. Phillips does not profess to write

upon the practical part of the subject, yet he does not systematically avoid it. And even in this department his work contains so many curious and useful observations, that those of our readers who have fruit gardens, will probably find themselves indemnified for the money and time which the perusal of it may require, in other ways besides that of the entertainment it may afford. As a specimen of a book such as this, it would be idle to select examples of the manner in which it is written; the curiosity of it necessarily consists altogether in the materials of which it is composed, and not in the composition itself. We shall, therefore, best consult our own peculiar duty and the amusement of our readers, no less than the claims of Mr. Phillips, by extracting and abridging his account of some of those fruits which either from their universality, or any other cause, may seem to be interesting and curious. And here, of course, the first fruit which will come to the recollection of our readers, is the apple.

It is remarkable that of all the fruit trees which Italy produced in the time of the Romans, the apple was considered as the tenderest. Of course it was proportionably rare and consequently valuable. Pliny tells us that there were many apple trees near Rome which let for the yearly sum of 2000 sesterces, or about 2*l.* 12*s.* of our money; and some of them, he adds, yielded a greater profit to the owner than a small farm. This, we should think, must have been before the art of grafting was fully introduced and understood. The same author mentions nine and twenty apples as being cultivated in Italy at the time in which he wrote. Mr. Lee of Hammer-smith has now in his garden at least 500 different kinds; and they are annually and rapidly encreasing.

We were glad to meet, on Mr. Phillips's authority, with a full and satisfactory refutation of that very uncomfortable and most unlikely theory, that the Golden Pippin and some others of our very best apples were degenerating and rapidly disappearing from mere sympathy with the parent stock. Last year, both in Covent Garden market and in the nurseries round London, there was as fine and as plentiful a crop of Golden Pippins as was perhaps ever known.

We have said that every year is now adding some variety of this fruit to our British Pomarium. The discovery, or rather the invention of this useful and beautiful art, by which new fruits, or at least new varieties of them, may be created almost *ad libitum*, was predicted by Bacon, and first accomplished in 1718, by Bradley; from whom the gardeners of Holland and the Netherlands avowedly borrowed the inven-

tion. In this country, however, it is to Mr. Knight that we principally owe the present full and systematic perfection to which the practice is now reduced. Our readers will probably not be displeased to have an explanation of the process. It may be useful to premise, that the two trees from which we intend to raise the new kind, must either blossom naturally at the same time, or be made to do so by art; which is readily effected by shading, or warm walls, or any other similar contrivances. This being accomplished, the next steps are thus described :

“ The apple blossom contains about twenty stamina or males, and generally five pointals or females, which form the centre of the cup or cavity of the blossom. The males stand in a circle, just within the bases of the petals, or flower leaves, and are formed of slender threads, each of which terminates in a small yellow ball or anther. As soon as the blossoms are nearly full grown, they must be carefully opened, and all the male stamina cut or extracted, so as not to injure the pointals or females, which will then appear.— The blossoms are then closed again, and suffered to remain till they open spontaneously. From the blossoms of the tree, which it is proposed to make the male parent of the future variety, must be taken a portion of their pollen or farina, when ready to fall from the mature anthers, and deposited upon the pointals of the blossoms, which consequently will afford seed. By shaking the blossoms over a sheet of white paper, you will ascertain when the pollen is ready. It is necessary in this experiment, to cover the branches on which the prepared blossoms are with a thin muslin or gauze, so as not to touch the flowers, or keep off the sun or air, but to prevent the bees or other insects from inoculating them with the pollen of other blossoms, which would make the experiment uncertain; and in order to obtain the fruit and the seeds of a large size, it is best to leave but few blossoms on the tree, and, at all events, to clear the branches on which the prepared flowers are from all other blossoms. When the fruit is quite ripe, the pips or seeds should be sown at a proper season, and in suitable soil, and in about four or six years fruit may be expected. Mr. Knight has also made some curious experiments between the peach and the almond, which will be found in the account of the former fruit. Among the new apples which the world have to thank Mr. Knight for, is the Grange apple, which fruited first in 1802, and obtained the prize of the Herefordshire Agricultural Society: it is the offspring of the Orange Pippin and the Golden Pippin. He also obtained the annual premium of the same society, in 1807, for the Siberian Harvey, an apple which fruited for the first time in that year. This tree was raised from the seed of the Yellow Siberian Crab and the pollen of the Golden Harvey. Mr. Knight also raised the Foxley apple, from the seed of the Yellow Siberian Crab and the

pollen of the Orange Pippin : this fruit also received the premium in 1808, and it is said to rival the Golden Pippin in sweetness.

“ The cultivation of this, our most valuable fruit, has been attended to with so much care of late years, that one of our great gardeners, (Mr. Hugh Ronalds, of Brentford,) exhibited at the Horticultural Society, in August 1818, sixteen varieties of apples, and in September he exhibited fifty-eight other sorts, all grown in his own garden, and considered the finest collection ever exhibited. In the month of October of the same year, he exhibited fifty-three sorts, making in the whole a variety of 127 kinds of this our staple fruit, which, in point of real value, takes place of all others, and affords a variety for all seasons of the year, both for the dessert and for culinary purposes.” P. 51.

In a history of English fruits, to meet with an account of the coffee tree, is something more than might have been expected, or even perhaps than might have been desired. There can be no doubt but that any fruit may be reared by art in this country ; this, however, does not entitle it fairly to a place in the *Pomarium Britannicum*, which should at least only notice such fruits as are familiarly produced. But although the long history which our author gives us of this berry be out of place, yet it contains several curious particulars. In the time of Lord Bacon, it was only known by name in England. The person who introduced it into fashion in Europe, was the Ambassador from Mahomet the IVth to Louis XIV, in the year 1669, who gave it at all his parties with great magnificence, and with all the costume of oriental ceremony. The introduction of it into England was as follows :

“ It is said to have been first brought to England by Mr. Nathaniel Conopius, a Cretan, who made it his common beverage, at Baliol College, at Oxford, in the year 1641 ; and that the first coffee-house in England was kept by one Jacob, a Jew, at the sign of the Angel, in Oxford, in 1650. Coffee was first publicly known in London in 1652, when Mr. Daniel Edwards, a Turkey merchant, brought home with him a Ragusian Greek servant, whose name was Pasqua Rossée, who understood the roasting and making of coffee, and kept a house for the purpose in George-Yard, Lombard-Street, or rather, according to Mr. Houghton, in a shed in the church-yard of St. Michael's, Cornhill. The famous Dr. Harvey used it frequently. Mr. Ray affirms that, in 1688, London might rival Grand Cairo in the number of its coffee-houses, so rapidly had it come into use ; and it is thought that they were augmented and established more firmly by the ill-judged proclamation of Charles the Second, in 1675, to shut up coffee-houses as seminaries of sedition : this act was suspended in a few days.” P. 112.

The cultivation of this plant in Jamaica, was first introduced by Sir Nicholas Laws, who planted a tree of it on his estate in 1728. The first berries produced by this tree were sold for sixpence each. In 1752 the export from Jamaica was rated at 60,000 pounds. In 1808 it amounted to 29,528,273 pounds.

Currants, we were proud to hear, are not merely an indigenous fruit with us, but England would almost seem to be its original birth place. It is found wild in woods and hedges in the northern counties of England, as likewise on the banks of the Tay; and as a proof that it is a northern fruit, we may not only mention that it was unknown to the Romans, but its name both in French and Dutch would lead to infer that it first migrated from this country. The French call it by the name *groseilles d'outremer*, and the Dutch, *of besskins over zee*. How, or when it came to acquire the name of *currants*, is difficult to ascertain. The name belongs properly to the small Zante grapes, which were called currants, or corinths, from the place whence they originally came. Lord Bacon mentions them, however, and calls them by the present name; "The earliest fruits," says he, "are strawberries, cherries, gooseberries, *corrans*, and after them early apples." But Tusser, who wrote about 50 years earlier, does not appear to know the fruit; as in the list which he gives us of fruits cultivated in Queen Mary's time, although we meet with apricots, and peaches, and gooseberries, and mulberries, and all the other commoner fruits, yet no mention is made of this. In Gerard's time they were considered as a sort of gooseberries, (as they still appear to be by the French) for he tells us, "We have also in our London gardens another sort, (that is of gooseberries) altogether without prickles, whose fruit is very small, lesser by much than the common kind, but of a perfect red colour, wherein it differeth from the rest of his kind." As to the black currant, which is likewise found wild in our northern counties, it was known by the name of the *squinancy berry*, from its supposed use in quinzies.

"Currant trees," says our author, "produce their fruit on small snags, that come out of the former year's wood: in pruning, care should be taken not to injure that part; but the shoots may be shortened or thinned as soon as the leaves are off. They require least room, and have a neat appearance, in private gardens, when planted as espaliers; and the fruit is thought to ripen better."—P. 141.

Having said thus much of *currants*, we are naturally led

to say something of *gooseberries*, which are of the same class both in Botany and in popular opinion. This fruit is also a native of England, and like the currant appears to have been unknown to the ancients. Gerard tells us that in Chester, his native county, it was called *feaberry bush*, and it had the same name in Yorkshire and Lancashire. In Norfolk the name was abbreviated into *feabes*. The reason of its name being changed into that of gooseberry, is supposed to be from its being commonly used as a sauce for green geese. This berry is but small in its native state, and probably has not much flavour; as it appears in the time of Gerard to have been used chiefly in sauces, as we now use it with mackarel. The French, who are always surprized at the size and flavour of our gooseberries, still consider them in the light in which they were regarded by our ancestors; as they are commonly mentioned by their writers under the name of *grosielles aux maquereaux*.

Like the apple, the gooseberry may be multiplied almost indefinitely; and our author mentions that one nurseryman obliged him with a sight of 300 varieties, the largest of which was equal in weight to three guineas and a half. The means by which they are made to reach this size—which, however, is commonly at the expense of their flavour—is by cutting off all the small berries, and leaving only a few on each branch.

“It is propagated,” says our author, “by cuttings or suckers; but the former way is preferable, as the roots are less likely to shoot out suckers. Straight shoots should be selected about eight inches long, and planted about half the length, in good mould or light earth. The best time for planting them is in the autumn, just before the leaves begin to fall. It is desirable to sow the seeds of ripe gooseberries, as by this means you have the chance of new varieties; and the bushes generally grow in a better shape than either by cuttings or suckers.

“In pruning these bushes, observe to keep the stem quite free from shoots, at least that from ten or twelve inches from the ground, there be but one regular stem. I have seen them trained on trellis work, where the fruit has grown and ripened well; and it is a most desirable method for small gardens, as they have a neat appearance, take but little room, and form a good back ground to flower-borders.” P. 179.

Strawberries are another fruit, which do not seem to have been cultivated by the ancients. It was known to them, but appears not to have been esteemed—a proof that with them it did not come to that perfection to which it is brought in the present times. It is supposed that the red strawberry

only is a native of this climate. The scarlet strawberry, as also the hautboy, come from North America. The Alpine is a native of Germany. But the varieties of this fruit have of late years been so prodigiously encreased that it is useless to particularize the origin of any single kind. Mr. Knight, the President of the Horticultural Society, has at this time not less than 460 varieties in his garden. The following extract contains so much valuable matter, that we cannot refrain from extracting it: every thing connected with the improvement of this delightful fruit, is deserving to be known.

“ Mr. Keen of Isleworth, in the county of Middlesex, who is one of the greatest growers of strawberries for the London market, has obligingly furnished me with his observations on the culture of this fruit, which furnishes a strong instance of the advantage of botanical knowledge. Mr. Keen states, that the want of education deprived him of the benefit of written information; but it will be found that he has studied the book of nature to advantage. I observed, says Mr. Keen, that some of my strawberry plants gave out abundance of male blossoms, but produced no fruit. I therefore, in the year 1809, had all these plants taken from my beds, and had other beds made with the fruit-bearing, or female plants only; but finding my crop entirely fail, and suspecting the error I had made, I procured some blossoms of the male plants, which having put into a bottle of water, I placed on one of my beds, and in a few days perceived the fruit began to swell and thrive on all the plants contiguous to the bottle.

“ Having tried the same experiment in several parts of my garden with the like effect, I was convinced of the necessity of the male plants in producing fruit, since which time, I have planted about one male plant to ten female plants, which I find to be the most profitable proportion, as my beds have since been so productive, that it has been scarce possible to gather the fruit without bruising others. Some strawberry plants have both male and female flowers on the same plant. These are not so profitable; and I find it more advantageous to raise my plants from seed than by suckers. When the fruit is quite ripe, I sow them in a rich moist soil, and in one year the Alpines produce fruit, but the other kinds require two years. From the seed Mr. Keen has procured a new variety of this fruit to which he has given the name of Imperial Strawberry; it is of a dark ruby colour, and, in appearance, the most beautiful of all the strawberries; but I find the flavour of it is not superior to that of other kinds. Mr. Keen recommends the month of March, as the best season for making new beds.” P. 335.

The origin of the name of this fruit is not commonly known. It was formerly the custom, (and which is still kept up in Suffolk,) to put clean *straw* round the strawberry plants when

the fruit began to swell. The utility of this practice is evident; and we are of the opinion of Sir Joseph Banks, that it might be revived with advantage. In dry parching weather it would certainly keep the fruit moist, and in wet weather both keep it clean and preserve it from rotting.

Of all the fruits that are not natives of this country, but which it might with proper care be made to produce, there is not any that we would more gladly live to see in common cultivation than the fig. It is the only kind of fruit, as our author justly remarks, which has sweetness without acidity, and is one of the most wholesome and nourishing that exists. It requires some little use to acquire a decided taste for it, but it is a taste which would soon become more general. The following anecdote will shew that we have learned authority for our affection to the fig tree.

“ At Oxford, in the botanic garden of the Regius Professor of Hebrew, is a fig-tree, which was brought from the East, and planted by Dr. Pocock, in the year 1648. Of this tree the following anecdote is related: Dr. Kennicott, the celebrated Hebrew scholar and compiler of the Polyglot Bible, was passionately fond of this fruit; and seeing a very fine fig on this tree that he wished to preserve, wrote on a label, ‘ Dr. Kennicott’s fig,’ which he tied to the fruit. An Oxonian wag, who had observed the transaction, watched the fruit daily, and when ripe, gathered it, and exchanged the label for one thus worded: ‘ A fig for Dr. Kennicott.’ ”— P. 162.

Mr. Phillips is of opinion that there are many situations between Shoreham and Arundel, where if figs were properly cultivated, it would be easy to supply the London market with this wholesome and simple fruit, both cheaply and abundantly. And he instances as a proof, an orchard which he saw near Worthing.

“ There is an orchard of fig-trees at Tarring, near Worthing, in Sussex, where the fruit grows on standard trees, and ripens as well as in any part of Spain; these trees are so regularly productive, as to form the principal support of a large family. Although the orchard does not exceed three-quarters of an acre, there are upwards of 100 trees, that are about the size of large apple-trees, the branches extending near twenty feet each way from the trunk. Mr. Loud, the proprietor of this little figgery, informs me, that he gathers about 100 dozen per day, during the season, and that he averages the trees to produce him about twenty dozen each: the fruit ripens in August, September, and October, a part of the year when the neighbouring watering places are frequented with fashionable company, that insures a ready sale for this agreeable fruit, at good prices.” P. 163.

“ The trees are but seldom and sparingly pruned, which I conclude is the cause of their being so prolific, as I have remarked that fig-trees rarely produce much fruit where the knife is regularly used. When they grow too luxuriantly, it has been found better to destroy a part of their roots, and to fill up the space with stones or broken bricks, than to prune the branches too much. Mr. Knight, the president of the Horticultural Society, observes, that there cannot be a more defective manner of cultivating the fig-tree than that which is generally practised by gardeners,—of training them against walls, with their branches perpendicular upwards; the wood, by this means, becomes too luxuriant to produce fruit.” P. 165.

A curious fact is mentioned by our author: that if fresh killed venison, or any other animal food, be hung up in a fig tree for a single night, it will become as tender and as ready for dressing as if kept many days or weeks in the common manner.

Another fruit, which it would give us still more pleasure to see brought into general cultivation, is the mulberry tree. One cause of its being neglected is, that heretofore it has seldom produced fruit until it had arrived at a considerable age. But by grafting it from aged trees, it soon bears fruit; and we hope that a more general knowledge of this fact will at length render it more common in this country. Even as a mere fruit, it is worthy of more attention; but we cannot see why the tree should not, as our author recommends, be grown in this country for the purpose of feeding silk worms, as well as in France or Italy. At all events the fault cannot be in our soil.

“ Should a few spirited land proprietors,” says our author, “ make the experiment of grubbing up their hedge-rows, and planting fences of mulberry-trees, I have no doubt but that in a few years they would reap as great a profit from their hedges as from their corn. It would find immediate employ for many labourers, and would in time require the assistance of thousands of the lower classes to gather the leaves and attend to the breeding and feeding of the silk-worms, the winding of the silk, &c.: indeed, the whole process is calculated as an employ for the aged and the infirm, who, being unable to do laborious work, must now, of necessity, add to the weight of the parochial taxes. I am fully of opinion that it would be the foundation of a permanent reduction in the poor rates, which must continue to augment, unless employ be found equal to the increase of the population. It is worthy of notice that the trees, which are planted for the feeding of the silk-worms, are seldom suffered to grow to a height to injure the land; but they are kept as shrubs or espaliers. The great nurseries of mulberry plants, in

the plain of Valencia, in Spain, are produced from seeds obtained by rubbing a rope of esparts with ripe mulberries, and then burying the rope two inches under ground. As the young plants come up, they are drawn and transplanted; the trees are afterwards set out in rows in the fields, and pruned once in two years." P. 257.

In another place he notices the extreme age at which it arrives without suffering any diminution of its unproductiveness; and gives a curious example of the fact.

"The planting of mulberry-trees was much encouraged by King James the First, about the year 1605; but parties running so high at that period, the attention of the nation was occupied on political affairs; and the procuring of silk in England was neglected, and has never since been attempted, although the mulberry-tree has been found to thrive exceedingly well, and the silk-worms to spin as well as in any other part of the world. The mulberry-trees are now alive, and bearing fruit in many parts of the country, that were planted in the time of James the First, which is a proof of their durability. I have lately seen a mulberry-tree, of the nigra species, which is supposed to be one of the oldest in England, in the garden of the Rev. Dr. Crumbie, adjoining Greenwich Park; and, notwithstanding its neglected and dilapidated state, it is one of the greatest curiosities I have seen in the shape of a fruit-tree in this country. It throws out ten large branches so near the earth, that it has the appearance of half a score of large trees rather than of one; and notwithstanding many of the projecting branches have been sawed off, still it completely covers a circumference of 150 feet; and although the elder-trees have fixed their abode in some parts of the trunk, and other parts are covered with ivy, yet it continues to give shoots as vigorous as the youngest tree, and produces the finest mulberries in England. It is a regular bearer; and the gardener assured me that he gathered more than eighty quarts a-week during the season." P. 253.

We must now bring our extracts from this useful and entertaining volume to a close. The number of them which we have made, is a sufficient evidence of our opinion of the book. And at the same time they will furnish the reader with a just idea of the kind of information which is collected together in it. If it reaches a second edition, which we think it well deserves, we could wish that Mr. Phillips would be a little more diffuse in the practical part of the subject. Such details may not be either useful or amusing to the regular gardener, or to the erudite members of the Horticultural Society; but they would confer much additional value upon the book in the estimation of the general reader, for whom, after all, it seems to be principally

composed; he need not increase the bulk of the volume, as the additions which we are recommending might be advantageously substituted in the place of such passages as the following, of which there are several in the course of the work.

“ The cultivation of the vine appears to have attracted the attention of man from the earliest times of which we have any account. Every part of the Scripture, from the Flood to the crucifixion of our Saviour, mentions the vine as being held in the highest estimation. The book of Genesis informs us, that ‘ Noah planted vineyards, and made wine.’ It is mentioned among the blessings of the promised land, ‘ a land of wheat, and barley, and vines,’ &c.

“ The answer of the vine to the trees in Jotham’s parable, show in what high esteem men held this fruit :—

“ ‘ And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees ?’

“ The patriarchs and prophets frequently represent in Scripture the flourishing state of a nation, a tribe, or a family, under the emblem of a vine. ‘ Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it; thou preparedest room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and filled the land.’ Psalm xxx. Again the Psalmist mentions it, ‘ Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thine house.’

“ The heathens, likewise, held the vine in the highest estimation. Bacchus was elevated to the rank of a god, for having taught men the use of the vine.” P. 185.

One article is singularly, and, we think, very unaccountably deficient, in the work before us; and that is on the subject of that prince of autumnal fruits, the pear. Our author dismisses it in about five pages, which appear to have been written merely for form’s sake, while sixteen pages are devoted even to the acorn. We really think this omission a serious imperfection. While so many trees are noticed that have no pretensions to any place whatever in the book; as the *lotus tree*, for example, which is described, and the history of it given in no less than ten or eleven pages; it is intolerable to be put off with a mere botanical account of so fine and celebrated a fruit as the common pear. This bears marks of haste, and looks too much as if the book had been got up merely for some temporary occasion. We hope that in a second edition the complaint which we have made will be removed.

ART. X. *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society.* Vol. I. Part I. Cambridge. At the University Press. 1821.

No. 8. *On the Laws according to which Masses of Iron influence Magnetic Needles.* By S. H. Christie, M. A. F. C. P. S. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Read May 15, 1820.

ART. XI. *Philosophical Transactions.* 1821. Part I.

No. 10. *The Bakerian Lecture. On the best kind of Steel, and Form, for a Compass Needle.* By Captain Henry Kater, F.R.S.

THE volume of the first of the Transactions now before us, is introduced by a preface, which gives a short account of the origin and objects of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. After stating the advantages afforded for such a Society, from the peculiar circumstances of the University and from the tendency of its pursuits, as well as the benefits likely to be derived from it, both to the cause of science, and to many of the individuals composing it, the extent of the Society's plan is shewn, and the objects which it was intended to embrace are specified.

“ The plan of the Society was not confined to those parts of Natural Philosophy which form the more immediate objects of Academical pursuit. It was intended that the proposed institution should embrace the studies of Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and other branches of Natural Science, which have, in modern times, engaged so large a share of the public attention, and can be cultivated with success only by means of a continued series of experiments, and an unceasing vigilance of observation.”

On these principles then, and guided by these views, a few individuals in the University first conceived the idea of attempting the institution of a Philosophical Society. Shortly after, their intentions were more widely communicated, and arrangements made for the execution of their proposed plan. At length, in pursuance of resolutions held at a meeting on the 15th November, 1819, the design was completely organized; and from that day the Cambridge Philosophical Society dates its commencement. Since that time its meetings have been held at regular intervals, and a selection of the most interesting papers read at them, has this year appeared as the first part of their Transactions.

From the prevalence of mathematical and philosophical studies in the system pursued at Cambridge, and the consequent conflux of men eminent in those sciences in that seat of learning, no place could possibly be better adapted for the institution of such a Society; at the same time considering how eminent the members of that University had already been among the cultivators and improvers of science, without the aid of such a Society, we might have been tempted to imagine such a plan superfluous, and likely to be productive of little additional good. The present volume of their Transactions, however, must dispel all such forebodings: and proves to us that conspicuous as the former labours of individuals have been, the facilities and encouragement afforded by an association, are such as to have added fresh impulse even to exertions already truly great, from the union it gives to dispersed talent, and the common spirit of emulation which it excites, and to have brought to light much valuable information by the convenient centre of communication thus established.

Some general account of the subjects of the papers which compose this volume will give our readers an idea of the tendency of the Society's labours, and of the degree of interest which they may be likely to excite. In the department of pure mathematics those two indefatigable enquirers Mr. Herschel and Mr. Babbage, whose extensive excursions into the very unfrequented regions of the higher analysis, have already so highly distinguished them, have contributed two papers which will be read with the highest interest by those who have advanced into these speculations; but of which the nature of our work precludes us from taking any more particular notice.

In the application of mathematics to the phenomena of nature, Mr. Herschel has rendered himself no less conspicuous than in pure mathematics, by turning his extraordinary powers of investigation from those subjects to the examination of the intricate phenomena of the polarization of light, and the application of mathematical reasoning to the determination of their laws; and on these subjects he has communicated two papers to the Cambridge Society, which are inserted in this volume. In a kindred department is the science of magnetism on which Mr. Christie has employed his labours, and has investigated the nature of magnetic action.

Mr. Whewell has contributed a paper on certain cases of orbits; and Professor Farish has inserted a communication shewing the application of mathematical and optical science in a peculiar species of perspective.

In the chemical department a curious compound has been analyzed, and a remarkable instance of the chemistry of nature described by Dr. Clarke; and in Geological researches, Professor Sedgwick and Mr. Okes have made contributions: the former in giving an account of the structure of some of the formations in the West of England; and the latter in describing some curious fossil remains of the beaver.

Thus the reader may perceive that all the most prominent parts of science in its present extended form, have received due attention from the divided labours of different members of this society; and in some of them, investigations of peculiar interest have been brought forward.

Amongst the various interesting communications with which the volume before us is enriched, we shall only at present select for immediate review one which is closely connected with the subject of Mr. Barlow's enquiries, which we examined in a late number. The subject of magnetic attraction is at present exciting so much attention in the scientific world, that this hitherto comparatively uncultivated department, promises shortly to assume the rank of a mathematical science. In connexion therefore with the account which we have before given of Mr. Barlow's discoveries, we consider the paper of Mr. Christie, on the laws according to which masses of iron influence magnetic needles, as possessing great interest. We must observe that in our opinion there is some impropriety in denominating the paper an enquiry into the "*laws*" of magnetic action;—there is not in fact any *law* laid down in these researches: they relate to the establishment of the physical cause by which the action of a mass of iron on the needle is occasioned, and exerted according to certain *laws*, which are no other than those discovered by Mr. Barlow. We make this remark merely to shew the nature and design of these enquiries. And we will now proceed to a more particular review of the mode in which they were conducted and the results to which they led.

Mr. Christie commences by some observations on the common theory, by which the action of a bar of iron on a compass needle is explained. The bar, when held perpendicularly, is supposed to acquire magnetism from the earth, and to have two poles, which will attract or repel the poles of the compass needle, according as the same, or different poles are brought near each other. He observes that his object is not to controvert this theory but to advance another which offers a ready explanation of the phænomena, and affords peculiar facilities for computing the effects produced. He considers that,

"There is no necessity for supposing that any part of the mass of iron possesses the power of repulsion, and that all the phenomena which take place may be clearly explained, on the simple hypothesis that the particles of iron possess the single power of attraction, and exert it principally, if not wholly, on that which appears to be the cause of the direction of the needle, and but slightly if at all, on the poles of the needle itself."

He confesses that he was first led to think that the iron acted thus, from being informed of Mr. Barlow's discovery of the plane of no attraction; of which we have in a former number given our readers some account.

In order to the better understanding of his views we may just premise the consideration, that on the supposition that the magnetism of the needle is uniform throughout its whole length; the intensity of the attracting influence of a ball of iron, on a compass needle placed near it, will obviously be measured by the perpendicular to the needle drawn from the centre of the ball; and the deviation of the needle would be different according to the point on which the perpendicular should fall: and if the perpendicular fell on the centre of the compass, there would be no deviation at all. Now it was found by experiment that this was not the case, but that there was a position of the ball, in which no deviation was produced; whence the perpendicular did not fall on the centre: this however might be accounted for by supposing the line from the centre of the ball to the centre of the needle to be a perpendicular to an imaginary needle not suspended horizontally but forming a certain angle with the horizon, and having its centre coincident with that of the horizontal needle; and the angle at which this imaginary needle must be inclined Mr. Christie conjectured to be equal to the natural dip of the needle: for, it appeared to him, that if the iron acted upon this imaginary needle so inclined, a position where the ball would produce no deviation would then necessarily exist, in a line passing through the centre, and making an angle with the horizon equal to the complement of the dip: and as this position would exist on every side of the needle there would be a plane of no attraction, exactly as Mr. Barlow had found in his experiments.

It would be a necessary consequence of this supposition, that if the perpendicular from the centre of the iron ball fell on the upper, that is, the southern branch of this imaginary needle, then the south end of the horizontal needle would deviate towards the ball of iron; and when the perpendicular fell on the lower branch, the north pole of the horizontal needle would be attracted towards the iron ball.

Having conceived this view of the mode in which the iron acted on the needle, Mr. Christie witnessed some of Mr. Barlow's experiments; and predicted from the principles of his theory what the result should be, and as far as they were then able to judge the result was in all cases what theory indicated.

He now proceeded one step further in order to complete the theory, and this was to account for the action of the iron on the imaginary needle in the supposed position. This was satisfactorily explained by an idea which was forcibly suggested to him, that the needle was guided in its horizontal motions, by a current of magnetic force, passing through its centre in the direction of the natural dip. Such a current would naturally cause a finely suspended needle to take the inclination of the dip, and if it were artificially prevented from taking that inclination, still the current would cause it to take the direction of the magnetic meridian. Mr. Christie imagines this current to consist of magnetic particles:—this is an unnecessary addition to theory, for the simple action of magnetic force in one particular line, is all that is wanted for the purpose of explaining the phenomena. He then proceeds to give an account of the experiments which were made to establish this view of the subject;—the apparatus was precisely the same as that we described in our account of Mr. Barlow's experiments.

The compass was placed successively at every 10th degree from the meridian at the same distance from the centre of the table. The ball was then raised till it appeared to have no influence on the compass: it was then lowered very gradually, and the deviation produced at every inch of its descent was accurately observed, until the ball had descended so far below the table as to cease influencing the needle. Mr. Christie considered that on the supposition of the magnetic action taking place according to his theory, then, when the centre of the ball was in the point where the line forming it and the centre of the needle, was perpendicular to the dip, (the ball attracting equally that part of the magnetic current which guided the north end of the needle and that which guided the south,) no deviation would take place. That when the centre of the ball was above this point, a preponderance would be given to the action of the current guiding the south end, and this being attracted towards the ball, the south end likewise would deviate towards it, and the north deviate from it—and that the opposite effects would be produced when the ball was situated below that point.

This action of the ball on the needle, is exactly that which

was commonly explained by saying that the mass of iron had two poles, the north at its lower, and the south at its upper end; and that consequently its lower end would attract the south pole of the needle, and its upper, the north; or what is the same thing, that if the iron were above the needle the south pole would be attracted, if below it the north. Mr. Christie's object is to shew that this theory is unnecessary, since the fact may be accounted for on a much simpler supposition; thus improving the principles of the science, by reducing two causes hitherto supposed, into one principle; a line of investigation, it need hardly be observed, consistent with the soundest principles of philosophizing, and indeed affording a very beautiful instance of inductive research.

Mr. Christie then proceeded to compare his theory with actual observations—to compute on the principles of his hypothesis what ought to be the height or depth of the centre of the ball from the plane of the table, in order to make the deviation nothing, at each 10th degree from the meridian. He obtained for this purpose a very simple formula giving the height in terms of the distance from the centre of the table, the angle formed with the meridian, and the dip.

The numbers computed from this formula were compared with those actually observed, the distance of the compass from the centre of the table remaining unaltered. He then made similar calculations and observations for two other distances of the compass—the differences between observation and theory were small—but in order that a fair estimate may be formed of the degree of coincidence between them, he considers it necessary to give an account of the manner in which the observations were made, so that the degree of accuracy capable of being attained, might be more readily seen. And from this account it appears that there was room for suspecting errors in the observations, which could not be guarded against, to such an amount as to cover the discrepancies observed.

In addition to these observations on the point where no deviation took place, Mr. Christie also observed that during the lowering of the ball, the direction of the deviation at different periods was exactly such as he had anticipated from theory. Thus while the observations were being made by carrying the compass from south towards east, the deviation of the north end of the needle was first easterly, and in this direction it gradually increased as the ball descended; attained a maximum in that direction, and then decreased to zero;—became westerly;—attained a maximum in that direction and then decreased, till the needle resumed its ori-

ginal position, the ball having descended too low to affect it. This was exactly what theory would indicate, for at first the ball was nearest to the upper or southern branch of the imaginary needle; this therefore was attracted towards it, or what is the same thing the north branch of the real needle was repelled from it. When the ball came into the perpendicular to the centre of the needle, then no deviation was occasioned. When the ball was below, it was then nearest the northern extent; this therefore was attracted. The opposite effects were observed at the opposite part of the horizontal circle.

Mr. Christie then proceeds to notice what we have given an account of in our review of Mr. Barlow's experiments: that the inclination of the plane of no deviation as determined by Mr. Barlow, coincides with the complement of the dip, which it ought to do according to this theory.

Thus far then Mr. Christie was engaged in enquiring whether, (as he expresses it) the *quality* of the deviations would agree with his hypothesis. His next object was to make a similar enquiry with respect to its *quantity*. This enquiry was prosecuted on the consideration, that according to hypothesis, if the ball were carried round the imaginary needle before spoken of, so that its perpendicular distance from any one point in it should always be the same, then the needle must always be influenced in the same degree by the ball, or in other words deviate towards it by the same angle in every such position. And hence it would follow, that if the angular deviation of the horizontal needle were observed, and from it were computed, what the corresponding deviation of a line, situated like the imaginary needle, would be, the result ought to be the same for every part of the revolution of the attracting ball. If therefore such a coincidence in the results should be found to take place, the hypothesis would be fairly established.

His first object was to observe the deviations caused by the ball in different positions in a circle, the plane of which should be perpendicular to the imaginary needle. As however the nature of the apparatus could not admit of the ball being carried round the compass, the compass was carried round the ball, in such a manner, that the ball was always at the same perpendicular distance from the imaginary line; and in order to carry it round in this manner, it was necessary to compute the points at which it should be placed, so as to fulfil the condition. For this purpose Mr. Christie obtained three formulæ by which, for any longitude of the ball, (we suppose our readers familiar with that term in a former

article) which might be assumed in a circle parallel to the magnetic equator, and at a given perpendicular height above it, the values of three rectangular co-ordinates might be found, which should determine the situation of the compass, where the ball in its assumed position would be at the same perpendicular distance from the centre of the compass.

This point on the plane of the table being calculated for different longitudes at intervals of ten degrees, the needle was moved successively to have its centre coincident with the points so marked out. And these being allowed to vibrate freely till it became perfectly stationary, and the ball having been lowered till the height of its centre above that of the needle was equal to the quantity determined, the deviation was accurately observed, at both ends of the needle, for the sake of the greater certainty, and repeated on the other side of the meridian, and the mean of the four taken.

Then the other part of the operation was to calculate from the observed horizontal deviations what the corresponding deviations of the imaginary needle would be:—this was done by a simple process of trigonometry, and the results in each position ought according to theory to be the same. The coincidence was very near, but at the same time the differences were greater than Mr. Christie had been led to anticipate. From observing several minute circumstances respecting the adjustment of the apparatus, he was however enabled to account in a great measure for these differences;—and indeed excluding a few of the results, the others were all sufficiently near the mean.

Mr. Christie had determined that the correctness of his theory should not rest solely on the result of a single set of experiments: he had therefore prepared for some more sets with different distances of the ball. But upon consideration, he found the difficulty of adjusting the compass on the table in the requisite position so great, that he resolved to compute afresh the positions of the compass, according to a different method, and so as to use a different sort of adjustment. The method of computation which he followed, proceeded on the principle of calculating the distance of the centre of the compass from the centre of the table, and the angle made by this distance with the meridian line, for any given latitude and longitude of the ball. The circumference of the circle on the table was accurately divided; and the computed azimuth being set off on both sides of the meridian, at opposite ends a fine line was stretched across by weights, so as to give accurately the direction of the centre of the ball; and in this line, the north and south line of the compass-card was

adjusted; its centre being at the computed distance from the centre of the table; the ball was lowered to the computed height corresponding to the azimuth and radius of the compass; and the deviation of the needle from the meridian line of the card was accurately observed; the difference between this deviation and the azimuth gave the real deviation from the meridian. The mean of four observations was taken as before, and the deviation of the imaginary needle corresponding to this horizontal deviation was computed as before. Three sets of experiments were made, the latitude of the ball being varied in each. The approach of all the deviations of the imaginary needle, to equality, throughout the whole course of the observations, was much nearer than before. The remarkably near agreement of these results must, Mr. Christie thinks, be allowed fully to confirm the views with which the experiments were undertaken, and clearly to prove, that in each case, as the ball was carried round the imaginary axis, the magnetic current in that line deviated in the same manner towards the ball during its whole revolution.

“ ‘Had I,’ says he, “made further experiments of the same kind, I have no hesitation in saying, that they would all have tended to confirm the hypothesis I have advanced, as I consider that it could not have been put to a severer test than in those I have detailed. As however I had an opportunity of making an additional trial of its correctness, I availed myself of it, and I can only regret that time would not allow of my making more experiments with the excellent instrument, a small dipping needle made by Jones of Charing Cross, of which I was favoured with the use, during a few hours.”

With this instrument however he was enabled to make one experiment, which consisted in placing the dipping needle on the table exactly on the west point; and a horizontal needle, at the same distance: and having its centre at the same height from the table, on the east point. The ball was then lowered, and at three different heights the deviation of the dipping needle was observed, and also the deviation of the horizontal needle. Then from the observed deviations of the dipping needle were computed trigonometrically what the horizontal deviations ought to be according to theory; the agreement of these with observation was very close.

“ This,” observes Mr. Christie, “was highly satisfactory to me, particularly when I considered the smallness of the arcs from which the deviations were computed, and that consequently a trifling change in these would make a considerable difference in the angles. I now the more regretted having no opportunity of making the expe-

riments I had proposed, as I had no doubt of their results proving equally satisfactory. Seeing then that all the phenomena are the necessary consequences of such an hypothesis, I think we may conclude, that when a mass of iron is removed beyond a few inches from the ends of a magnetic needle, so that they are without the influence of any accidental magnetism in the iron, the deviation of the needle arises wholly from the action of the iron on magnetic particles passing through the centre of the needle in the direction of the dip. I trust when the labour of the necessary computations, both preparatory and subsequent to the observations, and the tedious nature of the experiments themselves are considered, that I cannot be accused of having been satisfied on light grounds with the justness of the views I had taken."

In the propriety of these remarks we cannot but concur. The Author's supposition of the existence of magnetic particles, we have before observed to be superfluous. It is quite immaterial to the rest of his theory: all that we are certain of is simply the action of magnetic force in a given direction; perhaps the supposition is necessary however, in the conjectural views which Mr. Christie, in the concluding part of his paper, proceeds to develope, respecting the manner in which he supposes the magnetism to act on the iron. He conceives that two magnetic currents issue from the centre of the needle in opposite directions with great velocity. That according to the angle which these currents make with the horizon and meridian, the dip and variation of the needle are occasioned, the particles acting on the branches of the needle, so as to make it take their direction. These conjectures, we should observe, he only proposes till he can succeed in the construction of an apparatus to put them to the test of experiment. He conceives that these particles may exist in a state of equilibrium with each other in the atmosphere, and that a magnetised bar has the property of separating them, so that they then proceed from it under the influence of some general cause, which gives them their peculiar directions: the disturbance of this equilibrium may be the cause of some atmospheric phenomena. Every particle of soft iron appears to attract indifferently both kinds of magnetic particles; but magnetised iron attracts one kind, and repels the other from a tendency to restore the equilibrium. We have given this sketch of these conjectures without being convinced of the propriety or advantage of their being brought forward in so premature a stage. We are sure that Mr. Christie's reputation as a skilful, industrious and successful investigator of the laws of nature, is sufficiently established by these experimental researches, independently of any further display of ingenuity in the regions of conjecture.

He concludes his paper with some remarks on the application of this theory to the deviation of the compass on ship-board; the centre of attraction of the whole vessel being determined might be taken as the centre of the ball in the foregoing experiments, and the deviations thence computed, supposing the dip given. This cannot be determined on board, on account of the ship's motion; but he expresses some hopes that from the repetition and extension of observations for a long period of time, rules may be framed for determining that datum in any latitude and longitude.

We cannot conclude our remarks without expressing our conviction that the investigations of Mr. Christie, though there seems but a distant possibility of their leading to any practical advantage, yet must be considered as exhibiting the most sagacious conception of a physical cause, and the most unwearied diligence, as well as scientific skill in examining and proving the agreement of phenomena, with the operation of such a cause.

In connexion with these investigations we wish to give our readers a short account of some others which have been recently made in the same department of science. These are to be found in the paper which is named at the head of this article, by Captain Kater, published in the first part of the *Philosophical Transactions* for the present year. They are of a nature almost entirely practical, and relate to the construction of compass needles and some particulars observed relative to their action. An account of them will be best introduced in Captain Kater's own words:

“On the return of the first expedition, which sailed for the discovery of a North West passage, it appeared that from the near approach to the magnetic pole, and the consequent diminution of the directive force, the compasses on board had become nearly useless. Some of the Azimuth compasses employed on that occasion were of my own invention; I was therefore anxious that the next expedition which was about to sail under the command of Lieutenant Parry, and which has happily returned with so much honour to those engaged in it, should be furnished with instruments of this description, combining as much power and sensibility as possible. It was with this intention alone that I commenced the experiments which form the subject of the present paper; but which I should not have deemed sufficiently important to be made public, had I not lately on resuming the enquiry been led to some results which appeared of sufficient interest, as well as practical utility, to induce me to lay them before the Royal Society.”

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His first and immediate object was to ascertain the kind of steel, and form of needle, best calculated to receive the greatest directive energy with the least weight. For this purpose a very long and laborious series of experiments were instituted and carried on with all the well known skill, patience, and diligence, for which Captain Kater is distinguished in experimental researches. The directive force of the different needles was measured by the instrument called the "torsion balance," invented by the celebrated Coulomb, one of the first who undertook the difficult task of endeavouring to reduce the phenomena of magnetism to any mathematical laws: this instrument consists of a very delicate wire, by which the needle is suspended, and so attached, that by turning, it twists the wire. The degree of twisting or torsion which the wire sustains is pointed out by an index on the circumference of a circle divided into degrees, in the centre of which the wire is fixed to the index; the needle being in the meridian, the index points to 0. it is then forced to deviate from the meridian to a certain angle, by turning the index, and consequently twisting the wire; to this power the directive force of the needle is opposed, and is estimated by the number of revolutions of the index necessary in order to overcome it and bring the needle to the given deviation. By such an instrument, Captain Kater compared the directive powers of a number of needles which had been constructed by different modes of preparation and of different forms. He tried many sorts of steel and found the best to be that of which clock springs are made; concerning which he observes,

"The springs of clocks are made by passing steel between rollers, and it thus undergoes great compression. May not this state be favourable to magnetism, and the repeated expansion of the steel by heat, destroying this state have occasioned the deterioration I have remarked?"

This is in allusion to a diminution of effect he had observed in one part of his experiments. He therefore recommends, that in the formation of these needles they be exposed as seldom as possible to heat, otherwise their capability of receiving magnetism will be much diminished.

The best form of a needle was found to be a long and narrow Rhombus, the length being about five to a breadth of two, and the interior cut out, so as to leave it in the form of a frame with a bar across its shortest diagonal.

The best mode of tempering is first to harden it at a red heat, and then to soften it from the middle to about an inch from each end, by exposing it to a heat sufficient to cause the blue colour which arises again to disappear.

In the same plate of steel of the size of a few square inches only, portions are found varying considerably in their capability of receiving magnetism, though not apparently differing in any other respect; and polishing the needle has no effect on its magnetism.

His experiments on the mode of communicating magnetism to the needle are highly curious and interesting. The most effective mode appears to be by placing the needle in the magnetic meridian, joining the opposite poles of a pair of bar magnets, (they being in the same line) and laying the magnets so joined flat upon the needle with their poles on its centre; then having elevated the distant extremities of the magnets so that they may form an angle of about two or three degrees with the needle, they are to be drawn from the centre of the needle to the extremities, carefully preserving the same inclination; and having joined the poles of the magnets at a distance from the needle, the operation is to be repeated ten or twelve times on each surface.

The concluding experiments are important as illustrating the distinction between the directive force of the needle, and the power of attraction possessed by a mass of iron.

In needles of a certain length, that is, greater than five inches, the observation of Coulomb was confirmed, that the directive forces are nearly as the lengths. Also the directive force does not depend upon extent of surface; but, in needles of nearly the same length and form, is as the mass.

With respect to the attracting force, Mr. Barlow had advanced that it depends on the extent of surface, and is wholly independent of the mass: except a certain thickness of the iron which is requisite for its complete developement. Captain Kater repeated Mr. Barlow's experiment, with solid and hollow cylinders of the same size, and found their effects in producing a deviation of the compass exactly the same.

A considerable part of Captain Kater's enquiries consist only in the repetition and verification of former experiments. But though, perhaps, less interesting on this account, the repetition of experiments must always be beneficial to the interests of science, especially when conducted with different views and in different modes from those with which former enquirers made them. The discovery of the directive force depending on the mass, and not on the surface, is the most remarkable, in a theoretical point of view, of any here brought forward: and as far as appears, it is Captain Kater's own. In a practical point of view, the considerations here sug-

gested, will doubtless be valuable in the construction of needles for navigation ; and the more so as there is nothing proposed depending upon very abstruse and refined principles ; or whose application would be of a difficult and complicated description.

We will conclude our remarks by recommending to the attention of our scientific readers the consideration of the methods of magnetizing needles tried by Captain Kater. It is well known that iron may remain in simple contact with a magnet for many years without acquiring the least sensible degree of magnetism. The communication of magnetic power appears to depend in all cases on the rubbing, or passing a magnetized needle over the bar to be magnetized in a particular direction. We call the attention of our readers more particularly to this point, because it appears to us that it may not be irrelevant to our purpose, to propose, as a query, whether the hypothesis of Mr. Christie, which we have before mentioned, respecting the mode of action of the magnetic currents in the needle, may not receive a confirmation from the method of magnetizing needles proposed by Captain Kater. According to that method, the magnets are placed so that (to use Mr. Christie's language,) their opposite currents are placed in contrary directions to each other when laid upon the unmagnetized bar. Also, one branch of each is elevated so as to have no effect on the bar beneath. Thus the two adjacent opposite poles are alone to be taken into consideration as contributing to the effect. Now, it will be granted, that iron has the property of attracting the magnetic current, whether it be supposed to consist of particles or not. Also from the circumstance of one current only in each needle being taken into consideration, the supposition of two opposing currents in the needle, need not be made. Then when the end of a bar, with a current moving towards that end, is gradually rubbed along a part of an iron bar, the current as it passes out of the magnetized bar, will be attracted and imbibed by the unmagnetized bar ; and during the progress of the former, at each point successive supplies of the current will be given off and imbibed, and as it is the nature of the magnetic principle to act in a current, the successive portions of it thus communicated will naturally form a current, in the direction in which the successive communications were made, in the bar to be magnetized ; and this current will begin at the centre of the bar, the rubbing beginning from that point. The same thing will take place on the other side of the centre. But we know that the magnetic power is actually communicated to a bar of iron by rubbing it in the manner described. If therefore the postulate above-men-

tioned be granted, it will follow that the magnetic power is occasioned by currents in opposite directions from the centre, according to Mr. Christie's hypothesis; and the postulata appear such as are very readily admissible. The scientific world will doubtless look forward with great interest to Mr. Christie's promised experiments, which may satisfactorily establish the true view of the subject.

ART. XII. *Heraline; or, Opposite Proceedings.* By *Lætitia-Matilda Hawkins.* 4 Vols. 12mo. Rivingtons. 1821.

THE authoress of this novel is unquestionably a person of marked talents; and, what is not always a consequence of such talents as she possesses, she is a person of excellent good sense, as well as of the soundest principles. It is therefore unnecessary to add, that the novel before us is one of a very superior class to the generality of those effusions, which are published every spring, and which, like the annuals in our garden, last, for the most part, and (by their publishers at least,) are intended only to last through the summer. We take for granted, that a work by the same pen, as "*Rosanne*," and "*The Countess and Gertrude*," will be sought after with something like eagerness by the general class of light readers; and be taken up by a good many, who, like ourselves, require almost stronger recommendations in the instance of a novel, than of almost any kind of composition. There is a period in every one's life, when novels have a charm even as such; but it is very commonly succeeded by another period, when we turn away from them almost instinctively, as from a dish of which we have once had a nausea. Such we confess to be our own case, and therefore it is that we consider our praise as being of some value. At the same time it will easily be supposed, that a production must be more than human, if we should say that we see no fault to find in it; and therefore it is that we consider our censure as being almost of no weight whatever. For this reason we shall be sparing of the objections which we might otherwise think it expedient to urge, against many things that we do not quite approve, both in the composition of this work of Miss Hawkins, and in the conduct of the story. We do not think the former, by any means, sufficiently simple; and, with respect to the latter, we do not fear to say, that a story in which more or greater improbabilities are brought together, will not readily be met with.

Having said thus much generally, we may also state,

that the great merit of the work, and that which entitles it to high and warm praise, consists in the variety of the characters which our authoress has introduced, and the skill and spirit with which they are delineated. In this particular—and it is manifestly that department in the province of a novelist, which demands by much the greatest talent—Miss Hawkins may fairly rank with the most popular of her competitors. (Always excepting, of course, the inimitable author of *Waverley*, whom we are disposed to place in a separate class, with *Le Sage* only by his side; if even he be not the first and the last of his kind.)

With respect to the story of *Heraline*, it is so long, and so involved, and takes in such a length of time, and such a variety of accidents, and so many different characters, that it is not easy to convey a general idea of it to the reader; and to give any other than a general idea of it, would only defeat the pleasure which our readers will derive, as we hope and expect, from a perusal of the novel itself. The moral of the tale is to inculcate the necessity of always acting, in every transaction of life, however apparently unimportant, without concealment, and upon motives which every body may inspect, and be at once made to understand. *Heraline*, the heroine, is led by a feeling of false shame, and to avoid the unpleasantness of explanations and confessions, to conceal from her guardian a fact, which certainly at the time, and in the first instance, might have appeared to be one of those which could without inconvenience have remained a secret. A complication of circumstances gradually gave more and more importance to the fact, which she had not courage to communicate, and rendered the expediency of receiving council and advice more and more urgent. The disclosure, however, is put off, until it becomes too late; and at length a necessity is entailed upon our heroine for practising a systematic course of deception during the whole of her life, until, finally, she is saved from ruin only by one of those fortunate circumstances, which those who purchase lottery tickets may speculate upon, but assuredly no one besides. The advantages of a contrary course of proceeding are illustrated in the contrast of a second heroine, who appears upon the stage during the two latter of the four volumes, and whose frankness and straight forwardness is recommended by innumerable traits, in which the policy of openness and single-mindedness is fully exemplified. This lesson having been thoroughly enounced, and sufficiently demonstrated, the novel ends, as all mere novels should do, by making all parties happy to their hearts content, except those who are reserved to satisfy the ends of poetical justice;

who, however, all of them, escape without capital punishment.

Having thus stated the moral of the story, and explained if we may so express ourselves, the *final cause*, from which all the particular incidents diverge, all that our readers have a right to know, (such of them, at least, as intend to read the book, and no others will probably concern themselves with our review of it,) is, whether our authoress has truly and skillfully accomplished her purpose? Upon the whole we can safely answer in the affirmative. We are now and then called upon to shut our eyes, and swallow some marvellous coincidences, to be sure; but those who have read as many novels as we have done, will have learned to do this without any great pain; and afterwards they will be rewarded by a story in which all the characters are really well sustained, and in which the interest certainly increases as the denouement draws near. All that remains for us to do, is to justify the commendation which we have bestowed, by extracting one or two scenes and passages, which we shall select, not so much because they are the best in themselves, as because they will best convey a general idea of the manner and style in which the work is written.

A very material personage in the early part of the work, is the Father of our heroine, Lord Lynford. He is an old bachelor, who married late in life merely in order to have an heir, or rather in order to disappoint the hopes of the heir at law, who had given him cause of offence. Upon his wife's death, which happened at the birth of his first and only child, he leaves Devonshire and resumes a London life. His character and mode of passing his time, is described with considerable force, and will afford a good and average specimen of Miss Hawkins' powers.

"One consolation he had; he saw many to keep him in countenance, who had not laboured under the disadvantage of his three years' servitude to Hymen: he found men of his own standing, still more hardly driven to keep up appearances; and when he confessed himself a craven in the lists of dissipation, he found himself, not by many, the only one to whom flannel and digestive pills were more appropriate. He listened patiently to men of rank and education, whose memories he was astonished and delighted to find a very pharmacopœia; he obtained regular prescriptions, and gave credit to erratic nostrums; and taking the advice of persons whose doctrines were founded on that best basis, experience, he turned his attention, more, indeed, than he had intended, or foreseen as necessary, to keeping the battered fabric of an ill used constitution in tenantable repair. He made a long season in London, but remained there in a nicely-adjusted state of regulated quietude. He dressed with scrupulous precision, was made up

carefully, took his chocolate and eggs in the intervals of his toilette, read the papers, aired regularly in his carriage, left his tickets or made his visits personally in all the forms of the time when he flourished, avoided all temptations to indulgence of the palate, and all occasions of excitation, took his name out of the club which had been one of his principal attractions to London, and generally got a friend or two to partake a table, which, whatever covered it, uniformly afforded a morsel of boiled mutton, a roast chicken, and a light pudding for himself. Two glasses of Madeira were his stint of wine: he shunned tea as nervous, and supper as oppressive: he had his afternoon nap, for which he apologized to his visitors in terms never varied, by quoting Sir Matthews Hale's advice to 'educate the old man betimes.' He detained some one friend till slipper-time, took some balsamic preparation, as he said, 'by way of nightcap,' and then, with the reminiscent sentence, 'It is high time for such as me to think of departing,' consigned himself, at a very wholesome hour, to his valet and his dressing apparatus, to be, in his own phrase, 'made decent' again for the morrow. It was pity that any thing so regular should be so useless. His emblem was a watch without a dial.

A pattern of life so well cut out, required few alterations to fit its wearer, and, perhaps, admitted of few improvements that would not have endangered its whole constitution. But in adopting or submitting to it, Lord Lynford was hardly justified in comparing himself to those great men, with whose biography he now amused a damp day, parried an east wind, or soothed the nausea of medicine. He talked, indeed, of 'Otium cum dignitate,' and he had picked up some *truisms* in the course of his novel recreations, which struck him as 'amazingly fine'—and for this sole reason, that they came down to his comprehension. He complimented his own sagacity, when he met with these 'amazingly fine' sentiments, by challenging them as having often occurred to *his* mind. He might not have said the thing quite so well, he acknowledged, but it was what he had thought fifty times. One great advantage attended this well-arranged system—it served equally for all the days of the week, and pretty nearly, by shifting his quarters and running after London, for all times of the year. In the general distribution of his time, his diet, his medicines, his airings, visits, and looks engrossed his most serious thoughts; and when he settled his accounts or took up a book, it was, as he himself was sensible, relaxation:—he called it, and very justly, 'getting out of himself.' As churches were all dangerous places, and chapels little less so, he was precluded from this Sunday-variety. The Bible he left to the clergy, as their sole indefeasible inheritance; and of a future state he thought just so much as to hint occasionally, that he supposed he stood the same chance as most other people; 'he knew not,' he said, 'why he should not;' and indeed he was very right. With these deductions, therefore, from the power of altering, Sunday was thrown

into the week, and gave him no trouble in marking its return or fulfilling its purposes.

“ The resorts of the sick and the idle took their stated turns as places of his habitation; but he lingered in London as long as he could with any decency, and returned to it with the first men of his rank. One month in the year was as long as he could give to Devonshire and Lady Heraline: the air he thought relaxing; and the child, he facetiously observed, grew quite as much while he was away as when he sat by to watch it.” Vol. I. P. 15.

The following passage, which like the last we select almost at random, among a variety which remain upon our memory, will shew our readers the strong sense which seems to be the characteristic of Miss Hawkins' mind, as likewise her mode of thinking. It is taken from an account of the manner in which our heroine's early education was conducted, and contains, we think, much sound observation, conveyed in very pointed language, and exemplified in one place, by an original and beautiful illustration.

“ Character did not long lie dormant in the bosom of Lady Heraline, and under even the involuntary tuition of Mademoiselle Annette, it developed itself with ease. Mrs. Parr still retained her supreme authority, and Annette was only *fille de chambre*; but her lessons went infinitely faster and farther than all Mrs. Parr's. Three words in a language which the poor Englishwoman could not understand, would decide a question against her: the shrewdness of Annette detected Mrs. Parr's shallow pretensions to knowledge; and under the communication subsisting between the little lady and her maid, she must have experienced a degree of contempt, that might have made even *her* situation intolerable; but there was, most happily for her, implanted in Lady Heraline's nature, a strong recoil to what was right, whenever warped to what was wrong; and when she had suffered herself to treat Mrs. Parr very unpardonably, through Annette's influence, she would quit her base corrupter, and take the side of the sufferer with tenderness and pity.

“ That in this insulated situation the young lady should not have assumed high notions of herself, her importance, and her power, was impossible. She saw a house and establishment kept for her—she had her carriage and her servants; her health was matter of inquiry in the immediate neighbourhood, and her improvements seemed to set the country in motion: she was the idol of the villagers, she was flattered by her teachers, and every thing gave her to understand, that some great conclusion awaited these preparatory premises. She was not urged to do right on the motives or in the terms that her books of instruction, or what she heard accidentally, informed her were the usual means of obtaining the obedience of children: there seemed a moral code made on purpose for her; and the injudicious contrast occasionally

drawn between her ladyship and those beneath her, completed the error of natural pride.

“ On the then newly divulged principle of pressing the passions into the service of virtue, in untamed children, instead of checking them, which Mrs. Parr had first caught as a favourite doctrine very well suiting her purpose, she set herself to turn this natural pride in her young charge, ere yet it had received its due correction, to a profitable purpose. In vain did the vicar argue against the doctrine, as soon as she brought it to him; in vain did he tell her, that it was, even at best, offering to the Deity that which had been polluted by sacrifice to idols: in vain did he, from the pulpit, declare that our headlong passions ought not to be confounded with our reasonable affections—that the former were to be curbed, the latter directed, and that our Christian virtues must stand on their own simple basis, the sense of duty, not on any pedestals from which the instigators to evil had been dismounted. It was all to no purpose; Mrs. Parr had got the melodious axiom into her head, and it was never out of it; she therefore desisted from all opposition to Lady *Heraline's* pride of heart, and contented herself with the persuasion that she could direct it at pleasure. The consequence was, the stamping on the character of Lady *Heraline Beltravers* for life, if it did not meet its due corrective, a most erroneous moral sense, which depriving her of much of the pleasure of doing well, made her rectitude of opinion and conduct, except as far as instinctive feeling went, depend entirely on the disdain of doing ill, and left her perceptions of good and evil too much to her own judgment.” Vol. I. P. 22.

We should be glad to present our readers with a specimen of some particular passage, which might convey some notion of our authoress's powers of description; but her talent lies rather in working up a dialogue than in painting scenery, or developing strong emotions. The following scene, however, is written with great liveliness, and has the additional merit of explaining itself. It is only expedient to observe, that *Carry* is the heroine of the two last volumes of the novel, and as our readers will see, a very agreeable one.

“ But now ensued another order of things. A very grand subscription-ball was given at the rooms by a small number of men of fashion. General *Vaseney* was one; and, of course, his lady and her *protégée* must be there:—no expense beyond that which the general must bear, whether they went or not, was incurred: Lady *Mary* was in mourning, and *Carilis's* London-finery sufficed; the thing was therefore unobjectionable and tempting.

“ Not now half so well-satisfied with the protection she was under, as she had been, poor *Carry* felt that she had no choice, but that which it would be very improper to adopt. The colonel came from a distance, for the purpose, at the last moment, and it was soon evident to her, that both he and herself were peculiarly

objects of attention to the company. After what had passed, it required no great sagacity to infer that the views of Lady Mary had not been confined to her own wishes ; but, as nothing in the behaviour of Colonel Vaseney contributed to distress her, she saw she had only to endure in quietness, what any endeavour on her part would only have made worse. It was not pleasant to be whispered at and stared at ; but it was not uncivil whispering and staring ; and with only the sacrifice of the whole pleasure of the evening, she got through it.

“ Fatigue overcame this new uneasiness of mind. The colonel had a bed at his father’s, and was in the breakfast-room next morning before her, though she was early. His behaviour was, at all times, so perfectly easy, that he was never either fettering or troublesome to her—she took up a book, and expected him to do the same.

“ ‘ Don’t, Carry,’ said he, ‘ read now.—Have you not got some of your stitching to do ?—I want to talk to you.—Now don’t run to see if I have locked the door, or fancy I am going to kiss you, or put you up the chimney. You may set the door open, if you please—I shall only speak lower.’

“ She made no answer, but sought for her work.

“ ‘ We were at the ball last night,’ said he—‘ and certainly had our share of the polite attention of the good people then and there assembled.’

“ She was not taken by surprise : her steadiness was perfect.—Whether what she apprehended, were his subject or not, she had no occasion to alter her deportment.—She waited. She collected herself.

“ ‘ If you love pop’larity, Carry,’ said he, ‘ I think you may live to be gratified—but, for myself, I do not think it worth much trouble ;—therefore I want to speak to you, to know how I can manage for you.’

“ ‘ I hardly know what *it* means or what *you* mean,’ she replied, —‘ If popularity means, indeed, being talked at, or even stared at, as I was last night, I certainly can say that I have the greatest possible aversion to it—so great, that if we remain here ever so long, I have no wish—or rather, I should say, I wish *not*, to go to another ball.’

“ ‘ So I supposed—but now, hear me ; and perhaps I can help to screen you—I want you only to answer me a question or two.’

“ ‘ Ask, and I will answer.’

“ ‘ And not run away ?’

“ ‘ No ; upon my word. Why should I run away ?—I have the most perfect confidence in you :—you would not ask any thing that I could not answer—I am sure you would not—and I am really too much obliged to you to—to be rude to you.’

“ ‘ Well ! that is uncommonly civil—for a lady :—for, I assure you, Carry, it is not the fashion with you girls to be civil ; and, *entre nous*, that is the very reason why you have cause to complain, as I know you all do, of us :—if you treated us as gentle-

men, we *must* treat you as ladies—but who, do you think, is to treat you as ladies, when one comes up with a slap, and another with some rude speech—and one stares us out of countenance, and another—does things that make us stare?—Lord bless us all!’ said he, ridiculously holding up his hands, ‘I see you ladies do things in parties, that make *me* blush—and, after all, Carry, what for? Is it to keep us off?—well then—it is done; but if it is to attract—who are those who are most attractive?—the quietest, believe me.—But, do you know, Carry, that I am, just now—a very unusual thing with me—but I am, just now, a very great fool—and I am saying all this, which is nevertheless perfectly true, because I want to say something that I cannot get out.—But I must.—Well then!—here it comes.—As you are, Carry, in an excellent house for calculation—can you calculate on the possibility of living on about 2500*l.* a year?’

“ ‘I should suppose it very possible—but you must explain your plan:—if you want more than that income would allow, you cannot:—if you can be content with less than it affords, you may do it, and may be rich—but don’t come to Cheltenham—nor,’ said she smiling, ‘live in Berkeley-square.’

“ ‘No, no; a country gentleman and his wife—going to town for three months—travelling occasionally—farming—I don’t mean fancy-farming—living rationally—and being hospitable, as far as might be prudent.’

“ ‘I am no judge, indeed—but, I suppose, it might be done by people who did not set their hearts upon trifles.—My guardian would tell you exactly, and, I dare say, would say, ‘Yes,’ and that there was abundance—but then—there are few such men as he is.’

“ ‘Now, one question more, Carry: could *you* do it?’

“ ‘If you mean, could I *manage* such an income—I say, No; because I have neither knowledge nor experience.’

“ ‘I do not mean just that—could you *accept* such an income, well managed for you,—and hope it would prove sufficient?’

“ ‘I could—because, if it did not prove sufficient, I would, at the moment when I found that out, give up whatever occasioned the deficiency.—What I have seen here, and before we came here, has been such a lesson to me!’

“ ‘Well: I will not tease you with any more questions, if you will answer me this one.—Could you live with *me* on that plan?’

“ ‘Now,’ said she, ‘you distress me—not that I am at any loss to answer you, but that I regret the answer I must give.—I *could* live on that plan—but, I am afraid not with you, on those comfortable terms that you have a right to expect, and, I am sure, deserve to find a wife inclined to accept.—I do, from my heart, regret, colonel, that you have asked me; though your doing so is a great compliment—but, after the kindness I have received from your family, and, I may say, the friendship I have met in you—it is vexatious to me to be placed in a situation where I may give offence, and may lose the advantage of your good-sense.—You

should consider, that I am not at all like other young women, whose characters have been formed in the world—mine is in its natural roughness—I *feel* naturally—I *act* naturally—because I do not know how to do otherwise:—I can only, in a case ever so important, or requiring ever so much management, ask myself what appears to *me* to be right, according to what I have learnt is right—and how I should like any body to behave to me in an exchange of circumstances:—then, I always think of what I have heard Mr. Broderaye say:—I may, therefore, appear to you, acting very strangely, when I talk in this cool way to you—and you may not believe me:—in this, you would be wrong; for, however awkwardly I may behave, I am quite decided.—L dy Mary ought to have saved me from this—but——

“ ‘Lady Mary!’ he replied; ‘why, she helped you into it, Carry—but don’t be alarmed—you shall have no more trouble from me—shake hands;—I only just asked the question to know the truth:—I wish you better disposed of, with all my soul;—for I have never yet seen any man deserving of you—even when I have been shaving myself.—But never mind, Carry—take care of yourself—geese are, *I* think, rather worse to live with than heroes. Lord help those who live with one of each sort!—Something has occurred—I cannot tell you what,—that has whirligigged the opinions, whims, and ideas of the Royal Dane and his Gertrude.’” Vol. IV. p. 256.

The above specimens will be quite sufficient to enable the reader to form some judgment of the degree and kind of entertainment, which he is likely to meet in “*Heraline*.” And this is all which it has been our intention to accomplish. We have purposely avoided anticipating the interest which a perusal of the work will create, by entering at large into the story. Such of our readers as are fond of novels, will probably read it, upon the strength of the extracts which we have made and commendation which we have bestowed; and in this case, we have no fear of having our judgment reversed.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR OCTOBER, 1821.

ART. I. *Thoughts on the Music and Words of Psalmody, as at present in Use among the Members of the Church of England. By the Rev. Rann Kennedy, A.M. Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, and Second Master of King Edward's Grammar School, Birmingham. 8vo. 120 pp. Longman and Co. 1821.*

ART. II. *A Church of England Psalm Book; or, Portions of the Psalter, adapted by Selections from the New and Old Versions, to the Services of the Established Church. By the Rev. Rann Kennedy, A.M. Minister of St. Paul's Chapel, and Second Master of King Edward's Grammar School in Birmingham. 8vo. 148 pp. Longman and Co. 1821.*

THE defective state of our congregational Psalmody has been long acknowledged and lamented: and, as no remedy has yet been provided for the evil by public authority, various suggestions have been offered by good and zealous persons for its abatement; and in many Churches different arrangements have been made, sometimes by the Clergy themselves; and generally under their sanction, which, though each of them may perhaps be considered as an improvement on the unseemly practices it superseded, have in too many instances been adopted without due regard to the spirit of our Liturgy; or the principles on which Psalmody, to make it an edifying portion of public worship, should be conducted. In some cases hymns have been introduced, which are always objectionable, because unauthorized, and often still more so on account of their language, or their doctrine: in others, selections have been made from the authorized versions of the Psalms which, though they have prevented the grosser absurdities too often attendant upon the arbitrary choice of the

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parish clerk, were little calculated to produce or sustain that devotional spirit, which ought to characterize our public worship : and, in too many cases, one great purpose of Psalmody has been wholly frustrated, by adapting the words to tunes too difficult to be sung by a congregation. Such, in short, is at present the general state of our parochial Psalmody, that it is either disgraceful from the utter carelessness with which it is performed, unedifying from the selection of its words, injurious as being the channel of conveying false doctrine and unhallowed feelings to the minds of its hearers, or altogether unfitted for popular use, by the injudicious choice of the music to which the words are set : while the expediency of endeavouring to preserve something like an uniformity of practice in this part of our church service, seems scarcely ever to have been taken into consideration by those whose zeal has induced them to suggest a remedy for these various evils. But, though no positive directions have yet been issued from authority, for the regulation of our metrical Psalmody, we may be justified in inferring from analogy, that nothing can be farther from the intention of the Church, than to sanction by her silence the variety of practice which now obtains. All her regulations have respect to the maintenance of uniformity in her public service. It is her wish, that her members, when they meet together for the purposes of common prayer, should “ with one mind and one mouth glorify God :” for she has solemnly recorded her opinion, that “ nothing conduceth more to the honour of our religion, and the propagation thereof, than an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God *.”

And, where she speaks of Church Music, though the regulation refers to the music of our cathedrals, still it proves her intention, that in singing, not less than in prayer, uniformity should be preserved. Her words are these, “ Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln ; now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use †.”

Those who have not made themselves acquainted with the history of our congregational Psalmody, may perhaps be surprised, that when rules were framed for the performance of other parts of our public service, this portion of it also was not preserved by some precise directions from the misguided

* “ Act of Uniformity, 14 Charles II.”

† “ Rubrick concerning the Service of the Church.”

zeal of innovators, or the mistakes of the ignorant and slothful; and they may ask, why when such admirable provision has been made by the Church for the public devotions and instruction of her members, no care at all has been taken to provide her parochial congregations with a mode of singing praises to God “decently and in order?” But the use of metrical Psalms, as now practised in our Churches, was never contemplated by our Reformers in their provision for the public service. Not that they were enemies to Church Music. On the contrary, the first step taken towards the formation of an English Service Book, was a translation made by Cranmer of some of the Latin services into English verse, that they might be sung to music on festival days. And he has left his opinion upon record, in a letter addressed to King Henry VIII. that, if such verse were sung to “some devout and solemn note to be made thereto, it would much excitate and stir up the hearts of all men to devotion and godliness*.” In the *Reformatio Legum*, which was drawn up by Cranmer, very particular directions are given to the Ministers and Clerks, as to the proper manner of singing the Psalms.—“*Cantus sit illorum clarus et aptus, ut ad auditorum omnia sensum et intelligentiam provenient: Itaque vibratam illam et operosam musicam quæ figurata dicitur auferri placet,*” &c. He then adds, “*Tum auditores etiam ipsi sint in opere simul cum clericis et ministris, certas divinorum officiorum partes canentes, in quibus Psalmi primum erunt,*” &c.—his enim piis divini cultus exercitationibus et invitamentis, populus seipsum eriget, ac sensum quendam habebit orandi, quorum si nullæ nisi auscultandi partes sint ita friget et jacet mens, ut nullam de rebus divinis vehementem et seriam cogitationem suscipere possit†.”

These directions, however, refer altogether to that kind of music which is now for the most part confined to our cathedrals; and the cantus of which Cranmer speaks is evidently the cathedral chant, which our Reformers left it at the option of every parochial congregation to adopt or not, as opportunities might serve, or inclination lead them; directing that the Psalms and Hymns of the Liturgy might be sung or said, and adopting a mode of punctuation expressly intended for the regulation of the chant. Such then was the provision made by authority for singing in our churches. And, though it contains no directions for metrical Psalmody, it furnishes by analogy sufficient rules for its decent performance, now

* “Collin’s Church History, vol. ii. p. 206.”

† “*Reformatio Legum de Divinis Officiis.*”

custom has substituted it in our parish churches for the music originally intended. Our present congregational Psalmody was introduced by slow degrees, and for some time met with great opposition: for it was suspected, and not altogether without reasonable grounds, that the favourers of metrical Psalms secretly intended, by their introduction, to supersede the cathedral service altogether: and as they were also the advocates for many injurious innovations, and had they been able, would have overturned the whole ritual and discipline of our Church, and built up the doctrines of Calvin, and the parity of Presbyterianism upon the ruins of Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and the Articles; all their designs were viewed with jealousy, and resisted with vigilance by the supporters of our established ecclesiastical polity and doctrine. The unfortunate abuse of metrical Psalmody to the purposes of fanaticism and popular excitement, both in France, and in our own country, may have also contributed to prevent its receiving any regular sanction by a solemn recognition of the Church, or act of the Legislature. And, although Archbishop Parker was undoubtedly a favorer of metrical Psalmody, having himself prepared a Version of the whole book of Psalms, and engaged the celebrated composer Tallis to set them to music, yet he seems to have taken no steps to introduce his own Version, or to regulate the performance of congregational Psalmody, by ecclesiastical authority. The metrical versions which we possess are the work of private individuals; they have indeed been introduced into our Churches by Royal allowance, and have received the additional sanction of Episcopal recommendation; but their use, though permitted, has never been enjoined; nor has the Church made any provision for uniformity of practice in this respect, or guarded against the indecencies and disorders which are too apt to grow out of individual caprice, or want of judgment in their adaptation to the purposes of parochial singing.

Had not a combination of unfortunate circumstances deprived the Church of the active superintendence of her synods, it is probable that some remedy would long ere this have been devised for an evil which has been seen and deplored by the Clergy of all ranks. The mischiefs which Psalmody has produced, when under the direction of the fanatical and turbulent, have long ceased to be urged as an argument against its proper employment. It has been proved, even from its abuse, to be an instrument of great efficiency; and, in a wiser spirit, the advocates of true piety and sincere devotion have endeavoured to bring it back to its legitimate

purposes ; to use it, as was originally intended, for the godly solace and comfort of pious Christians ; and as the best means of profiting in parochial congregations by the acknowledged powers of music in “ exciting and stirring up the hearts of all men to devotion and godliness.” For this purpose, it has not been thought a task unbecoming the dignity of the Episcopal order to provide for the better performance of this part of our public service ; and the exemplary Bishop Gibson found time, even amidst the continual avocations of his metropolitan diocese, to frame a selection from the authorized versions, that “ this divine and heavenly exercise,” as the good Prelate styled it, might be made in reality what the Scriptures represent it to be, “ a special means of edification.” Various other attempts have been made by private Clergymen, to select passages from the old and new Versions, which might supply the more obvious uses of Psalmody, and prevent their being lost sight of in the random, and too often absurd choice of the parish clerk ; a choice by which, as is observed in the volume now before us, words have been used “ as the mere concomitants of sound, and have excited no more interest in the singers, or hearers, than if they had been spoken in a dead or unintelligible language.”

Still, however, the field is open. No selection or arrangement has yet been produced of such acknowledged excellence as to be generally adopted ; none to which, perhaps, some reasonable objections may not be made. The principle, indeed, on which such a work ought to be conducted, has not yet been laid down distinctly by any who have undertaken the task : it has generally been deemed sufficient to furnish a competent number of verses from the different Psalms, omitting those which are evidently inapplicable to the case of Christian congregations ;—but, except in the works before us, we are not aware of any endeavour to shew the legitimate objects of all such extracts ; and to lay down such rules for framing them, as may guard against any licentious or capricious garbling of the words of inspiration on the one hand, while, on the other, they may so far release the selector from the necessity of adhering literally and verbally to the authorized versions, as to enable him to render every extract a composition intelligible and complete in itself, conducive to the edification of those who use it, and applicable to some one of the legitimate objects of Psalmody.

Mr. Kennedy’s two works naturally illustrate each other. In his “ Thoughts on Psalmody,” he has laid down the rules to which, according to his view of the subject, all selections from our metrical Psalms should be conformed ; and in his

“Church of England Psalm Book” he has shewn, that, by following these rules, a sufficient number of extracts not only unexceptionable, but edifying and attractive, may be made from our two authorized versions, to meet every exigency of a Church of England congregation. Assuming for the present, that the principles by which Mr. Kennedy has been guided in making his selections, and adapting them to the services of our Church, are unexceptionable; we have little hesitation in recommending his Psalm Book as far better than any which we have seen. He has culled from both the authorised versions passages always edifying, and often poetical; passages which will never offend the ear or the feelings of a man of correct taste, and will seldom fail to produce in the minds of all who use them in a proper spirit, sensations appropriate to the sacred place and solemn object of their assembling. He has not lost sight of the efficacy of verse as a medium of instruction, nor of the power of music in awakening the feelings. He has taken pains to inculcate, in his various extracts, important points of Christian faith and duty; to afford the penitent heart a medium, through which to pour forth its contrition and its supplications before the throne of grace; to put into the lips of the mourner the language of resignation and hope; to furnish the prosperous and cheerful with an appropriate song of gratitude and thanksgiving; and to provide for the members of the Church at large expressions in which they may reverently and duly promote the glory of God, by setting forth his power and majesty, his wisdom, his justice, and his mercy, in terms borrowed from that revelation in which he has been pleased to reveal his nature, as well as his will to man.

The principles on which this selection has been made, and the rules which Mr. Kennedy has laid down for his own direction in the performance of his undertaking, are detailed at length in his “Thoughts on Psalmody,” the contents of which we now proceed to lay before our readers. Mr. Kennedy has divided his subject into three parts.

The first part contains a brief sketch of the history of sacred music, as derived from the Jewish to the Christian Church; and gradually improved, as the science was cultivated, and the skill of performers increased, until it arrived at its present excellence. The music employed in the public services of the Church of England Mr. Kennedy traces up to that period subsequent to the Reformation, when the chant and the anthem were for the most part limited to our cathedrals and collegiate establishments, and congregational Psalmody had gradually obtained a footing in our parochial

Churches. For the historical portion of his subject he is chiefly indebted to Burney's *History of Music*; but he has added to the materials which he has thus culled, some appropriate observations of his own on the style and character of that music which should be used in our Churches.

"Solemnity, (he says) which generally characterizes the works of our old composers, should always be found in the music of the sanctuary. Metrical Psalmody should possess this property; while, at the same time, as designed for the people, it peculiarly requires that power of touching the heart, which I have already mentioned as necessary in choral harmony. Let it satisfy as much as possible the few who have taste and science; but let the tunes of it be such as are easily learnt, and likely to interest the many who judge only by their passions and affections.

"Of good parochial music, well performed, the practical recommendations are these. It will best enforce instructive words, and make delight the vehicle of improvement. It will excite in those who hear it, a desire to join in it; yet it will be accompanied by a respectful impression, which will prevent them from so joining in it as to spoil its effect. This effect will extend, in a greater or less degree, to persons of every description. It will extend to those who for a time continue silent, as well as to those who sing. It may produce 'melody in the heart' where there is none in the voice; and thus good Psalmody may be justly thought a very useful part of social worship, particularly if we consider that it is commonly employed in praise and thanksgiving, acts of piety, which, more than any other, call for fellowship and admit of unanimity, and the former of which is said to be

'The jarring world's agreeing sacrifice.'

"Such concord in a public exercise of devotion, has a tendency to produce similar concord in the relations of social life; and this is one most forcible and distinguishing argument in favour of congregational singing, especially where it is brought to such perfection, that the voices of a whole assembly are 'all united in the expression of one feeling,' and all who are present 'perceive, not only, that they are doing the same thing in the same place, but doing it with one accord *.' P. 21.

In order to produce this desirable effect, he recommends some associated effort for the purpose chiefly of promoting good parochial Psalmody, by forming a judicious selection of the best tunes; by circulating printed directions for the

* "See an Answer to Gilbert Wakefield on Public Worship, by Mrs. Barbauld. See also vol. ii. p. 182, of the *Classical Tour*, by Fustace, who speaks of the members of Catholic congregations throughout Germany and the Austrian dominions, as 'all joining in chorus with a zeal and ardour truly edifying.'"

conduct and direction of Psalm singing in parish Churches, by the appointment of subordinate committees in each diocese or archdeaconry for the purposes of local superintendence, and "by empowering musical professors connected with the society, to examine, in their appointed districts, at stated times and places, all organists, clerks, or teachers of psalm-singing, who may wish for the sanction of the society." (p. 28.) How far any of these regulations could be carried into effect with advantage, we are scarcely prepared to say; but we fear that great opposition would be made to the practical operation of the last. Associated bodies of the longest standing and the highest character, have seldom ventured thus directly to interfere with the regulations of the clergy in their own parishes. Even the National Society has not yet been able to obtain the general concurrence of its members in a plan for securing uniformity of method and exertion in different schools within its union, by the appointment of district examining visitors, acting under its sanction, for the purpose of communicating a more perfect knowledge of its system, and enforcing adherence to its rules. We much doubt, therefore, whether personages so feelingly alive to their own fancied importance, and so jealous of any interference with their professional avocations, as those whom Mr. Kennedy wishes to place under the direction of his projected association, could be induced to submit to any controul, but that of public and lawful authority. It is however most desirable, that some steps should speedily be taken to rescue this part of our public worship from the degraded and unedifying state in which it is for the most part found; and to render its celebration what all the Church of England services were intended to be, and what all her liturgical services undoubtedly are, decorous, interesting, and impressive.

The second part of the volume contains the rules which Mr. Kennedy proposes to lay down, for the selection of extracts from the authorized versions, for the use of parochial congregations. He observes, that metrical Psalmody, as it admits of the adaptation of a great variety of words to such simple tunes, as may be best learned and used by a congregation, may be made the medium of imparting much valuable instruction in the doctrines and duties of religion. And, as experience has painfully convinced us, how easily false doctrine may be disseminated by means of hymns; we shall, if we are wise, take all due methods of propagating the knowledge of truth, by carefully selecting edifying and interesting passages from the metrical Psalms. The following extract will explain

Mr. Kennedy's ideas of the principle, on which all such selections should be made.

"The proper and legitimate end of Psalmody can only be to express and increase our own devotion, and to edify one another: and, if so, what we sing must be appropriated to ourselves, or considered as spoken by the Christian Church, in the name or on behalf of her members.

"The passages, therefore, which are sung, should not be such as only represent how other men served God in particular situations, but such as we can use in serving him ourselves, and such as we can *jointly* sing to his praise and glory in the great congregation.

"Passages, possessing in a greater or less degree, such recommendations, are those which alone *need be sung*; because, while every one must allow them to be the most eligible, a more than sufficient number of them may be found; and because, whatever benefit of another kind is derivable from the Psalter, may be drawn from it much more effectually when the prose translation of it is read in public or private, and when every Psalm may be viewed and understood as a whole, in proportion as we know and consider what is necessary for that purpose.

"But such passages as I have mentioned, as those which alone *ought to be sung*, and for the following reasons:—

"It is DESIRABLE that we should understand the lessons which are read from the Old and New Testament, because they will profit us in proportion as we understand them: but it is as *indispensably necessary* that we should understand the meaning, and feel the propriety of what we utter when we *sing*, as it is that we should understand the meaning and feel the propriety of what we utter when we join in the *prayers* of the Church. Unless we thus pray with the understanding, we cannot (in the language of St. Paul ^{*}) pray with the spirit, that is, with true devotion, or properly speaking, we cannot pray at all. In like manner, in order to sing with the spirit, or with true devotion, it is one essential requisite (as we collect from the same authority) that we 'sing with the understanding also.' When we sing, the affections are supposed to be called into exercise, and this is what the Apostle means when he speaks of 'making melody in the heart to the Lord †,' which cannot be done unless the words we sing are both obvious in their import, and felt as applicable to our circumstances, hopes, and duties, as Christians.

"They should not only be intelligible and suitable, but, in as great a degree as possible, *interesting*. Where this is not the case, it would be better to have good melodies performed in the church

* "Cor. i. 14, 15. 'I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.'"

† "Ephes. v. 19."

without words, or set to words in an unknown tongue, as the devout mind would then be at liberty to associate with them reflexions more worthy of the service and the place. The more excellent the music, the more it possesses of grandeur, pathos, or sweetness, the more is it to be regretted, when due care is not taken to render it instrumental in impressing upon us some truth or sentiment of a corresponding character, at a moment when, more than at any other, we are most of us open and alive to the best impressions. What epithet, indeed, deserves to be attached to the palpable incongruity of rational beings and Christians, in the house of God, gravely and solemnly singing beautiful tunes to words which are barren of meaning, or, at least, of such meaning as they can feel themselves concerned in, and which, *therefore*, tend rather to lull and dissipate thought, than to elevate the imagination or affect the heart!

“ It is, then, required by piety, by common sense, and by decorum, that the words which we sing at church should be interesting; and those which are to be sung by a whole congregation should be interesting, not to a particular individual, under particular circumstances, but to all who are present, and at the time they join in repeating them. For this end, they should convey some truth which all habitually acknowledge, some doctrine which all unfeignedly and reverentially believe, praise to God for instances of mercy and goodness of which all are or may be partakers, confessions of sin which all have more or less committed, prayers for pardon and sanctification of which all stand in need, petitions to be delivered from dangers, temporal and spiritual, by which all have been more or less assailed, or to which they are constantly exposed.” P. 40.

But it is not easy to find in the Psalter matter of this kind, unmixed with passages of a different description; although every part of it, when rightly understood and applied, may be “profitable for doctrine, correction, and instruction in righteousness.” Portions of this sacred book which contain historical allusions or references to particular circumstances, in which the inspired authors were placed, or sentiments which derive their chief force and propriety from these circumstances, or from the peculiar character of those by whom they were originally uttered, are clearly not well suited for the purposes of congregational Psalmody. Selections therefore must be made; the inappropriate and inapplicable parts must be omitted, and in this as well as in reducing to a proper form what is retained, great care and judgment should be exercised.

The proper subjects for singing, so far as it constitutes a part of our worship, are thus pointed out by Mr. Kennedy.

“ In our Christian protestant Church the singing of Psalms, per-

mitted rather than appointed, is but a small portion of our service, which is comprehended under what bears the general title of prayers. In these prayers, sin is confessed, forgiveness is implored, and every pious wish or sentiment, expressed in terms 'so judicious, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion: so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding; so full, that nothing is omitted which is fit to be asked in public; yet so particular, as to comprise most things which we would pray for in private *.' All who are afflicted in mind, body, or estate, are prayed for: they have an opportunity of praying for themselves, together with the congregation, whensoever troubles or adversities oppress them, and whether it be the subtlety of the devil or man that worketh evil against them. Enemies, persecutors, and slanderers are referred to, with a truly Christian petition that God would forgive them and turn their hearts. There is, therefore, no necessity for dwelling upon these points in our singing psalms. They may, indeed, be occasionally introduced in them, but only in connection with other leading topics to which our attention should appear most evidently invited. These topics are the praise of God's perfections; thanksgiving for the manifestations of his power, wisdom, and goodness, in creating, preserving, redeeming, and sanctifying us; the pleasures of devotion; the inducements to worship, love, and obey him; to walk in the path of his commandments with patience, resignation, and fortitude; and to trust in him, as both able and willing to protect us by his providence, assist us by his grace, and exalt us to future glory. Whatever is calculated to soften the heart, and inspire kindness and compassion towards our neighbour, is another subject, peculiarly suited to congregational psalmody, in which we are supposed to unite as men who rejoice 'in one hope of our calling.'" P. 57.

In order to render every extract intelligible, and to point out to the unlearned the peculiar sentiments, whether of faith or devotion, of penitence or praise, or thanksgiving, which it is intended to convey, or the doctrinal truth which it is designed to inculcate, Mr. Kennedy suggests the propriety of prefixing a title to each; and the occasional addition of short notes, when the particular application of any word or passage, or its prophetic or doctrinal allusion cannot be otherwise clearly distinguished, without reference to the whole Psalm from whence it is taken.

The next suggestion is one which will immediately recommend itself to every reflecting person by its evident propriety. For the end which it is intended to answer, every extract from a Psalm, to be used in singing, should be ren-

* "From the Preface to Dr. Comber's Companion to the Temple."

dered, if possible, as complete a whole as the Psalm from which it is taken." (p. 84.) For this purpose, a slight alteration of a word or a phrase may, in many instances be expedient, and in some absolutely necessary. The rules which he offers for the guidance of the selector in making such alterations, are as follow :

" First, to give an extract a proper beginning, where there would be a manifest impropriety in speaking of God without the mention of his name, which is done in the following, among many other instances :

" I strive each action to approve
To his all-seeing eye, &c. &c.

" It should be '*God's* all-seeing eye.'

" If the two following are wanted as the introductory lines of an extract,

" Happy, thrice happy, they who hear
Thy sacred trumpet's joyful sound, &c.

the first line must be made to run in some such way as this :

" How blest, *O Lord*, are they who hear, &c. &c. &c.

" Secondly. A similar alteration in a word or phrase may be necessary, in order to connect two selected verses which in the Psalm itself are at some distance from each other.

" In a passage, for instance, before quoted from the 18th Psalm of the old version, it was desired to make the 2d and 6th consecutive verses ; and for this end it was obviously requisite that the latter, which has these words,

" I thus beset with pain and grief
Did pray to God for grace ;
And he forthwith, &c. &c.

should be slightly varied, as is there exemplified.

" Thirdly. Something of the same kind must be done, should it be thought proper (which it would rarely be) to abridge two verses into one, by throwing out what might be deemed extraneous to the unity of the subject. Thus the following lines,

" The sacrifices I require
Are hearts which love and zeal inspire,
And pious care no vows to break ;
But to the wicked, thus saith God,
How darest thou teach my laws abroad,
Or in thy mouth my covenant take ?

are an abridgment of two verses in the new version, beginning,

" Think'st thou, that I have any need, &c. &c. &c.

“ Fourthly. It may be expedient to render an expression of confined and particular import, more general in its bearing and application ; for example, this verse,

“ O keep me in thy tend’rest care,
Thy shel’tring wings stretch out,
To guard me safe from savage foes,
That compass me about—

may be modified thus,

“ Keep me, O Lord, with tend’rest care,
Thy shelt’ring wings stretch out ;
To guard me from whatever foes
May compass me about.

“ Thus far a selector from the authorized versions may with propriety go, and sometimes must go, if he wishes to make his extracts connected and instructive. But within these limits he should scrupulously confine himself, and the occasional change of a word or phrase should never be carried so far as to alter the direct scope and sense of the text.” P. 84.

If these boundaries are carefully preserved, we confess that we see no objection to those alterations being made which the sense may require : but perhaps, to meet every objection which may be raised against the practice, the word in the authorized version which has been changed might be given in the margin. We agree with Mr. Kennedy, that “ such a book, would fulfil all the ends which might and should be answered by Psalmody. It would contain a series of short and easily remembered lessons in Christian faith and practice, and being cheaply circulated, it would, in place of larger and more expensive works, be particularly useful to the major part of every congregation, by enabling them (so far as it went), to peruse with more edification than they could otherwise do, that prose translation of the Psalter, the whole of which is successively read, every month in our national worship.” P. 88.

In the third part of his little treatise, Mr. Kennedy argues against the use of unauthorized Psalms and Hymns in the Church of England. An attempt has been made by some persons who are attached to the use of such compositions, to establish the legality of their introduction into our Church service by citing the following words of one of Queen Elizabeth’s injunctions.

“ It may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung a hymn or such like song to the praise of Al-

mighty God." It is evident, that the whole force of this passage depends upon the meaning of the word "hymn;" and it may not be very easy to shew, that Queen Elizabeth had any other hymns in view, but such as were metrical versions of the hymns introduced into our Liturgy, or that version of the Psalms which was formally allowed by her predecessor King Edward the Sixth, to be sung in all churches. It cannot be admitted for a moment, that the rule of uniformity, so strongly laid down by a solemn act of the legislature, is superseded by the words of this injunction, which we conceive can only be properly construed, by reference to those regulations of the Established Protestant Church of England which had been suspended during the reign of Mary; and which it was the great object of Elizabeth, in all her ecclesiastical directions, to restore. At the time when Mr. Kennedy's volume was sent to the press, the question of the legality of using unauthorized hymns in our public service seemed likely to be decided by a competent ecclesiastical tribunal; and therefore he abstained from the discussion of the plea which the advocates of the practice had set up. Those who wish to see some of the arguments against this practice strongly and satisfactorily stated, will do well to consult the Appendix to a Charge delivered by the present Bishop of Peterborough to his Clergy in July 1820. Mr. Kennedy limits himself to a statement of the *inexpediency* of using such hymns; and we think that few unprejudiced persons will be found to defend a measure which, even if it were not strictly speaking illegal, is liable to so many objections, and may lead to so much abuse, indecency, and error. It cannot be denied, that many of the hymns contained in collections which have found their way into some of our churches, are grievously defective in point of taste, and will convey erroneous views of very important doctrines. Mr. Kennedy has not exaggerated the fact by saying that "these metrical effusions are at one time dark and gloomy, at another light, coarse, and familiar; and not a few of them resemble amatory madrigals, full of unbecoming warmth and endearment, a mixture of the flesh and the spirit, with little of that reverence and solemnity which ought ever to be found in the addresses of man to the Supreme Being." (P. 95.) For obvious reasons he has refrained from producing specimens of the most objectionable kind; but he has given sufficient evidence to prove that errors of doctrine, as well as of taste, may be justly charged upon the hymns which are actually in use in some churches. And he well observes,

“It may be asserted with little fear of contradiction, that unsound doctrine cannot be propagated in any mode which is more extensively and seriously prejudicial than in the form of hymns. Extemporaneous prayers and discourses from the pulpit may be heard and forgotten. Printed sermons are read by comparatively few, and by still fewer remembered. But hymns are read and repeated by the young and old of all ranks and degrees, and are handed down in print from one generation to another. From their brevity and rhythm they are easily learnt by heart, and long retained, while in their poetical qualities they resemble distilled essences, which are powerful and deleterious, in proportion as they are concentrated. Passion, which constitutes the vital spirit of poetry, is more condensed in the lyrical species than in any other; and the full force of it may operate in hymns (especially when that force is increased by the power of music,) although in finished excellence they fall infinitely below the ancient Greek odes, to which Bishop Lowth attributes such extraordinary influence, both moral and political, even on the populace, and respecting one of which he goes so far as to say, that if any thing like it had been sung among the Romans on a certain memorable occasion, ‘actum profecto fuisset de partibus deque dominatione Cæsarum: plus mercuriale valuisset unum *Ἀρμυδίας μέλος*, quam Ciceronis Philippicæ omnes.’ (De sacra poesi Hebræorum. Præl. 1.)” P. 102.

Some divines however have maintained, that the Psalms of David, though highly valuable as a repository of compositions peculiarly calculated for the purposes of church music, are not sufficient of themselves to furnish all that a Christian congregation may require in this department of its public worship; and that the aid of unauthorized hymns is therefore desirable and expedient. Dr. Maltby has stood forward as the advocate of this opinion; and Mr. Kennedy has thought it right to give his sentiments on the subject in his own words. As we shall venture to oppose to them some remarks which come from authority to which we are accustomed to pay more deference, in justice to the learned Doctor we shall also first allow him to state his own view of the subject, as we find it given by Mr. Kennedy.

“To a Christian congregation” Dr. Maltby says, “something is wanting, which, in addition to the holy effusions of the Old Testament, may convey that clearer view of God’s dispensations, those astonishing hopes and consoling promises which are supplied by the inspired penmen of the New. For although in sublime description of the attributes and perfections of the Almighty, in earnestness of supplication, and in warmth of adoration, the Royal Psalmist must ever stand unrivalled: yet his knowledge of divine things was necessarily incomplete, because the day-spring had not yet dawned from on high. Even under the influence of prophetic inspiration, David saw

but 'as through a glass darkly,' the saving truths of redemption and sanctification. These truths, therefore, taught as they were by our Lord and his Apostles, and illustrated by the great transactions of his life and death, may surely form in a Christian congregation as fit subjects for devotional melodies as the events of Jewish history and precepts of the Mosaic law suggested to the Holy Psalmist *." P. 105.

We shall of course admit, that "the saving truths of redemption and sanctification" form as fit subjects for devotional melodies in a Christian congregation, as "the events of Jewish history, and the precepts of the Mosaic law." But it will, we think, be seen at once, that this is not a fair statement of the case. The Psalms of David were not selected for the purposes of devotional melody, because they suggested the events of Jewish history, and the precepts of the Mosaic law. On the contrary, the very principle on which every judicious selector has proceeded, has been to omit the former altogether; and to introduce such of the latter as suggested, not the precepts of the Mosaic law only, but the everlasting precepts of righteousness, the conditions of salvation under the Gospel, as well as under the law. Dr. Maltby will surely not assert, that these are unfit subjects for devotional melody; nor will he venture to say, that they are not most clearly and impressively suggested and enforced by the Holy Psalmist. But, in his opinion, "the savings truths of redemption and sanctification" are but darkly intimated by the prophetic strains of the holy David; and therefore it seems to be necessary, by the aid of uninspired compositions, by hymns written with an express view to the inculcation of these truths, to supply the incomplete knowledge of divine things possessed by the royal Psalmist.

To this dictum of the learned Dr. Maltby we hope that we may be permitted, without offence, to oppose the sentiments of one whose attainments as a theologian have never been questioned, and whose acknowledged discretion as a controversialist has affixed the epithet of "judicious" to his name. "What," says Hooker, "is there necessary for a man to know which the Psalms are not able to teach?" Among the valuable information which "this celestial fountain yieldeth," he does not hesitate to enumerate "repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, the pro-

* "From the Preface to a Collection of Psalms and Hymns by the very learned Dr. Maltby and two other respectable Clergymen."

mised joys of that world which is to come, and *all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had.*"

And, for this very reason, does this grave and prudent divine recommend and defend the "iteration of these Psalms" oftener than any other part of Scripture; and speak of them as especially calculated, when joined with sacred music, to draw forth those sensations, "wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth." If further testimony on this subject be required, it may be furnished by a powerful writer but lately removed from us, himself a commentator on the Psalms, and one whose acute and vigorous mind was not easily to be deceived in its view of any subject, to the investigation of which its powers were applied. Bishop Horsley says, "there is not a page in the Book of Psalms in which the pious reader will not find his Saviour, if he reads with a view of finding him; and it was but a just encomium of it that came from the pen of one of the early fathers, that it is a complete system of divinity for the use and edification of the common people of the Christian Church*."

We trust that we shall hear no more of this reason for the introduction of the crude, and too often erroneous compositions known by the name of hymns, into the worship of our churches.

But it is further argued, that

"The people in general have undeniably a strong partiality for hymns; and those separatists from our communion, who have gained the most extensive dominion over the popular mind, have made such compositions the most powerful engines for the dissemination and support of their tenets. The hymn book is, indeed, not only to them, but to no small number within our own fold, the most favourite family book of divinity next to the Bible." P. 106.

This is undoubtedly true; but when it is made a question whether, while so much is thus propagated which may be unsound and injurious, the Church itself is not called upon to set forth and circulate what it judges and knows to be salutary and good? The argument seems to us to be somewhat shifted from its original and proper ground. The point under discussion is, whether *unauthorized hymns* may be introduced; and surely the frequent introduction of unsound and injurious matter in this form is a strong argument

* Horsley on the Psalms, Editor's Preface."

against the practice. If it be asked, whether, for the purpose of counteracting this evil, it is not desirable that a hymn-book should be compiled under the sanction of authority, by persons in whose judgment and orthodoxy the Church may confide? This is a distinct question which our rulers may be left to decide. A collection of hymns might doubtless be made which, "like the Liturgy, would breathe the purest spirit of devotion, with the utmost correctness of doctrine and sentiment;" but that such a collection would prove to be a sure remedy for the evil; or that it would supersede the use of the mischievous hymn-books now so widely disseminated, is unfortunately not so certain. It might have a different effect; and the authorized use of one set of uninspired compositions, under the name of hymns, might seem with those who take little pains to discriminate, to give a kind of sanction to every book of the kind. It may be expedient, and certainly it is lawful occasionally to turn our adversary's weapons against himself: but it by no means follows, that it is necessary or right to use all the weapons of which he may avail himself; and some better argument may reasonably be required by a conscientious defender of the truth for the use of any weapon, than that it has been successfully employed by others in support of error.

Before we take our leave of this sensible and useful little volume, we shall bring one more passage before our readers, which forms the conclusion of the work. It is a fair specimen of Mr. Kennedy's style, and the sentiments are creditable to his feelings, his taste, and his piety.

"Devotional poetry must be entirely subservient to the subject of it, as to something far more excellent than itself. Its deepest interest must be thence derived; yet it will not, therefore, lose its character as poetry, though in its influence on the human feelings it may in some respects be compared to the face of Moses, which *shone* upon the people as he came down from the mount of God. The poetry which is fit for psalmody should be pious and animated, but not vehement or enthusiastic; its essential property should be sound doctrine and sober sense, which may nevertheless be forcibly and happily expressed; the language may be plain, yet not inelegant; it may be simple, yet often on that account the more sublime; it may be graceful from not being encumbered with ornament; it may affect the heart so much the more, because it satisfies the judgment; it must be intelligible to the lowest capacity, yet it may at the same time gratify the most correct and cultivated taste.

"The topics should be felt as of serious concern to a whole

congregation, and the grave manner of treating them should be suited to an act of worship in the sanctuary; for in psalmody, we either perform such an act *directly*, when we address God in prayer and thanksgiving, or we perform it *indirectly*, when we declare and acknowledge respecting his word, his works, and his attributes, that which proclaims his glory. For this reason, sentimental refinements, epigrammatic conceits, and every approach to what is light or fanciful, must be studiously avoided in such poetry; and it is to be hoped that whatever shall be allowed or appointed to be sung within the pale of our establishment, will no less accord with the services of the temple than the music of that most noble instrument the organ, which has a depth and solemnity of tone, even when it is so touched as to awaken, by its sweetness, the tenderest sensibilities of our nature.

“ If harmonious verse be of this description, it little matters whether it is called poetry or not; it is good composition, and having all the properties above enumerated, it cannot be too good. From its polish it will only derive a finer edge to be more certain in its effect; and many of its readers will most feel it as men, when they are least able to appreciate it as critics.

“ Devotional poetry is never likely to be so successful as when it embodies or enforces some statement, truth, or sentiment taken from the sacred writings, whether it be from the prophetic parts of the Old Testament or the narratives and epistles of the New. It will be so much the better if this can be done with *brevity*, and if the diction itself be so far scriptural as frequently

“ To whisper whence it stole

“ Its balmy spoils.

“ For, after all, no uninspired compositions can ever equal the poetry of the Bible. The Psalter in particular, though it does not contain the most sublime specimens of this poetry, excels in expressing with elevated simplicity and chastened fervour, most of the topics which public devotion can require. From this source, therefore, Christian Psalmody must draw the greater part of its matter. But it must be obvious that, in doing this, unless the members of the Church of England are confined to the authorized versions, a part of the same danger may be incurred which has been justly apprehended from the introduction of unsanctioned hymns.

“ These versions (to recapitulate what has been already advanced) are capable of being so used and applied, as to manifest the wisdom of the church in supplying them. But for this end every thing depends on the judgment and care which are employed in making selections from them, under the restrictions previously stated.

“ These selections should be such as to render the musical part of our worship a service in which men of reflection can join readily, sincerely, and fervently; a service in which there is

nothing to excite scruples in the conscientious; nothing which, uttered in our own persons, is unintelligible, unsuitable, or liable to dangerous misapplication; nothing which cannot edify the unlearned and interest the pious; nothing which in its seasonable import and proper effect on the mind and conduct, may not, in spirit and in truth, set forth and promote the praise and glory of God." P. 109.

We wish to recommend these two works to the particular attention of all who are desirous of promoting the use of good congregational Psalmody: they unite precept and example: the rules which they lay down for the selection and arrangement of the words of a congregational Psalm-Book, are sensible, perspicuous, and easy of application; and the extracts which they offer for the use of the Church prove, that, by attention to these rules, our authorized versions may be rendered adequate to all the high and holy purposes which the Psalmody of Christian worshippers should have in view; and may thus complete that "beauty of holiness" which already characterizes every other portion of our public service.

ART. III. *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon, and of its Inhabitants. With Travels in that Island. By John Davy, M.D. F.R.S.* 4to. 538 pp. 3l. 13s 6d. Longman and Co. 1821.

THERE are, perhaps, no people in the world, whose history and literature and opinions are so well worth the labour of studying, as those of our own subjects in the East; and among these, the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are more especially deserving of notice. Kandy, the interior capital of the island, may be considered as the Benares of Boodhism; and the Singalese furnish probably the best specimen of that religion, as it was originally instituted, of any people that now exist. As a somewhat equivocal proof of this we may remark, that it is in Ceylon that the mark of Boodhoo's foot is still shewn upon the top of a high mountain; and in Kandy is still preserved one of his authentic teeth, set in diamonds, the possessor of which is lawful sovereign of the island, just as the possessor of Arundel Castle is *suo jure* always Earl of Arundel. We are happy to say that this valuable piece of ivory is now in the possession of our countrymen.

As the volume before us is, we think, the first account of the natives of the interior that we have met with since the conquest of Kandy in 1815, by General Brownrigg, we opened it, accordingly, with a degree of expectation proportionate to the importance of the subject; and without intending to praise the book in any very warm language, we may justly say that our expectations have not been disappointed. In the works of Indian travellers we always look for more instruction than entertainment; for they mix so little with the people among whom they reside, and expose themselves so little to mischances by any dangerous enterprizes in the gratification of their curiosity, that, commonly speaking, their accounts are more like reports drawn up for the purposes of government, than like the narratives of persons relating facts that fell under their personal observation, or adventures in which they themselves formed a part. We have always a sufficient proportion of geography and statistics in their books, intermixed with descriptions of scenery, and ruins, and temples, and with dissertations upon castes, and the other superstitions of Indian religious polity: but of the people themselves, except in the gross, our Eastern travellers seem generally to know no more particulars, than if the natives were merely so many sheep, to be described solely by their breed, or some other equally general characteristic.

Dr. Davy, in these respects, follows the example of his predecessors. Travelling through the country, in his palanquin, and surrounded by his own servants, he saw little or nothing of the natives, and consequently he tells us but little of them. But he made himself acquainted with the geography and external surface of the island; informed himself of the religion of the people, their history, government, literature, and so forth; on all these subjects he has brought together a considerable quantity of useful information, and communicated it in a sensible and sufficiently agreeable manner. His book, indeed, bears marks of having been prepared in haste, and is sadly deficient in logical arrangement. The subjects which he discusses are, it is true, treated separately, but in a strangely perverse order; and it was not until we had read three hundred pages that we were able to discover why the book had been called "*Dr. Davy's Travels in Ceylon.*" At the end of the volume there happens luckily to be a slight account of three or four excursions which he made into the interior, which is not deficient in interest, because it is well written; but in general the book is rather an account of Ceylon, than a book of travels, and is deficient in all that

peculiar sort of interest which belongs to books of travels, properly so called. And such accordingly will be the character of the extracts which we propose to make from it.

The kingdom of Kandy, which occupies the interior of Ceylon, and of which the volume before us professes to give an account, extends over somewhat more than half the island. According to our author, the whole of the island consists of about 20,700 square miles, and the extent of the Kandyan provinces may be estimated at about 12,300. The whole of the sea coast is low flat land; but as you proceed towards the interior, the country becomes more and more hilly, until at length it rises into high mountains, which, in some places, reach the elevation of four and even five thousand feet above the level of the sea. Adam's Peak, the Sumennella of the Singalese, is about 6152 feet, in perpendicular height.

The only metallic ores that have been discovered in Ceylon, are iron and manganese, but neither of them in any considerable quantity; no great bed, nor any vein of iron ore has yet been met with; and of manganese, only the black oxide is yet known. The riches of its mineral kingdom must be looked for in its gems, of which it produces a greater variety, and of finer quality, than almost any other portion of the globe.

With respect to the temperature of the climate, no tropical country, perhaps, is more favoured. Its hottest weather, being temperate, our author tells us, in comparison with the summer heats of the continent of India. On the coast the mean annual temperature is between 79° and 81°. In the interior of the island, the temperature is, of course, less easy to calculate, on account of the great diversity of heights at which different places are situated. The mean annual temperature of Kandy, which is at an elevation of 1467 feet, above the level of the sea, was in the year 1819, about 72°.75. But that which more than any other cause renders the climate and residence of Ceylon particularly agreeable to an European is, the quantity of rain which falls in frequent and regular showers. Scarcely a month passes without rain, and yet a whole day of it is very uncommon. It is this which gives that aspect of verdure to Ceylon, which immediately catches the eye and excites the admiration of those who have been accustomed to the parched soil of most other places in the torrid zone. Nor is it, as with us in Europe; for although the weather be rainy, it is yet not unsettled; the rain falls day after day, in regular sequence, always beginning half an hour or an hour later on every succeeding one, and

gradually increasing or diminishing in quantity. The whole annual amount is, in Ceylon, immense; being at least three or four times greater than in England. During twelve months that a rain-gauge was observed at the Military Hospital at Kandy, during 1819, the quantity that fell amounted to 84.3 inches. It will easily be supposed that in Ceylon the rain does not descend in what we call a Scotch mist; our author at Colombo once witnessed a fall of 3.2 inches, in twelve hours. One of the most agreeable effects of such a climate, in a mountainous country, is the number of streams and rivers which are thus produced; not a valley in Ceylon is without its perennial stream, and many of them are considerable rivers. With respect to the salubrity of the climate, the south west coast, and all the mountainous districts of the interior, are remarkably healthy. But the low wooded ground between the sea and the mountains is as remarkably the reverse. It is, generally speaking, however, a very healthful island.

The next subject which attracts our author's attention, as connected with the natural history of the island, is that of snakes, and the supposed venomous animals with which Ceylon (very unjustly indeed, as he thinks) is commonly believed to abound. This is a part of natural history sufficiently curious and important, but it seems a little unaccountable, that it should be the only department in the province of animated nature to which he directs his attention. Dr. Davy mentions some interesting particulars, connected with the experiments which he made upon the bites of several venomous animals which are found in the island; and the result seems to be that neither the number nor the danger of them is at all formidable; the only animal of this kind that seems to be really and seriously annoying, is the Ceylon leach: a little minute reptile that is never more than half an inch long, and commonly much smaller. It abounds, however, in every part of the island, and is found more frequently upon stones and among moist leaves than in the water: our author tells us that

“Those who have had no experience of these animals,—of their immense numbers in their favourite haunts,—of their activity, keen appetite, and love of blood, can have no idea of the kind and extent of annoyance they are to travellers, in the interior, of which they may be truly said to be the plague. In rainy weather, it is almost shocking to see the legs of men on a long march, thickly beset with them gorged with blood, and the blood trickling down in streams. It might be supposed, that there would be little difficulty in keeping them off; this is a very mistaken notion; for they

crowd to the attack and fasten on, quicker than they can be removed. I do not exaggerate when I say, that I have occasionally seen at least fifty on a person at a time." P. 103.

With respect to the population of the island, the number is of course only to be approximated. In 1814 the whole amount in the maritime districts, which have long been in our possession, appeared by a census to be above 476,000 souls. And our author is of opinion that the population of the interior is probably not above 300,000 more. This is a thin population for a country so favourably circumstanced, with respect to natural advantages; but our author points out several causes of its present depopulation, most of which, it may be hoped, will be removed, now that they are quietly placed under a just and enlightened government.

The inhabitants may be divided into two great classes;—the aborigines of the country, who almost exclusively occupy the interior; and foreigners, whether Malabars or Moors. The last mentioned of these are scattered all over the island, much in the manner of Jews in Europe; but the Malabars live exclusively in the maritime provinces. It is only with respect to the Singalese, or natives of the interior, that we need feel any particular curiosity. The Malabars of Ceylon are much the same as upon the continent of India; but the natives of the interior are a peculiar race in many respects, being perhaps, as we before observed, the only genuine worshippers of Boodha, that are now to be found in the east. The Chinese, the Burmhans, the inhabitants of Java, and of many of the islands, may be classed as coming under this denomination; but, among all these, the distinctions of caste have been done away, and various other changes introduced, that have considerably changed both the forms and the spirit of their ancient mode of religious belief. Of this belief, Dr. Davy has given a tolerably full and very entertaining account.

The term Boudhou, or Boodhoo, he tells us, is a generic term, signifying wisdom; and is *specifically* applied to human beings of extraordinary faculties and attainments, a certain number of whom is fated to appear in certain stated periods of time, in order to reform mankind, and to restore the purity of religion among them. Of these, all have now appeared with the exception of Nitré Boudhoo; the fourth or last Boudhoo was Goutama, who, among strict Boodhists, is the sole object of religious veneration. To write the life of this extraordinary person, we must commence his history several hundred years before his birth; for he experienced an innumerable variety of modes of existence before he took

upon him the form of Goutama Boodhoo ; our author, however, charitably commences his history so low down as the life immediately preceding that in which he appeared upon earth.

“ In the life immediately before that in which he became Boodhoo, he was called Swata-katu, and was a god inhabiting Toositadewia-lochè. One thousand years before the event, the great sign announcing it appeared to the gods and Brachmeas in ten thousand worlds : the sign was, a man dressed in white, with a white crown on his head, flying through the air, proclaiming—‘ In a thousand years Boodhoo will appear.’ This period in heaven seems as a moment only on earth. The gods no sooner heard the report, than they hastened to the dwelling of Swata-katu, told him that the destined time was at hand, and that his great actions rendered him worthy of the Boodhooship he was about to receive.

“ Swata-katu then reflected on five circumstances. He first satisfied himself that the time was really nearly arrived for him to appear, the age of man being one hundred and twenty years : were it less—were it one hundred, mankind would have been too vicious to have been benefited by his instructions ; and, were it much more—were it one hundred thousand, too virtuous and happy to have required them.” P. 206.

At the appointed time he disappeared in heaven, and was born of the queen of Sododen. As soon as the king of Sododen heard of the event, he sent for his astrologers to learn what was likely to be the lot of his son's life ; and the sage, Kalidiwella, having heard great rejoicings in heaven, paid a visit to the king upon the occasion ; and his expectations of the extraordinary character of the child were not deceived. The king, in presenting him, tried to join the infant's hands to salute the sage ; but the child, to the father's horror and the sage's astonishment, placed his feet upon Kalidiwella's head ; a liberty that no being in the three worlds was privileged to take. However, Kalidiwella was reconciled to this unexpected salutation, upon discovering the two hundred and sixteen signs (of what, we are not told) upon the soles of the child's feet, and the thirty-two marks of beauty on his body ; and he departed after telling the king that his son would be Boodhoo ;—a piece of information of which it seems that the father was quite unable to divine the import. The manner of Siddhartè's call to the ministry, (for this was the name given to the future Boodha by his father) was as follows :

“ When in his 29th year, the prince preparing one day to step into his carriage with his minister, Channa, saw a very old and very infirm man tottering along, barely supporting himself with the

aid of a stick. He begged an explanation of his minister, of this novel sight. Channa replied, 'It is an old man, and we are all subject to old age.' Siddhartè, instead of going to his pleasure-garden as he had intended, returned thoughtful and sad. Another day, on his way to the garden, he saw a man very sick, lying on the ground, unable to stand. The sight distressed him, and he suddenly returned home. Another day, going the same way, he saw a putrid dead body. Afflicted greatly, he proceeded to the garden, and there met a Tapissa. To his enquiries who he was, his minister replied; 'He is a man who endeavours to get rid of the three evils we have witnessed,—old age, disease, and death.' The prince remarked,—'It is good, Channa, for us to be like him;' and at that instant he resolved to depart and become a priest." P. 208.

Having thus taken upon him the office of priest, Siddhartè renounced his birthright, and all the pomps of the world, and set out upon his travels. The history of his adventures we shall give entire in our author's own words.

"Siddhartè proceeded alone to Rajahgha-neura, living on alms. The people who saw him, equally surprised at the beauty of his person and his noble presence, imagined he was a god come down to witness the miseries of mankind.

"From Rajahgha-neura, he went to Ooroowella, where he stayed six years, performing the most difficult actions of the Tapessaays,—as remaining stationary, and eating nothing but the leaves of the trees that dropped around him;—as, gazing on the sun, between four great fires, &c. This he did, not that he approved of such actions and considered them beneficial and laudable, but, on the contrary, to show the devotees present that he could accomplish them and despise them as vain and useless. By the severity of the trials he submitted himself to, his head had become bald, and his body excessively emaciated. He recovered his health, which appeared ruined, whilst performing another tapass, of a much less difficult kind, and better suited to his disposition. It was called Mad-diana-prati-padarwa, and consisted in abstaining from evil, in practising what is good, in gaining a subsistence by such actions, in meditating on them and on good intentions, in the enjoyment of happiness resulting from the consciousness of having done good, in the absence of covetousness, anger, and rashness, and in an exemption from the passions. Whilst engaged in this tapass, he had five dreams, from which he plainly perceived that he was speedily about to become Boodhoo.

"He next went to Senatini, and seated himself at the foot of a sacred Banyan-tree, called Ajapallé, at the time that a neighbouring princess, in compliance with a vow, was about to make an offering to it, expressive of her gratitude for being blessed with a chi a, after having been long barren. The offering was to be rice,

dressed without water. The milk of 1000 cows, fed on liquorice leaves, was given to 500 cows; theirs to a smaller number; and so on, till the number thus fed was reduced to ten, and with their milk the rice was prepared. When the offering was ready, the princess sent a servant to learn if the tree were decorated according to her orders. The maid seeing Siddhartè, supposed he was a god, and ran back and told her mistress that the god of the tree was out. The princess, believing this report, put the rice in a cup of the value of 100,000 pieces of gold, and presented it, not to the tree, but to the prince.

“ He next went to the river Niranjara, where, having made the rice he had received from the princess into forty-nine balls, he ate it, and threw the dish into the river, on the surface of which it floated *up* the stream.

“ The same evening he was presented by a Brahmen with eight bundles of kusa grass, which he carried to a Bo-tree to sit on. When about to be seated, a diamond throne, fourteen cubits high, rose from the earth to receive him. He was here visited by the gods, who remained with him till night, when they fled on the approach of Marea, prince of the infernal regions, who came to oppose him with ten bimberah of demons. Marea attacked Siddhartè in a variety of ways, with his elephant, with his Chakka-yoodé (ring weapon), and with nine different kinds of showers, as of boiling mud, burning coals, sharp weapons, &c. but without the least effect. Finding violence useless, Marea claimed the throne as his own, saying, ‘ Siddhartè, that seat is mine, not yours; I can produce evidence of it; and unless you can prove the contrary, you must acknowledge it mine.’ Then all the attendant demons yelled—‘ The throne is Marea’s!’ No one appeared for the prince; but suddenly on his side there were thundering voices declaring for him, issuing from the earth, the mountains, and the heaven. Thus every way baffled, Marea and his infernal legions retreated, and the gods returned to pay their homage.

“ During the remainder of the night, Siddhartè acquired every species of wisdom, all of which are comprehended in the four principal, viz. the knowledge of his former births and eminent virtues, and those of others; the power of seeing the past and the future; acuteness of wisdom, enabling its possessor to penetrate and comprehend every thing; and the power of banishing all worldly passions, and the disposition to enjoy the happiness resulting from that state of exemption.

“ The following morning, Siddhartè became Boodhoo, and from the name of his family he was distinguished by the title of Goutama Boodhoo. P. 210.

“ The remainder of his history, were it related the least in detail, would occupy volumes: I must confine myself to a very general abstract, which alone it is in my power to give.

“ The greater part of the remainder of his life Boodhoo spent in Kosol-ratta, residing in the city Sra-wasti-neura and in the tem-

ple of Jetawanaramay, which was one of eighteen magnificent temples built for him in that city by a wealthy individual. He passed his time in meditation, in occasionally visiting other countries, and in preaching not only to men but the gods. Ceylon he is said to have visited three different times; and it is generally believed that he left the mark of his foot imprinted on the rock on the top of Adam's Peak. His days he devoted to men, in preaching to them and converting them; and his nights to the gods, who assembled to listen to him. He was so successful in convincing those whom he addressed of the truth of his doctrines, that he often daily converted many Asankeyas, (a number too immense to be comprehended.) The powers which he exercised in reforming mankind were more than human, and quite miraculous. He could assume any form he chose. He could multiply himself many hundred times; or, produce the appearance of many hundred of Boodhoo's, in every respect like himself, with rays of light issuing from every pore of their skin, differently occupied,—some standing, some sitting, and some preaching. He could go any distance in an instant, even as fast as thought,—through the air, under water, or under the earth. When he preached, his face appeared to all his audience, though surrounding him in a circle; people of all languages understood him,—and all, however distant, heard him distinctly, excepting those who were too deep in vice to be reformed, and who were as the deaf, and, though close to him, heard nothing. A learned man who followed him every where during six months to ascertain if he were the true Boodhoo, never saw the impression of his foot, not even a flower bent on which he trod, or a cushion pressed on which he sat. His good qualities equalled his extraordinary powers, and are said to have been boundless and to baffle description.

“He expired in the eighty-fifth year of his age, after having been Boodhoo forty-five years, and accomplished the reformation of a great portion of the world and its conversion to his religion. On his death-bed, he called the god Sacrea to him, and bid him watch over and protect his religion, during the space of five thousand years, when his elements would re-assemble and arrange themselves in his image, under the very Bo-tree which shaded him when he became Boodhoo, and having performed many miracles, be dissipated for ever. Sacrea accepted the trust confided in him, and delegated it to Visnu and the other gods who guard the earth.” P. 214.

Boodhoo is said now to reside in Niwanè. What this place is, or where, is a mystery about which the priests of Boodha are averse to talk; observing, that if men knew what it was, they would not like it, but prefer worldly things, as flies do bad smells. They have no concealment, however, with respect either to the nature or the geography of the places appointed for the wicked. Of these there are eight

principal ones, of which the names are given, accompanied with a very accurate description.

“ They are all metallic hollow squares, composed of different alloys of the common metals, and without any openings. In each there is an intense fire, which burns constantly without fuel. Though they do not differ in kind, they do in degree; the lowest being the largest and hottest, and the punishments inflicted in them proportionally more severe and of longer duration. Sinners are doomed to different hells according to the degree of their crimes; thus, those who are merely guilty in thought and intention descend to the first hell; and as the crime deepens its dye, the sinner sinks lower. For each great sin, there is a particular kind of punishment:—for murder, the wretch is perpetually murdered, and the very act that he has been guilty of, in all its minute circumstances, is constantly repeated on him; for stealing, the sinner is punished by gems of great value in appearance, tempting him to seize them, and when seized, turning into fire; the drinker of spirituous liquors is drenched with melted lead; the liar is constantly tormented by the application of red-hot irons to his tongue; and the adulterer is punished perpetually by climbing up and down a thorny tree in pursuit of his paramour, whom, when he is below, he sees alluring him above, and whom, when he has forced his painful way through the thorns to the top, he sees practising the same arts below. Besides these particular punishments there are innumerable others. They all suffer dreadfully from intense heat, and from hunger and thirst, the pains of which are heightened by the expectation of gratification, which instead of enjoying they swallow fire. Besides, they are subject to be impaled on burning brands, and to be flogged whilst burning, and to be cut and clipped and fashioned like wood. Their tormentors are sinners like themselves, in the form of caffers, dogs, and crows, of the most monstrous appearance, and armed with teeth and claws of the most formidable kind. The most wicked are uncommonly fat and fleshy and attractive; whilst those who have sinned least, are extremely thin,—mere skin and bone—perfect natural skeletons, with little feeling and no charms for their hungry tormentors.” P. 200.

The death of Boodhoo, which is the great æra of the Singalese, is fixed by our author at about 500 years before Christ. The writings in which his system of religion are contained are extremely voluminous, but often are so obscure as to be totally unintelligible. They are rarely to be found except in Ceylon, where they are to be met with in a complete state, and where alone, indeed, the worship of Boodha is continued to be kept up according to the forms prescribed in them. Our author gives a long account of the state of this religion, as it at present exists in the island; and we were surprized to find how regularly organized an

establishment it possesses. At Kandy there are two large colleges, to one or other of which all the priests in the island belong. The number of these is large; our author conjectures about 4000; they are systematically educated and regularly ordained, after undergoing a long noviciate, and passing through a suitable examination. Every priest possesses, or is attached to a particular temple; and the number attached to any single one, varies from one to thirty, who are all supported either by alms, or by the produce of the lands belonging to the fraternity. This part of the volume before us is full of particulars that are curious and valuable, but we can only extract here and there a passage as specimens of the whole.

“The duties of priests, both private and public, are peculiar. They are all required to observe the *Triwededooscharitie* and the *Pratipatti*. The first are prohibitory commandments, forbidding, 1. killing animals; 2. stealing; 3. committing adultery; 4. lying; 5. drunkenness; 6. eating at night; 7. resting on high beds; 8. amusements, as singing, dancing, &c.; 9. accepting gold or silver; and 10. wearing flowers and using perfumes.—The *Pratipatti* order them to show, 1. The same attention to the relics and images of Boodhoo that were paid to Boodhoo himself whilst alive; 2. to respect religious books; and, 3. to respect elder priests like their own parents. Three times every day worship and respect should be paid by priests to Boodhoo, to religious books, and to senior priests. The worship of Boodhoo, of his relics and images, should be observed at about sunrise, and sunset, and at noon. It consists in presenting flowers before his shrine, in repeating certain prayers, in making a certain number of prostrations, and in observing a variety of forms, which it would be tedious to describe, and not very easy to comprehend. I was once present in the Sanctum of the principal temple in Kandy, during the whole ceremony of the evening service; what I saw strongly reminded me of the ceremonial of high mass of the Roman catholic church; incense being burnt, perfumed water scattered about, &c. &c. The worship paid to religious books consists in offering flowers before them. So scrupulous are they in their respect to books, that they will not touch them till they have made their obeisance, as to a superior; nor sit down, unless the books present are placed, as a mark of distinction, on a shelf or table above them. The worship that priests pay to their seniors, consists in prostrations; on their knees, generally, with their hands uplifted, and the head bowed to the earth, they beg a blessing, which is bestowed by the elder priest stooping forward with his hands closed.

“On each of the four holydays (*pohoya*) that occur in every lunar month, the priests should preach to the people assembled at

the temple, inculcating lessons of morality and the duties of religion. The day should be kept like our sabbath, and devoted to religion and rest from labour ; but it is not :—indeed, so little attention is paid by the people to a *pohoya*, that unless one were told of it, one would not suppose that they were acquainted even with the term.

“ Every fifteenth day, the priest of each temple should assemble in their *poega*, and hear the rules for the direction of their conduct read. Before the lecturer commences, the chief priest proclaims,—‘ If any one be present, whose sins will not permit him to sit whilst our doctrines are repeated, let him depart.’ Should an individual be guilty of a slight offence merely (and they reckon a million of this description) he may confess it immediately, and having been admonished, is at liberty to remain and sit down ; but, if the offence be of the first magnitude,—if he be guilty of hypocrisy, or stealing, or fornication, or murder,—he must quit the assembly, and after trial be expelled the priesthood and punished. Once, annually, the priests in general of each college should be assembled by the chief priest, to be examined and exhorted.” P. 222.

The rank of a priest, next to that of Boodha, is considered as the most exalted in the universe ; even superior to that of the gods. In consequence they never worship these, who appear to be merely a sort of demons, but when they preach invite them to be of the audience. During the three months of the rainy season they are not allowed to be absent from their abodes more than six days ; and the reason is characteristic ; because it is considered indecorous in a priest to be seen walking under a load of wet garments. At the end of this season the people are assembled from all the country round, and a great preaching commences. Night is the time usually chosen. Two pulpits are prepared in the porch of a temple, from which the people are addressed by a priest in each ; one of them reading texts from their sacred books, and the other expounding them and exhorting the people, much in the same manner as was formerly practised, and we believe still is, in the Jewish synagogues.

The character which our author gives of these men, is very favourable. Their manners are inoffensive, and their morals pure ; and the doctrines which they preach, for the most part, extremely unexceptionable. Dr. Davy tells us, that in their exhortations to the people, they dwell scarcely at all upon the mysteries of their religion, but almost altogether upon the moral duties ; respecting which, their notions seem to be free from any considerable mistakes. In the following account of the worship of the people, there is

no greater mixture of error and idolatry, than may often, we fear, be censured in the adoration which the Roman Catholics pay to their saints. Boodha, for any thing we know, may have been as wise and as good a man as St. Thomas à Becket, and a pilgrimage to the spot where the mark of his foot is supposed to remain, as acceptable to the Deity, as to the shrine where the bones of the latter were interred.

“The people combine their worship with offerings, which they may make any day they choose, at morning or evening service. Their offerings consist of sweet-smelling flowers, which are delivered to the officiating priest, and by him arranged before the image; whilst the people kneel, and either worship in silence, or, which is considered more devout, say or repeat after the priest, the Tisarana and the Panchaseelè, thus,—“I worship Boodhoo, and acknowledge him to be all-wise,” &c.—“I do not deprive any animal of life.”—“I do not steal,” &c. Women as well as men may visit the temples for religious purposes; and indeed, as in most countries where there is no restraint or prohibition, the Singalese women are to be seen at devotion more frequently than the men.

“Besides the preceding rules, there are some others of a moral nature, that the people are expected to follow; such for instance, as direct giving alms; meditating on the uncertainty of human affairs; living in a manner profitable to one's self and others; loving others as one's self, &c. &c.” P. 226.

Our author concludes his account of the worship and worshippers of Boodha with the following just and suitable reflections.

“It is certainly highly creditable to the Boodhaical religion, that its morality is so good and uncontaminated with vice and licentiousness. Considering its moral system only, it is to be regretted that it is not more strictly attended to and followed. Priests are frequently heard complaining on this head; but instead of exerting themselves to remedy it, they more easily satisfy themselves with accounting for it, and, on the sad principle of absolute fate and necessity,—the world, according to them, being now in its decline, yearly becoming more degenerate, vice and misery gaining strength, and virtue and happiness dwindling away. Another source of regret is, that such a system of morality should be associated with such a monstrous system of religion,—a compound of the coldest materialism, and the grossest superstition, offering nothing consolatory, or intellectual, or dignifying, or rational.” P. 227.

We have no doubt, but that the above account of the worshippers of Boodha in Ceylon, though probably free from

any violent misrepresentation, is nevertheless a very flattering account, and that some things are kept back, or omitted, which if pressed into view would perhaps materially alter the colouring of the picture. One thing however, at all events is plain; that of all the forms of heathenism, that of Boodha offers the fewest obstacles to the admission of Christianity; and we look forward with sanguine expectation to the time when the religion of Christ shall supersede it, not merely in Ceylon, but in many other parts of the East. The theory of the Boodha morality seems to be as free from corruption as that of an unenlightened people can reasonably be supposed; and as to its creed, it is only necessary to enlighten the minds of its followers with knowledge, and the absurdity and glaring impossibility of its tenets will soon operate their own refutation. Nor are there to this the same obstacles as is presented by the religion of the Gentoos; because the distinctions of caste are very slight, comparatively speaking, among the Boodhists, even in Ceylon, where they still prevail; and in Ava and Siam, and other parts of continental India, they do not so much as exist. In all these countries, moreover, the people are as generally instructed in reading and writing as they are in England; so that we have only to supply them with books in their own language, introducing a knowledge of geography, and of the most elementary facts in astronomy, and other popular branches of information, and the follies to which they are now addicted, will be as directly, and much more certainly exposed and cured, than they would probably be by any arguments deduced from the truths and evidences of Christianity: with this difference, that all arguments drawn from this last quarter, assume at once the form of an immediate attack upon their prejudices; whereas by the other method, the effect is produced silently and without allowing the mind an opportunity of putting itself upon its defence. Only let us educate our Indian subjects in useful knowledge, establish elementary schools for the poorer classes, and seminaries of a higher description for the rich; make them acquainted with European arts, and initiate them in the simplest and most easy sciences: and it will not be necessary to send out missionaries to teach them the errors and abominations of heathenism. This they will find out of themselves, much more quickly than by any arguments, or any expostulations of ours; and when once they have made the discovery that Hindooism and Boodhism, are necessarily, from the nature of things, a mere tissue of

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fables, then will be the time for the reapers to go forth to the harvest.

It is not, indeed, advisable that we should in the mean while suspend all efforts, of a more direct nature to convert our idolatrous brethren; but we must only hope for insulated and single instances of success; if we hope for more, or aim at more until the proper season arrives, it may be feared, that our well meant labours will only retard instead of furthering, the great object which the nation ought to keep steadily in view. And on this account it is that the appointment of missionaries to our settlements in the East, more particularly, is a matter of considerable delicacy, and one in which indiscreet zeal may be so mischievous. If we proceed cautiously; above all, if we have patience, and can restrain our eagerness to do good, by the sober calculations of human probability, another generation need hardly pass over our heads, before all, and more than all, the zeal and ardour that we can enlist, in the blessed work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen, will find a full and rich field for its exertion. But the present is not even *seed time*; it is the time for preparing the ground and rooting out the noxious weeds by which it is overgrown. Until this has been effected, all our labours to introduce the great doctrines of Christianity into their minds will infallibly be thrown away.

The absurdities of all the religions which prevail in the East, are as contrary to the truths of natural philosophy as to the great truths of the Gospel; but in one case they stand opposed to demonstration, and to the evidence of sense, in the other to facts, the truth of which depends altogether upon history. Now with respect to the shape of the earth, the motions of the planets, and the great physical laws by which the universe is governed, these may easily be explained, and cannot be disputed by those who are made to understand the proofs on which they depend; but the minds of the heathen must have had a long preparation in learning, before they can be made to understand the proofs on which the truth of Christianity rests; and after they are made to understand them, a difficulty will still remain, to show them that the history on which *their* religious belief depends, is false. The Hindoos for the most part do not dispute the truth of the Gospel; all that they contend for is, that the religion of Brahma is true also; and until we can convince them that it is a monstrous fable, the labour of converting them is like walking in a wheel; where a person may move for ever without advancing a single step; and where the obstacle that op-

poses our progress is the want of resistance. The difficulty then we repeat, in the work of converting the Hindoos, in the present state of their minds, is to open their eyes to the absurdities of their belief; but this we may rest assured, will never be effected by merely contradicting the Vedahs by the Gospel. Speaking logically, Hindooism and Boodhism are not false because they are inconsistent with the truth of Christianity; for they were just as false before Christianity was preached as they have been since; but they are false because they are contrary to the nature of things; and therefore if we wish to convert our Indian subjects from their errors, we must begin by teaching them the nature of things, so far as they are capable of apprehending them; and when we have convinced them of their errors, on principles which they themselves will have learned to admit, then will be the time to instil into their minds those peculiar principles upon which they are to hope as Christians.

This is the course which St. Paul himself adopted in similar circumstances. When the great apostle was addressing himself to Pagans, as at Lystra, for example, he did not address his hearers in the name of Christ; of which they had never heard; nor announce to them the great mysteries of the Gospel, which it was not likely they should be able to understand; but he confined himself to the great truths of natural religion, telling them to "turn from their vanities unto the living God, which made heaven and earth, the sea and all things that are therein;" and quoting with the same view, to the Athenians before Areopagus, not the Bible, but one of their own poets: for St. Paul was too wise a man to address a people immersed in idolatry, in the same manner as if he were speaking to Jews; well knowing that until they had first turned from their vanities, it would be a waste of time to speak to them of Christ; even though, as in the instance of the cripple at Lystra, he had just performed a miracle before their eyes.

Our article has extended to a length so much beyond what we intended, that we have left ourselves no room for some extracts which we had proposed to make from that part of the volume in which Dr. Davy describes the form of government which prevailed in Kandy previously to our taking possession of the kingdom, a great many parts of which are still retained under our administration of it. One of the most interesting portions of the work is the account, brief as it is, of the circumstances that led to our dethroning the late king, and of the rebellion, which in a year or two afterwards broke out among the Singalese, with a

view to regain their independence. To these parts of the book we can only refer the reader; but it is impossible to read the description of the ravages and depopulation of whole districts, by which the suppression of the rebellion was effected, without suspecting our colonial government in the island, either of some very gross mismanagement, or of some very unnecessary severity. This is a subject which we have no pleasure in dwelling upon; but we could wish either that our author had told us more or told us less; as it is, his book certainly is calculated to leave some very unfavourable impressions upon the mind. But we must now take leave of Dr. Davy, trusting that the extracts which we have made from his work, and the impartial commendation which we have bestowed upon it, combined with the intrinsic interest of the information which he has to communicate, will sufficiently recommend it to the attention of our readers.

ART. IV. *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, during the Reign of King Charles the Second (1669). Translated from the Italian Manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence. To which is prefixed, a Memoir of his Life. Illustrated with a Portrait of his Highness, and thirty-nine Views of the Metropolis, Cities, Towns, and Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, as delineated at that Period by Artists in the Suite of Cosmo.* 4to. 512 pp. Mawman. 1821.

IN the Laurentian Library at Florence are preserved two large folio volumes in MS. containing the travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo III, while Hereditary Prince of Tuscany. The narrator was Count Lorenzo Magalotti, one of the most learned and eminent men of his time and country, who afterwards held the office of Secretary to the *Accademia del Cimento*, the earliest of those similar institutions which have since been established so largely throughout Europe. Among the many distinguished friends and correspondents of Magalotti may be numbered the great Lord Somers and Sir Isaac Newton, the latter of whom is said to have termed him *Il Magazzino del buon gusto*. The part of his work now selected for translation relates solely to England; and if it does not abound with any very striking incident, it is at least

remarkable for good sense, simplicity, and accuracy of information.

It may be necessary to premise a few words relative to the illustrious traveller himself, who (since the memory of Grand Dukes is not particularly durable) probably is but imperfectly known to our readers. We shall borrow our notice as much as we can from the Memoir contained in the commencement of this volume. Cosmo the Third was born on the 14th of August, 1642, and having been educated under the care of his mother, Vittoria of Urbino, a proud, suspicious, weak and bigoted princess, grew up with a disposition which is described, in somewhat strong colours, to have been alienated from all occupations of genius, inimical to poetry and music, averse from the natural vivacity of youth, and finding no pleasure but in the conversation of priests and the ceremonies of the Catholic Religion. A husband with this temperament was not likely to be *very* agreeable to any young wife; and it did not need the compulsory sacrifice of a previous attachment to one of the most accomplished princes of his time to render Margaret Louisa of Orleans unhappy. Charles the fifth Duke of Lorraine, had inspired this princess with an unfortunate passion; which manifested itself occasionally in modes rather uncomfortable to her liege lord. On the second night of her marriage, partly by endearments and partly by threats, she endeavoured to win from Cosmo a donation of the crown jewels, at that time the richest in the world. Failing in her purpose, she *stole* a considerable portion, and bestowed them on her French attendants whom she aided to escape with the booty. After more than a year of storms and reconciliations, "*bellum, pax rursum,*" which produced any thing but a revival of love, she was detected in forming an intrigue and projecting an elopement with a French barber: and soon after, in planning another escape with a band of gypsies. In order to wean Cosmo from the infatuated attachment which in spite of these disgraceful acts he entertained for his wife, his father, the Grand Duke Ferdinand, proposed a tour of some length; and in 1669, after traversing Spain and Portugal, his Highness landed in England. A faithful translation of the journal kept during this latter part of his tour is given in the present volume.

In the following year he succeeded to the Ducal throne by the death of his father; and Margaret, by a series of artifices, withdrew herself from his dominions, and obtained a formal separation, on condition of passing the remainder of her days in religious retirement at the Convent of Mont-

martre near Paris. Here she appears to have pursued a life of the lowest and most unbridled debauchery ; admitting couriers and stable-boys to her favors, and scattering unfounded slanders against her injured husband. The Abbess of the Convent remonstrated in vain at the hourly breaches of discipline which polluted her establishment ; and was even heard to avow " that she could tolerate more readily the presence of the Devil himself, than that of such a rebellious and turbulent spirit." On some attempt to enforce greater regularity, Margaret was driven to desperation ; and in the end set fire to the Convent in order to effect her escape from it. A groom, whom she had promoted to the office of chamberlain, now enjoyed her confidence ; and Cosmo felt apprehensions that his life as well as his honour might be the victims of her ungovernable fury. But the fascination which she knew well how to practise when her interests were concerned, gained her a powerful advocate in Louis XIV, who compelled the Grand Duke to enlarge her allowance and defray her debts. A drummer soon took the vacant place of the groom ; and it is about this period that she expresses herself in the following pious terms to her husband.

" I remain here with my holy sisters, and what leisure I have I spend in acts of piety, and in attendance upon the sick, having never relinquished my original design of devoting myself to their service ; not in an attendance upon the hospitals at Paris, because I do not wish to be in a place where I have friends or relations, but a hundred leagues from it, in a place where I am seen and known by no one, where I shall have nothing else to engage me, but to think of God and the salvation of my soul. There is no danger that I should abandon this resolution ; I am tired of the world with which I am too well acquainted. I therefore pray you, not for the love of me, but of that God whom we all adore, that you will contribute to the saving of my soul. This favour I expect from your good heart, and from your generosity, that you will not refuse a request so just, and which will give you so much merit in the eyes of God, and will afford me the means of being happy here and hereafter." P. 60.

She finished her extraordinary career in 1721, and was followed by Cosmo himself scarcely two years afterwards. His life had been embittered, in addition to his wife's infidelities, by the failure of his family, which became extinct in the person of his son and successor John Gaston. The glories of the Medici were obscured by the two last princes of their race ; and the reign of Cosmo III has been pro-

pronounced the most unjust and disastrous which Tuscany ever knew.

No traces, however, of Cosmo's stern and melancholy character appear in the volume before us. The minuteness with which the punctilios of strictest etiquette are regarded, may sometimes call forth a smile; but, unless this Prince is much indebted to the sagacity of his journalist, from these documents only we should pronounce him to be a person of an intelligent, active, and inquiring mind.

On the 23d of March, 1669, the captain of the vessel which conveyed his Highness from Portugal, after diligent observations, computed himself to be mid-way in St. George's channel, when he had the mortification to learn from a ship which he boarded, that he was only betwixt England and Ireland. The mistake, honestly enough, is attributed neither to bad weather nor contrary winds; but to causes which, no doubt, were more blameable, the uncertainty of soundings, the irregularity of the time-piece, the inexperience of the steersman, and the superabundant zeal of the captain, who perpetually interfered with the pilot's duties. We notice these circumstances *obiter*, as affording insight to the state of navigation in those days. The first British port at which the Prince touched was Kinsale, where, among other information, he learned that the lord lieutenancy of Ireland was worth upwards of £40,000 sterling annually. We doubt if the profits of this office have *materially* increased during the lapse of 150 years. On his disembarkation at Plymouth, he was received by the civil and military authorities; and visited by Sir Jonathan Spark, who as an inhabitant of the town, and possessing an estate of a thousand pounds a year in the neighbourhood, "is consequently considered the principal person of the place." Proceeding to Exeter, he was again greeted by the Corporation; and seems to have been impressed with the dignity of the sword-bearer, who always "walks in boots," with "a red hat on his head, embroidered with gold, which is never taken off, except to the King himself, because it was the cap of Henry VIII, who in passing through Exeter, made a present of it for this particular service." At Hinton St. George, a seat of Lord Paulet's, his attention was excited by an horticultural instrument which is sufficiently familiar to our modern gardeners; it was "a stone cylinder, through the axis of which a lever of iron is passed, whose ends being brought forward, and united together in form of a triangle, serve to move it backwards or forwards:" the use of this singular machine we need scarcely say is to keep gravel walks "perfectly level."

The magistrates of Dorchester complimented his Highness on his entrance; but their costume betrayed their inferiority to those of Exeter. They were in black dresses, "this being the distinction between the cities and towns; the former only having the privilege of using red gowns." From Dorchester he was escorted "by a great many horse soldiers belonging to the militia of the county to secure him from robbers." On his arrival at Wilton he was sumptuously entertained by Lord Pembroke, the visit of whose young unmarried daughter he thus had an opportunity of returning: "there was prepared for his Highness at the head of the table, an arm-chair which he insisted upon the young lady's taking; upon which the Earl instantly drew forward another similar one, in which the Serene Prince sat, in the highest place; all the rest sitting upon stools. His Highness obliged the Earl to take the place nearest to him though in his own house." The evening's amusement consisted in visiting a grotto rough-cast with pumice stone and cockle-shells, several fountains that played in different ways, and a maze-park. His Highness slept at Salisbury, and did a very good-natured act before he went to bed. Understanding that many ladies of the province were assembled at the house of the widow Platt, with the intention of coming to see him sup, he saved them this trouble by going to visit them himself, at the place in which they were congregated. There he passed half an hour, standing, and conversing familiarly, while two of them sang very indifferently.

The strict *incognito* which the Prince preserved, would not permit him to accept Charles the II^d's offer of the Royal palace of Somerset House, in which the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, kept her court; accordingly, he was lodged in the house of the Earl of St. Alban's, which had been prepared for him. The same reasons prevented him from receiving or paying visits to the French, Spanish, and Venetian Ambassadors, whom, however, he undertook to meet in a *third place*. On his arrival in London, he was detained at home three days by the dilatoriness of his taylor; and it was not until the fourth that he was introduced to the King. The Tower, Westminster Abbey, and other obvious *Lions* naturally engrossed his attention for the first few days; during which he was present at a sitting of the Royal Academy, at that time in its infancy. The curiosities which most impressed him in their Museum, were such as we imagine would at present be condemned to the garret of some Sidrophel in Duck Lane; viz. an Ostrich whose young were always born alive, a herb which grew in the stomach of a

Thrush, and the skin of a Moor, tanned with the beard and hair white. At the King's theatre, he seems chiefly to have remarked the freedom of manners, which permitted the ladies and gentlemen to sit indiscriminately, the beauty, lightness, and facility of change in the scenery, and the delightful symphonies before the commencement of the representation. Of the comedy itself, he observes, that it was in prose, with a confused plot adhering neither to unity nor regularity, "the authors having in view, rather than any thing else, to describe accurately the passions of the mind, the virtues, and the vices."

Idcirco quidam, Comœdia, necne Poema
Esset quæsiueis.

On the Duke of York's first visit to the Prince, His Royal Highness was received by him in person, at a little distance from the door of the house. "In ascending the stairs, as well as at the entrance, the most delicate respect and politeness was observed;" and the number and the angles of inclination in their respective bows appear to have been as nicely counted, and carefully regulated, as the discharges of artillery, with which the Prince was saluted on his disembarkation. The same ceremonies were observed at the Duke's departure; and notwithstanding a very amicable struggle, the Prince stood at the door till his Royal Highness's carriage drove off.

On the evening of the 3d of April, the Prince condescended to see a very tall woman; but as little is said of her, we are led to imagine, that she was much inferior either to sixteen feet Moll, or Monument Bet. A visit to Greenwich was succeeded by one to Newmarket, both in company with the King. Audley End appears to have been the great attraction on the road; a mansion, which in spite of the destructive fire which consumed by far the greatest part of it, still holds a distinguished place among English Seats; and which, if we may judge from the views taken by the Prince's draftsman, could scarcely be exceeded in magnificence by any at that time in the kingdom. Charles was so delighted by it, that he treated for its purchase; but by a wise precaution on the part of the owner, "as it (the money) was not paid, the Earl (of Suffolk) still retains possession." The mornings at Newmarket were spent in hare hunting; the afternoons in tennis, or the pursuit of dotterel; unless on the racing days, when, at three o'clock, the King and his court, having first stopped to see Lord Blandford and Lord Germain play at bowls, repaired to the course. The horses,

are described as being kept always girt, a practice which in our days, we believe, for we are not very learned in these matters, is confined only to the period of training; and to raise them to their full vigour, they were fed on soaked bread and fresh eggs. On coming in at the winning post, a flourish of kettle-drums and trumpets saluted the conqueror.

On the Friday of this Newmarket week, his Highness was present at the ceremony of touching for the King's Evil, one of the few Catholic forms, which continued, as we are told, "after the Apostacy."

"When his majesty was informed that all was ready, he went from his chamber into a room adjoining, where was placed on a table a cushion, on which lay the prayer-book, appointed by the Anglican ritual, for the use of his majesty. As soon as he appeared, and at a signal given by him, the two assistant ministers, dressed in their surplices, began the prayers with a great appearance of devotion; his highness standing, while they were read, in another room; from which, when the service was finished, he passed into the room in which those who were afflicted with the King's Evil, were assembled, for the purpose of observing the ceremony, from the side of the door which led into the room. A carpet was spread upon the floor, and upon it was a seat, on which the king seated himself, and certain invocations in the English language, taken from the prayer-book, having been read by one of the ministers, his majesty began the ceremony of touching the patients in the part affected. These were conducted into the king's presence, one at a time, and as they knelt before him, he touched them with both his hands; after which, without interfering with the others who came after them, each returned to his former situation. This being over, the minister, kneeling with all the bystanders, the king alone remaining seated, repeated some other prayers; after which, all rising, the diseased came again in the same order as before, to his majesty, who put round their necks a ribbon of an azure colour; from which was suspended a medallion of gold, stamped with his own image, in shape and weight resembling an Hungarian sequin." P. 215.

In the *Charisma Basilicon* appended to the *Adenochirologia* of John Brown, may be found some curious particulars, relative to this gift of healing. His work is divided into ten chapters, the first of which, "sheweth whether there be any gift of healing:" a most necessary undertaking for the sake of the remaining nine. Tagnultius would fain assert the priority of the Kings of France, who alone, in conjunction with the English monarchs, possess this sanative power; but the patriotic, and more profound Browne, is

clearly of opinion, that St. Louis was the first 'strumous practitioner among our neighbours; whereas, according to Eilredus Rhivalensis, Edward the Confessor, addicted himself to touching among ourselves, at least 200 years before the birth of the Gallic King. Casper Peucerus acquits this method of cure from the charge of diabolical conjuration; but taxes it with superstition: and Browne here again is equally successful in rebutting this impious assertion: for admitting that its origination is amongst the ἀναπόδεικτα he proceeds to shew, that the kingdom of England is the kingdom of God; therefore, Q. E. D. Charles II. as the reigning monarch, to whom John Brown was Chirurgeon in Ordinary, not only excelled all his ancestors, as it was very proper, and very natural he should do, but outshone all the world in this curative faculty. He restored limbs and sight in the presence of his whole court; and, like Mrs. Preston, of Kennington Cross (see the board in front of her house) succeeded best in cases which the faculty pronounced incurable. Cromwell attempted the art in vain, for he was an usurper; but Charles cured more patients in one year, than all the physicians and surgeons of his three kingdoms cured from his restoration to his death. The principal persons, who doubted of this Royal gift, were, it seems, no better than "Atheists, Sadducees, and ill-conditioned Pharisees:" but what can the opinions of such "Antichristian mushrumps" avail against the solemn narrative of Doctor John Nicholas, Warden of Winchester College, backed by the grave testimony of Mr. Shadrach Lyne, Apothecary of the same place. These sound and sober personages, verify the cure of Robert Cole, inn-keeper, sometime of the Three Crowns, and afterwards of the Katherine Wheel, whose disease was abated, when he himself, by reason of the croud, was unable to approach the sacred person of Charles I. by His Majesty condescending to stroke a bottle of medicinal water, prepared by one Hancock, Apothecary, of Sarum; wherewith the aforementioned Publican was formerly used to wash his sores. The bottle, though kept securely in a cupboard, gradually became blotched and scabbed, and the water within it wasted away, and dried up; while at the same time, the man recovered, and never after, till the day of his death, was troubled with any running issue or pain, unless once, when a Gentlewoman attempted to pick off some of the excrescences that budded out of the bottle. Why need we tell of the daughter of Sir John Jacob, of Madam Bowyar, and the efficacious tiffany, of the Marquis of Carasceens, of Rice

Evans, the Welsh Prophet, whose face was "very despicable and blasted," of the Mayor of Wickham, of Mr. Thomas Duncley, of Marmaduke Ling, of the Servant-maid of John Brown's Mother-in-Law, of the Non-conformist's Wife, who had more faith than her unbelieving husband, of Mistress Elizabeth Bookey, with her fevers, agues, vomitings, and other illnesses, of the Whiteacres, the Dewolders, and the Doublebrooks? Suffice it to say, that from the month of May 1660, to the month of September 1664, both inclusive, it appears from a Register, kept by the Serjeant of His Majesty's Chapel Royal, that 23,621 persons were touched, and furthermore, from May 1667, to May 1682, no less than 92,107. These are proofs which, as the sagacious Brown happily observes, must be sufficient to satisfy any reasonable man.

We beg pardon for this unwarrantable digression, into which we have been insensibly led by the importance of the subject. But to return to Prince Cosmo: From Newmarket he proceeded to Cambridge; and his sojourn at the Rose Inn, proves the antiquity of that venerable Hostel. Scarcely had he alighted from his carriage, when the Worshipful Nathaniel Crab, Mayor of the Borough, attended by the Aldermen, &c. presented a complimentary address. The Vice Chancellor and Senate followed on the same errand; but unfortunately, the University Latin was as difficult to be understood, as the Corporation English, from the peculiarity of the accent with which it was pronounced. The custom of admitting Bachelors, by presentation of the laurel, was at that time in use, and was exhibited before His Highness; but we are at a loss to determine what honour the Vice Chancellor intended to bestow on the Prince's Physician, Doctor Dornie, public reader of medicine at Pisa, whom he "wished to place in the number of the *Battedratici* of the University." After dinner, His Highness was addressed in another Latin Speech, which was as little understood as the former one; he then attended the Schools, when a disputation against the Copernican System was kept up very "spiritedly and strenuously," by the Professors and Masters of Arts. In the evening, the scholars of Trinity College, acted a Latin Comedy, which also "pleased more by the elegance of the dresses, and the ease and gracefulness of the actors, than by their elocution, which it was very difficult to understand, without being accustomed to the accent." This Comedy concluded "with a Ball, which was managed with great elegance."

At Northampton, the Prince encountered a somewhat

troublesome mark of respect. On his arrival "the bells were immediately rung as a mark of joy, and being well tuned, the sound of them was very agreeable; *but the ringing being continued a great part of the night, they proved a great interruption to sleep.*" But this is one of the necessary cumbers of greatness. Althorp afforded a repetition of the well bred scene which before had occurred at Wilton.—"At table his Highness sat in the place of honor, in an arm chair, he having previously desired that my lady, the wife of the Earl (of Bristol) might be seated in a similar one. The earl also was obliged by his Highness to take his place close to him, the gentlemen of his retinue sitting separately upon stools." His reception at Oxford was very similar to that afforded by the sister university, and his complaints of the pronunciation of Latin are similar also. He speaks most unadvisedly however of the Bodleian, which he describes as a building of no very large size; and, notwithstanding the high value placed upon it by the Oxonians, as being equalled, nay, surpassed by many others beside the Vatican, both in the number and the scarcity of its books. The Anatomical Theatre rivalled the museum of the Royal Academy: it possessed the skin of a man stuffed with tow, a human foot from the end of one of whose toes (the toes of which) was a horn growing out, and sundry skeletons. The Botanical garden is described as small, irregular, in bad cultivation, and scarcely deserving to be seen. After another respectful salutation from the university, the prince proceeded through Windsor, to the magnificence of which royal residence he does ample justice, to London. Here he paid an early visit to one of the greatest men our country has produced; and whose virtue is not the less remarkable from the strong contrast in which it stands with the general corruption of his times.

"After which he went in his carriage to the house of Mr. Robert Boyle, whose works have procured him the reputation of being one of the brightest geniuses in England. This gentleman not only reduced to practice his observations on natural philosophy, in the clearest and most methodical manner, rejecting the assistance of scholastic disputations and controversies, and satisfying the curiosity with physical experiments, but, prompted by his natural goodness, and his anxiety to communicate to nations the most remote and idolatrous the information necessary to the knowledge of God, caused translations of the Bible into the Oriental languages to be printed and circulated, in order to make them acquainted with the Scriptures; and has endeavoured still further to lead the most rude and vicious to moral perfection, by various works, which he has himself composed. Indeed, if in his person

the true belief had been united with the correctness of a moral life, nothing would have remained to be desired; but this philosopher, having been born and brought up in heresy, is necessarily ignorant of the principles of the true religion, knowing the Roman Catholic church only by the controversial books of the Anglican sect, of which he is a most strenuous defender, and a most constant follower; his blindness, therefore, on this subject, is no way compatible with his great erudition. He shewed his highness, with an ingenious pneumatic instrument invented by himself, and brought to perfection by Christian Huygen of Zuylichem, many beautiful experiments to discover the effect of the rarefaction and compression of the air upon bodies, by observing what took place with animals when exposed to it: and hence may be learned the cause of rheumatisms, catarrhs, and other contagious disorders produced by air, and of various natural indispositions. It was curious to see an experiment on the change of colours: two clear waters, on being poured into one another, becoming red, and by the addition of another red, becoming clear again; and the experiment of an animal shut up in a vacuum, and the whole exposed to the pressure of the air. There was an instrument which shews of itself the changes of the air which take place in the twenty-four hours, of wind, rain, cold, and heat, by means of a watch, a thermometer, a mariner's compass, and a small sail like that of a wind-mill, which sets an hand in motion, that makes marks with a pencil as it goes round; there was also another instrument of a most curious construction, by means of which a person who has never learned may draw any object whatever. He shewed also to his highness, amongst other curiosities, certain lenses of a single glass, worked facet-wise, which multiplied objects; a globe of the moon of a peculiar construction, and several other things worthy of attention." P. 291.

A cock fight was his next amusement; and we are surprised that he does not speak of this barbarous sport, as it is called, with more strong marks of abhorrence. One of the principal dancing schools, which was frequented by both married and unmarried ladies, seems to have afforded him great entertainment. More than forty or fifty young ladies "whose beauty and gracefulness was shewn off to perfection by this exercise" performed "several dances in the English style, exceedingly well regulated, and executed in the smartest and genteelest manner." This struck him as another proof of the liberty enjoyed by our women, and leads to the mention of a custom of the *bon ton* of that day which is quite new to us: no one saluted a lady more than once, "not even in the Mall or Hyde Park, although they are old acquaintance; and they would be offended by a repetition of the salutation."

Many of the English nobility were honored by his highness's company at dinner during his stay. He speaks largely of the sumptuousness of their banquets, but not so much so of the exquisiteness of their cookery, which he more than once pronounces to be inferior to that both of France and Italy, particularly in the pastry. At the Earl of Devonshire's the Prince "walked from the top of the table to the bottom, that he might gratify the guests by giving them an opportunity of drinking toasts to his prosperity and welfare." At the Duke of Buckingham's the King and the Duke of York unexpectedly joined the party; which, as far as they were concerned, was conducted *sans ceremonie*. The Prince, after dinner, proposed the King and the Royal Family with three times three, and would have drank it standing, if his Majesty had not compelled him to keep his seat: in return, the King pledged his Highness, and the Serene house of Tuscany, in an equal number of rounds, and at the same time took hold of his hand, which he would have kissed; "but the Prince anticipating him with the greatest promptitude and address, kissed that of his Majesty:—the King, repeating the toast, wished to shew the same courtesy to his Highness; but he, withdrawing his hand with the most delicate respect, would not permit it, which his Majesty perceiving immediately kissed him on the face."

On the evening preceding his Highness's departure from London, the King invited himself to sup at his house. In the middle of the supper room, which was lighted with a chandelier of rock crystal, was placed an oval table; at the upper end of this was strewed a carpet, with a splendid arm chair and "*a knife and fork tastefully disposed*" for his Majesty; who however rejected these honors, and sat upon a stool without a back, like the rest of the company. The whole party at table amounted to seventeen; for whom "*there were as many knives and forks*, which when they had sat down, they found before them arranged in a fanciful and elegant manner."

"The entertainment was most superb, both as to the quantity and quality of the dishes, and as to the rarity and exquisiteness of the best Italian wines, and those of other countries. The supper was served up in eighty magnificent dishes; many of which were decorated with other smaller ones, filled with various delicious meats. To the service of fruit, succeeded a most excellent course of confectionary, both those of Portugal and other countries famous for the choiceness of their sweetmeats, which was in all respects on a par with the supper that preceded it. But scarcely was it set upon the table, when the whole was carried off and

plundered by the people who came to see the spectacle of the entertainment; nor was the presence of the king sufficient to restrain them from the pillage of these very delicate viands, much less his majesty's soldiers armed with carabines, who guarded the entrance of the saloon, to prevent all ingress into the inside, lest the confinement and too great heat should prove annoying; so that his majesty, to avoid the crowd, was obliged to rise from table, and retire to his highness's apartment." P. 377.

After more than an hour's conversation, the King took his leave and was accompanied by his Highness to his carriage, whom he intreated to retire to rest as soon as possible, on account of the fatigue which he would have to encounter on the following day: "but his Highness keeping his hand upon the door of the carriage to prevent it from being closed, instead of taking leave, with great address stepped himself into the carriage to wait on his Majesty to the palace, in spite of the opposition of the latter." This mark of respect was met by an order from the King, that the Duke of Buckingham should wait upon his Highness back again. His Grace appears to have returned unattended, and after these mutual exhibitions of fatiguing good manners, the parties separated, but not till considerably past midnight. In a visit which he paid to the New Exchange, his Highness was informed that the apprentices employed therein and elsewhere through the city, on certain specified days in the year were freed from all subjection to their masters, and uniting to the number of ten thousand or more, annoyed the public by any outrage which hit their fancy. Their only weapons were cudgels; but it frequently occurred that the authority of my Lord Mayor himself

ὅτω Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε
σκηκτρὸν τ' ἠδὲ δέμιστας

was inefficient to restrain their headlong rashness. We call to mind frequent allusions in the old comedies to this strange licence.

Next to Windsor Castle, Hampton Court, of all the royal residences, deservedly attracted the prince's admiration. He speaks of "some snug places of retirement in certain towers, formerly intended as places of accommodation for the king's mistresses;" and of the apartments which being lined with timber from Ireland, harbour nothing that is poisonous; "so that spiders do not even spin their webs or make their nests in them."

The common people of London are described to be proud, arrogant, and uncivil to foreigners; and we believe this

portrait is not overcharged. The English in general are proud, phlegmatic in execution, and patient in behaviour: those of the north more melancholy than those of the south; and all alike obstinate: great takers of tobacco; of a handsome countenance and shape, and of an agreeable complexion. The women are handsome, for the most part tall, with black eyes, abundance of light hair, and extreme neatness; defective principally in the teeth, and courteous to foreigners. "They do not easily fall in love, nor throw themselves into the arms of men; but if they are smitten by the amorous passion, they become infatuated, and sacrifice all their substance for the sake of the beloved object, and if he deserts them, they are sunk into great despair and affliction." Their style of dress is elegant: they are remarkably well informed in religious dogmas, and take short-hand notes of sermons: they govern every thing despotically in their houses, and make themselves feared by the most courageous men.

Provisions abound in London, and the different kinds of beer are the best in the world. Besides *bouteille-biere*, there is "another sort of beer *made with the body of a capon left to grow putrid with the malt.*" The court keep up little reserve, and the people speak of it and its measures with the most unbounded freedom.

The state of Religion is curiously described; the several existing divisions are as follow:—

"Protestants or those of the Established Religion, Puritans, Presbyterians, Atheists, Brownists, Adamites, Familists or the Family of Love, Anabaptists, Libertines, Independents, Fanatics, Arians, Antiscripturists, Millenarians, Memnonists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Sabbatarians, Antisabbatarians, Perfectionists, Fotinians, Anti-trinitarians, Sceptics, Tremblers or Quakers, Monarchists or Fifth Monarchy-Men, Socinians, Latitudinarians, Origenites, Deists, Chiliasts, Antinomians, Armenians, Quintinists, Ranters, and Levellers." P. 412.

Among these Atheism has many followers, and "may be called the uttermost limit of the pestilent heresy of Calvin." Concerning the Adamites and the Familists we dare not quote the information which Prince Cosmo collected. The Anabaptists avow among other things the lawfulness of polygamy, and that whoever dresses in silk is a son of the devil. The Libertines hold that sin is only an opinion, that the knowledge of the resurrection of our Saviour is only a suspicion, and that John the Evangelist, was a foolish youth, Matthew a cheating banker, Paul a broken vessel, and Peter a denier

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of Christ. The Independents teach that the revelations to Robert Cotten and Ann Hutchinson are of the same authority as the Scriptures; that all the saints on earth have two bodies; that the activity of Christians consists in constantly sinning; that the power of the keys belongs equally to men and women; that women may repudiate their husbands if they do not consent to follow the rules of the new independent Church; that it is lawful for women to preach, and to cavil in Churches, but not to sing; and that God is the author of all the ill that is done. The Seekers believe that John the Baptist is still alive and coming from Transylvania, whither they have forwarded despatches to him: hence whenever they see a stranger, they ask him whether he is John the Baptist; and lastly, the Quintinists, like our own modern Evangelicals, inculcate that God takes particular pleasure in a variety of religions as man does in diversity of food.

Prince Cosmo had sagacity enough to discover the king's bias to popery.

"There is no doubt that the king externally appears to be a Protestant, observing with the most exact attention the rites of the Anglican Church; but it is also true, that, from his method of proceeding, there is reason for thinking that he does not entirely acquiesce in that mode of belief, and that he may, perhaps, in his own mind, cherish other inclinations." P. 456.

But, strange to say, he expresses no suspicion of the Duke of York, whom he speaks of as zealous in the practice of the Anglican religion.

General Monk was the last distinguished personage whom his Highness had intercourse with: he visited him at his seat, Newhall, near Chelmsford, to which the general was confined by a confirmed dropsy. The entertainment which he gave is described to have been more a "parsimonious collation," than a handsome dinner; though he possessed a revenue of twenty thousand pounds a year. His portrait is as follows:

"General George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, in point of personal appearance, is of the middle size, of a stout and square-built make, of a complexion partly sanguine and partly phlegmatic, as indeed is generally the case with the English; his face is fair, but somewhat wrinkled from age, he being upwards of sixty years old; his hair is grey, and his features not particularly fine or noble."—P. 469.

His Highness embarked at Harwich, for Holland, on the fourteenth of May, and appears to have left England with agreeable impressions of our habits and civilization, and a

pleasing recollection of the distinction with which he had been received. His Journal contains much statistical matter which would convey no information to a native, but which is highly creditable to this tourist's diligence and research. We wish we had many more such travellers; or rather, we wish that England sent none of any age, sex, temper and talents, in return to ITALY, but those who could write equally sensible and inoffensive relations of their visit.

ART. V. *A Sermon preached at the Coronation of King George IV. in the Abbey Church of Westminster, July 19, 1821, by Edward, Lord Archbishop of York. Published by His Majesty's special Command. 4to. 18 pp. Rivingtons. 1821.*

SERMONS preached upon great state festivals are scarcely proper subjects for criticism; and least of all, perhaps, a discourse delivered on so solemn an occasion as the coronation of our Sovereign. Still, we are unwilling to suffer this Sermon to pass unnoticed, among the numerous occasional discourses which, however valuable many of them may be in themselves, the calls made upon our attention by larger and more elaborate publications compel us to disregard; lest any should accuse us of being indifferent to the great national solemnity on which it was preached, or dead to those feelings of loyalty to our King, and gratitude to Providence, which his peaceable inauguration was so well fitted to inspire. Nor should we be just to the venerable prelate who discharged the high office of preacher on this occasion, if we did not express our sense of the useful and edifying manner in which he performed his arduous and delicate task: representing to his Royal Master, with the simplicity and godly sincerity which became a minister of Christ, the awful responsibility attending upon that supremacy with which he was invested; and stating to his assembled subjects the blessings and benefits which they would derive from the exercise of that high authority possessed by him, whom, in the presence and before the altar of God, they had solemnly acknowledged to be their lawful Monarch.

The text selected by the Archbishop is strikingly appropriate. *He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning*

when the sun riseth, as a morning without clouds.—2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4.

This passage affords the preacher an opportunity of laying down the principles which constitute good government, and the beneficial effects which it produces: thus at once impressing upon the mind of his Sovereign the solemn duties of his high station; and reminding the people that, as a good government is the greatest of earthly blessings to those who live under its controul, so is it one of their greatest duties to maintain and defend the person and authority of their Ruler, that under his protection they may be able to “lead peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.” That our readers may form their own opinion of the style and sentiments of this discourse, we shall lay before them the following observations on one of the most important duties of Royalty.

“The justice which a Sovereign owes to his people, makes it his duty to place able and conscientious men in stations of trust and power; for ‘when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice.’

“No nation can ever be happy at home, or respected abroad, unless its councils and laws are administered by the prudent and the honest, by the moral and the religious: and though virtue and piety have higher rewards than it is in the power of man to bestow, yet is it the most essential service which a Sovereign can render to a State, to encourage morality and religion by a marked and uniform preference in the distribution of dignity and power. If, indeed, those who surround the Throne, and ought to reflect its lustre, if those whose station makes them at once objects of envy and imitation, if such men are worthless or wicked, the influence of their example will extend itself in every direction, and profligacy, originating in this source, will be rapidly diffused through all the gradations of Society.

“It is this condition of a people, this general depravation of morals, which is the last calamity that can befall a state—when the whole mass is corrupted, no excellence of Political Institutions, no wisdom of the Legislator, no justice of the Ruler, can be of any avail. The influence of law is always less powerful than the restraints of Conscience; and how, indeed, shall the laws of man be enforced in a Community where the Laws of God are set at defiance?

“Such a State may for a time be distinguished by every external mark of prosperity—extended dominion, accumulated wealth, and successful cultivation of the arts—but its prosperity is not happiness: its magnificence and luxury, however imposing, are a poor and inadequate compensation for the absence of mutual confidence and mutual kindness, of temperance and contentment, of the dignity of virtue, and the consolations of religion.

“ The Ruler then who would be just to his people, whilst he approves himself the faithful and zealous guardian of their civil rights, will preserve their morals from the contagion of vice and irreligion, by ‘ruling in the fear of God;’ by withholding his favour from the base and licentious; by exalting the wise and good to distinction and honour; and by exhibiting in his own deportment an example of those virtues which it is his duty to cherish in others; remembering, that his responsibility bears a proportion to the height of his station; and that he who sits on a Throne is under peculiar obligations to holiness, as having to answer, at the great Tribunal of Judgment, not only for his own personal conduct, but for the influence of his manners and actions on the present, and future happiness of millions.” P. 11.

We extract another passage, because it may furnish a useful lesson to those who, losing sight of the benefits they daily receive from the system of equal law and mild authority under which it is their happy fortune to live, fix their whole attention upon some minor imperfection, some petty grievance, or personal disappointment, until their minds are soured, and their judgments perverted, and they insensibly become indifferent, if not hostile, to the Constitution which they ought to reverence, and the King whom, as Christians, it is their indispensable duty to honour and obey.

“ There are men who seem to imagine, that all political Institutions are only contrivances of the powerful for their own advantage. But this is the very reverse of the truth; for by means of these institutions, the weak are raised to a level with the strong, and the equality of Society is preserved. More generally, the benefits of Civil Government may be considered as flowing from the superintendence which it exercises over the welfare of the Community; a superintendence, which averts, or abates an innumerable variety of evils, and secures a multiplicity of interests.

“ The application of political science to actual practice is embarrassed with infinite difficulties, from the complexity of considerations involved, and the uncertainty of all events which are affected, in any degree, by the passions or opinions of men. In the constitution of governments the most nicely adapted to the wants and dispositions of the people, some errors will always betray the imperfection of human nature, and some abuses, in the administration of public concerns, must be expected from its frailty.

“ But if he who undertakes to correct these defects, is disposed to consider every oversight as a mark of incapacity, every error as a proof of guilt; if he seeks to persuade the unthinking and ignorant, that the laws under which they live cannot be good, because they are not perfect, he undermines the foundations of national strength, and, by taking from government the support of public opinion, endangers the best security for Civil Peace.” P. 11.

ART. VI. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sarum, at his Visitation in the Year 1821. By the Rev. Charles Daubeney, Archdeacon of Sarum. 8vo. 40 pp. Hatchard. 1821.*

QUALIS ab incepto processerit seems to be the motto of the zealous Archdeacon Daubeney; who, through the course of a long professional life, has faithfully discharged the duty of a watchman of Israel; attentively marking the progress, and scrutinizing the manoeuvres of the enemies of the Church, and fearlessly proclaiming the result of his observations. The Charge now before us was delivered not long after the Bill for Catholic Emancipation, which passed through the House of Commons in the last session of Parliament and had been thrown out by the House of Lords. It is our firm conviction, that we owe the present security of our Protestant establishment to the ability and firmness of those noble peers, who then successfully opposed themselves to the spurious liberality and real infatuation which would have armed the Romish Church with political power. And, in the gloomy prospect of an annual contest for those privileges of religious liberty which our ancestors bequeathed to us, our hopes under Providence must depend on the persevering exertions of that branch of the legislature. When we remarked the severe, but fruitless struggle maintained in the House of Commons, we saw in the events which marked its progress so much to alarm and disappoint us, that even the pleasurable sense of immediate security, which the decision of Parliament ultimately produced, was painfully alloyed by apprehensions for the future. Nothing new indeed was urged by the advocates of the Roman Catholic cause, which made us dread their added powers of argument; nor were any facts of a conciliatory and tranquillizing nature brought forward, which could lull the anxiety of a wise man, or blind the judgment even of the inexperienced; but they thought proper to assume an increased boldness of tone, an urgency of demand, a triumphant anticipation of victory, which, if it proceeded from a consciousness of the growing strength of the party, was in itself a fearful sign of evil times; and, if it was produced by a well-formed estimate of the disunion, and want of zeal and information, which prevailed among their opponents, was tenfold more appalling. And we lament to say, that far greater were our fears from the coldness, and indifference, and misconception of the real state of the question, which was exhibited by our friends, than from all the activity, per-

severance, and ability, great as they undoubtedly are, of our enemies. This has not escaped the notice of the vigilant Archdeacon, who has devoted the greater part of his Charge to an appeal to the feelings and consciences of his clerical hearers on this momentous topic. He strongly states to them the mischiefs of that disunion which at present threatens to paralyse the efforts of the Established Church; and he points out the alarming consequences which may be expected to ensue, if those who are vested with the power of making laws for our Protestant state, are contented to remain in ignorance of the very principles on which that state is founded; and either cannot or will not perceive that the safety of the Church, as an integral part of the constitution, is incompatible with the grant of political power to her rival and inveterate enemy.

“The love of power and pre-eminence,” he observes, “is a *natural*, and therefore an universal feeling. The papists are not therefore to be blamed for endeavouring to obtain what they do not actually possess. But when, we ask, did popery possess competent power, that it was not employed in the destruction of Protestantism! Long and repeated experience has taught us, and the lesson in this country ought never to be forgotten, that a papist may live in secure possession of his civil and religious liberties under a Protestant government; but that a protestant cannot long possess security for either under the dominion of popery. Security, therefore, in this case, appears to be all on one side, and none on the other. But a truly spiritual member of the Church, who cannot, consistently with the religion he professes, become a persecutor, would at the same time act in contradiction to the first law of nature, should he neglect to adopt the means necessary to secure himself against it. Whilst, on the other hand, the bigoted papist must resist the strongest propensities, (for to human nature must we look for the springs of human actions) were he to refrain from employing political power, when fully possessed of it, to the subversion of a Protestant establishment*. For to a papist, possessing a cordial attachment to the religion he professes, it is no reproach to act in consistency with his principles, how much soever those principles are in themselves to be reprobated. To say, then,

* “James II. when Duke of York, with tears in his eyes, requested an exemption in his favour from the *Test Act*, and pledged his word, as a prince and a peer, that his religion was a matter only between God and his conscience, and that it should not, in any instance, influence his political conduct in England. He renewed the same professions on his accession to the throne. As a private man, James was always considered to be a man of truth and honour; yet when M. Devaux, his confessor, had access to him, his professions were all forgotten; and we know the abuses which he afterwards committed under the same pernicious influence.”

that a zealous papist is at decided hostility with a Church, which, as an heretical one, (the light in which he is unhappily taught to see it) he is bound by the most sacred obligation to destroy, is only to speak of an event which, of all others, he must most wish to take place.

“ But what must be said of the liberal, the unsuspecting, the lukewarm Protestant, who, with past circumstances before his eyes, venturously introduces the papist into that situation, which may eventually furnish him with an opportunity of carrying his most sanguine wishes into effect ?” P. 16.

The popular objection to this line of argument, which artful papists have devised, and the inconsiderate liberality of protestants has loudly echoed, that popery is in its *dotage*, and that nothing is at this time to be apprehended from its interference in the affairs of any well constituted government, is well refuted by the Archdeacon. Popery is at present harmless, because it is under restraint: give it once more the opportunity of inflicting injury, by vesting it with power, and its assumed dotage, like that of the crafty Montalto *, will be thrown aside as it grasps the rod of authority. If it be yet doubted, whether *dominant* popery be dangerous to the interests of protestantism; if, with the testimony of history before us, we yet hesitate in making up our minds on the subject,

“ Let the points at issue between the parties be left to be determined by the solution of the following plain question, which the Romish priesthood shall be left to answer:—‘ whether the extermination of what the Church of Rome thinks fit to call *heresy*, whenever she shall possess power to accomplish that desired object, is not one of the most established principles of her ecclesiastical policy?’ ” P. 19.

“ In fact,” as the Archdeacon continues, “ on the supposition that the Romanist possesses a conscientious attachment to his own religious persuasion; and not to suppose this, is to withhold from him the credit of being an *honest* man; the concession to him of political power in a Protestant country, must be eventually inconsistent with the security of its established Church, previous to that Church having been fully acknowledged by him to be, what Protestants maintain it to be, a legitimate branch of the universal Church of Christ. Till then, the Church of Rome shall have openly and *unequivocally* renounced those uncharitable tenets, which are incompatible with the civil and religious liberties of mankind, it cannot, in reason, be expected that the safeguards which political wisdom has deemed necessary for the security of Protestants against them, should be removed. At the same time, the ne-

* Afterwards Pope Sixtus V.

cessity in this case, it should be remembered, is not what Protestants are desirous of bringing against papists; but what, by their persevering maintenance of the obnoxious tenets in question, papists keep in force against themselves." P. 23.

After some observations on the peculiar duty of the clergy to prevent, as far as their professional exertions can avail, the corruption of the religion of Christ by the continual inroads and aggressions of the papal superstition; he adverts to the establishment at Stonyhurst, as an example of the incroachments which Protestant liberality has permitted, and the dangers to which the unsuspecting and ill-instructed peasantry of the country are exposed. We know little of the facts relating to this particular establishment; but we are sorry to find, that the Archdeacon has given additional currency in a note, (though qualified by an expression of his own disbelief of the fact) to the unfounded charge brought by another writer against the excellent Prelate in whose diocese it is situated. It is a charge which all who have the happiness of knowing the Bishop must be anxious to repel; and which no man, who has witnessed his continual and zealous exertions in support of the Church, of her holy doctrine, and her legitimate influence, can for a moment believe.

But, that popery is increasing, and by means of such establishments, we have reason to know from what is daily passing under our own eye. It has been our fate to watch the progress of one such establishment; to see how the zeal which may by persons at a distance be supposed to be exerted within its walls, in the work of education to which the institution is avowedly devoted, is in fact directed to the labours of conversion without them. And we have obtained painful evidence of the advances of popery among a deluded peasantry, who are first bribed into proselytism, and then terrified from listening to those who would recover them. All this we have seen, and know; and if it be necessary, facts may be produced, which will shew whether popery has changed its principles, whether it is really in its dotage, whether it may now be safely trusted with that power which it has never yet wielded but for the purposes of its own aggrandizement, and the destruction of its opponents. The Church of England has yet a struggle to maintain, if it will preserve its establishment; and as we earnestly wish that all may be aware of this, and prepared to bear their share in the difficulties and dangers it may involve, we shall conclude our present observations on this interesting subject, by the following energetic remarks of Archdeacon Daubeney.

“ Succeeding, my brethren, through the disposition of a kind Providence, into the labours of our Reformers, and their consequent fruits, may we, under grace, become successors to their principles. In such case, attacked as Protestants now are by enemies, who have been long employed in drawing the powers of this world to their side ; should it be the will of the great Disposer of events that there is a hard battle to be fought ; let it be remembered, since the Christian course has been made a warfare, that of all men living, a *coward* is the most unfit to make a Christian.

“ If, then, it be expected of Christians in general, that they should ‘ contend earnestly for the faith ;’ how much more will such contention be expected on the part of those, to whose immediate keeping the ark of the sanctuary has been committed ?

“ Let us then, my brethren, as we value the continued prosperity of our Sion, beware of weakening ourselves by division. *Unity*, both in sentiment and action, was never more necessary among churchmen, than in the present day. Combination against us, can by nothing be so effectually counteracted, as by timely and judicious combination among ourselves. Whilst then each, in his *individual* character, is carefully guarding against the tares of popery being secretly sown in his peculiar department ; let us all, *collectively*, be on the alert, in watching the more public motions of our restless and indefatigable enemy. And should we, at any time, see reason to apprehend the approach of danger, let us not be slack in our proceedings, as if we had no vital interest at stake ; but forthwith carry our apprehensions to the foot of the throne, in full confidence that the sovereign who fills it, well knows that the throne of a Protestant king cannot long stand in security, but upon *Protestant ground* ; and consequently that he will never fail to be a nursing father to that Church, which has proved herself to be, what under grace it was intended that she should be, its distinguishing ornament, and its most steady support.” P. 37.

ART. VII. *Manual of Mineralogy ; containing an Account of simple Minerals, and also a Description and Arrangement of Mountain Rocks. By Robert Jameson, Regius Professor of Natural History, Edinburgh, &c. &c. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1821.*

THE system comprized in this Manual bears a great resemblance to that of the celebrated Romé de Lisle. This author published in 1783 a work on crystallization, in which he arranged mineral substances under three separate heads, as they happened to contain *saline* crystals, *stony* crystals,

or *metallic* and *semi-metallic* crystals. He enumerated the several primitive forms which bodies are known to assume in passing into the crystalline state, and concluded by propounding, as the result of his observations, the following general rule for determining *specific* relations, namely, that all minerals agreeing in crystallization, hardness, and weight belong to the same species.

We must acknowledge ourselves not sufficiently acquainted with the details of crystallography to speak decidedly concerning its use in determining mineral species. Nor are we sure that we perfectly understand the distinction introduced by the Abbé Haüy, between the *primitive form* and the *integral molecule* in crystallized substances: and in this predicament with respect to our knowledge of the principles which seem to guide the procedure of what may be called the *crystallographical school* of mineralogists, we shall exercise due diffidence whilst pronouncing on the merits of their scheme. It has always appeared to us, however, as a sufficient objection to this method of determining the species of minerals, that it is extremely difficult in its application; requiring first, a very delicate measurement of planes, angles, and inclinations, in order to detect the external form; and, then, a profound calculation to ascertain the precise system of crystallization, the rhomboidal, the pyramidal, the prismatic, or the tessular, to which the external form is to be traced. We have also viewed in the same light the fact which is admitted by the best writers on this subject, namely, that a strict reference to primitive forms and integral molecules, in crystallized minerals, will lead to the separation of species which are otherwise naturally and closely connected. And it is worthy of remark that, independently of these objections, the principles of Haüy and Romé de Lisle can only apply to such minerals as are crystallized, and consequently, numerous varieties in all the orders, genera, and species, not being found in a crystallized state, and having no discoverable primitive form, must necessarily be excluded from a place in every mineralogical system founded on those principles.

Nor has our prepossession against the crystallographical method been at all removed by the work now before us. The theory in the first place, as it is here unfolded surpasses our comprehension a great way; and the notation or characters used in the practical application of it, is certainly not more intelligible or inviting. Let the reader inspect the following description of a well-known mineral, given ac-

according to the plan recommended by Professor Mohs of Freyberg, and adopted by Professor Jameson of Edinburgh, and he will probably agree with us in thinking that much pains have been taken to mystify a very simple matter. The example shall be gypsum or sulphate of lime, the specific character of which is thus noted.

“ SPECIFIC CHARACTER. — Hemi-prismatic, pyramid= $149^{\circ} 33'$; $135^{\circ} 32'$; $54^{\circ} 52'$. $\frac{P}{2}=149^{\circ} 33'$ $P+\infty=110^{\circ} 30'$. Cleavage $\frac{Pr}{2} Pr+\infty$ (inclination of $\frac{Pr}{2}$ to $Pr+\infty=113^{\circ} 6'$.) More distinct and perfect, $Pr+\infty$. Hardness= $1.5-2.0$. Sp. gr.= $2.2-2.4$.”

This very learned-looking apparatus has been imported from Germany, whence Professor Jameson has also brought some other hard terms and phrases which will not naturalize well in England, patronized though they be by his popular name, and introduced as they always are in company with much sound knowledge and deep research. He has, we think, on the present occasion, been bewitched by Mohs; who, if we may be allowed to judge of his character by the view of his system exhibited in this country, is deeply immersed in that strange mysticism and involution of ideas which serve so readily to distinguish the modern writers of central Europe. We regret this catastrophe exceedingly, for we are thereby nearly compelled to relinquish the study of a favourite author, to whom we owe the greater portion of our small acquirements, in that branch of natural knowledge, which his labours have hitherto tended so powerfully to advance. Nor is this the first time that Mr. Jameson has been justly twitted with his German connections. He has oftener than once been exposed to a good deal of ridicule on this head, and we had hoped that he was now fairly laughed out of all reverence or affection for the minute philosophy and uncouth jargon of Saxon sages. He affords, however, in his unfortunate attachments a strong proof that a first love is not easily rooted out; for in some parts of this Manual and in other things to which he has lately put his hand, he is German all over; and, in short, as we have already said, he is now completely beyond our reach. There is, indeed, a chance that we may be enabled to understand him once more, by means of the “Elements of Crystallography,” which he has promised to publish for the behoof of novices; till which event come to pass we must pursue our studies in private, and leave mineralogical reviews to more learned heads or bolder hands.

Crystalline forms, says the Professor, may be reduced in all

bases to one of four systems of crystallization; the rhomboidal, or that which is derived from a rhomboid; the pyramidal, or that which is derived from an isosceles four-sided pyramid; the prismatic, or that which is derived from a scalene four-sided pyramid; and lastly, the tessular, or that which is derived from the hexahedron.

“The forms of the three first are indicated by initial letters, with or without numbers or signs; those of the tessular are expressed at large.

“The letter R always refers to the rhomboidal system, and means without any exception a rhomboid. The letter P may refer to either of the three first systems; and though it always means a pyramid, it has different significations. The specific character indicates to which system it refers, and determines its signification. If this system be the rhomboidal, P will be an isosceles six-sided pyramid; if it be the pyramidal, P will be an isosceles four-sided pyramid; and if it be the prismatic, P will be a scalene four-sided pyramid.

“All compositions of these letters with numbers or signs refer to the same system to which the simple letters refer. Thus $R + 1$ or more generally $R + n$ design also rhomboids, which bear to R (the angles of which, if known, are given in the specific character) a certain relation of which the explanation will be given in the Elements of Crystallography to be published afterwards. $R - \infty$ denotes a plane perpendicular to the axes of a rhomboid, or of any form belonging to the rhomboidal system, and is considered as a rhomboid of an infinitely short axis; the side of its horizontal projection remaining a finite line. $R + \infty$ is a regular six-sided prism, in such a position that it cuts the faces of the rhomboid in horizontal lines or edges, or, which is the same, in edges parallel to the horizontal diagonals of this form; and is considered as a rhomboid of an infinite axis. Those two forms ($R - \infty$ and $R + \infty$) represent the series of the limits of rhomboids of which nature (for instance in rhomboidal calcareous spar) presents many members. $2R$ denotes a combination of two rhomboids equal and similar to each other, in such a position, that they assume the appearance of an isosceles six-sided pyramid; and it is called a DIRHOMBOID.”

The author next proceeds to modify his notation so as to suit the three several systems of crystallized forms to which it is to be applied—the rhomboidal, the pyramidal, and the prismatic. For these details we must however refer the reader to the work itself, as they are too long for insertion and cannot possibly be abridged. But before we leave this part of the subject we have two questions to put in regard to it. First, do the characters derived from crystallization properly belong to the class of *external characters*? Can it

be determined from the mere inspection of any given mineral to what system of crystallization its fundamental form belongs; whether to the rhomboidal, the pyramidal, or the prismatic? And, secondly, do the exigencies of mineralogical science positively require that this new set of characters should be added to those formerly in use, in order to determine the places and boundaries of the several species? Were hardness, specific gravity, colour, lustre, fracture, streak, taste and smell not sufficient to guide the student in his pursuits or the master in his arrangements? And farther, is it never found that a rigid adherence to the principles of the crystallographer must lead the mineralogist to a distribution of his species, on a basis almost directly opposed to that of the external characters properly so called? Are not minerals which have a strong natural affinity both in respect of composition and outward resemblance, separated from one another and placed under different species, merely because the nucleus of crystallization is supposed to have been different. In a word, do not all the objections urged against the systems of Romé de Lisle and the Abbé Haüy apply with equal force to the system of Mr. Professor Mohs?

These questions are put partly in ignorance, we admit, but also in part from the conviction that the progress of mineralogical science will not in the first instance at least be furthered by its alliance with the abstruse researches of crystallography. We are inclined to put more confidence in the discovery lately made by Dr. Brewster, regarding the number and position of the axes of double refraction in minerals. By means of this character, it is said, we are enabled to determine mineral species; and even in those cases where neither form nor cleavage can be ascertained, to refer the mineral to its system of crystallization. "We have no hesitation," says Professor Jameson, in considering it as a far more certain and useful aid to mineralogists than chemical analysis. It ought to be introduced into all systems of mineralogy; but we have delayed using it until some more simple and easy mode than the present of employing it shall be laid before the public; and Dr. Brewster, we trust, will ere long, by the contrivance of an appropriate instrument, and the publication for the use of the student, of a few rules for observation, render the application of the OPTICAL CHARACTER as easy and satisfactory as that of specific gravity or form."

The main object towards which all Mr. Jameson's labours are directed is the emancipation of his favourite science from the thralldom of chemistry, and the complete establish-

ment of it upon a broad and independent foundation of its own. He accordingly abjures all reliance upon chemical analysis in detecting the specific characters and relations of mineral bodies. Hardness, specific gravity, and crystallization are held as alone sufficient to determine the place to which every substance ought to be assigned in the distribution of the numerous species under their several genera and orders; the analytical exposition of component parts being esteemed as nothing more important than an incidental description of the mineral in question, given in compliance with long established usage. It cannot fail to strike the reader, however, that this combination limited as it may be, of the chemical and natural-history methods, has the effect of exposing in a very strong light the gross incompatibility of their respective principles. For example, we have under the head of Mica, itself a compound of Silica and Alumina, a great variety of metallic ores, such as oxides of copper, cobalt, and antimony; arsenates of cobalt; phosphates of iron, &c. We are perfectly aware that such discrepancies go for nothing with the supporters of the natural-history method, because that method owns no connection with chemistry, and claims no aid from its analysis; and we only make the observation in passing, with the view of pointing out how independent the mineralogist already feels on the ground of his own system, and also of suggesting the propriety of omitting henceforward all notice of *chemical characters* whatsoever.

It has been frequently remarked that the mineralogists of the present day, in their eagerness to give to their inquiries all the forms and dignity of science have carried their divisions and classifications much beyond the limits of the natural differences subsisting among minerals. They have established classes, orders, genera, and species, without having acquired any solid ground on which to rest them, or being able to produce characters whereby to distinguish them. For an example and illustration of what we have just said we will have recourse to Mr. Jameson's Manual. The classes, which are no longer characterized by the epithets earthy, saline, metallic, and inflammable, are reduced to three, and distinguished simply by the ordinals first, second, third. The characters of these classes are as follows:

“ Class First.—If solid, is sapid. No bituminous smell. Specific gravity under 3.8.

Class Second.—Insidid. Specific gravity above 1.8.

Class Third.—If liquid, the smell is bituminous. If solid, is tasteless. Specific gravity under 1.8.”

Now, there is evidently a great want of precision in stating that the specific gravity of the first class is *under* 3.8, and that of the second *above* 1.8, inasmuch as the one includes the other without presenting any limit by which either is to be bounded. To which of these two classes would a mineral belong whose specific gravity should be found equal to 2.5? Again, as to the quality of sapidity, the first is described as having it, when the bodies comprehended in it are solid; the second as wanting it in all circumstances. Surely the Professor has forgotten that he includes *sulphur* in the second class—a substance which cannot be pronounced tasteless in every one of the various forms and combinations in which it presents itself in the mine, the cavern, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of the volcano. In truth, several of the metallic oxides are far from being perfectly insipid when applied to the tongue; but at the best, insipidity is a mere negative property, and does not distinguish the substances of the first class from those of the second, nor this latter class from the members of the third.

Nor do we perceive that there is any natural distinction in mineral properties upon which the two systematic distinctions of order and genus are founded. The one or the other of these might be dispensed with. The *genus* would perhaps more aptly comprehend those groups of minerals which arrange themselves into species, whilst the order might be abolished. At all events we repeat, there do not appear distinctions in nature corresponding to all the scientific divisions under which minerals are placed. The contrivances of science in this case have out-run the progress of observation.

It may surprise the beginner in this branch of study to find arranged under the first class of minerals such substances as the following: hydrogen gas; carburetted hydrogen gas; sulphuretted hydrogen gas; phosphuretted hydrogen gas; atmospheric air; water; carbonic acid; muriatic acid; sulphuric acid; boracic acid, &c. We have only to observe, in regard to this new branch of mineralogy, that it seems, like other parts of the work, to claim a German origin; for, in Mohs' System of Crystallography, as unfolded by one of his pupils in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, and occasionally referred to by Professor Jameson, we find a sort of reason *why* "*Atmospherilia are introduced into the Mineral Kingdom.*" "The only thing here deserving notice," says the disciple of Mohs, "is the introduction of atmospheric substances into the mineral kingdom. This results from the very idea of a mineral. According to Werner's explanation, this term includes under it the idea of geognostic indications

which are specified for the express purpose of excluding atmospheric substances. But the idea of a mineral in natural history ought to be *purely natural-historical*, and must not therefore have a reference to indications of a foreign kind. If such indications are omitted from Werner's system, the only remaining principle is that minerals are *inorganic productions of nature*, as atmospherical substances likewise are."

If all inorganic productions of nature are henceforth to be included in mineralogical systems, we can see no good reason for stopping short with a few acids and gases. Why not include all the phenomena of meteorology, and have snow, hail, and hoar-frost arranged as members of the mineral kingdom? The electric fluid, the galvanic and magnetic energies, whether these be one or different, seem not less entitled to a place among inorganic productions, than hydrogen gas and azote. Why, at all events, are vegetable substances excluded? The resinous kinds of oils, and essences which exude from trees and fruits, tar, turpentine, caoutchouc, and, in a word, all the gums and resins, ought assuredly to be classed as subjects of the mineral region. In truth, if the mere circumstance of being an *inorganic production* of nature is to be held as the boundary which shall henceforth limit the pursuits of the mineralogist, and mark out the object of his research, there will be no use in retaining the old distinctions of animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, because there are inorganic productions in all the three. To rank hydrogen gas, atmospheric air, and water among minerals, or even to give them a place in a work of mineralogy is, to say the truth of it, unusual, and absurd; and as Professor Jameson could never have run into this absurdity of himself, we therefore regret the more that infatuated deference which he owns to German authorities, and that tame subserviency which he shews towards German system-making.

A mineralogical work must to a certain extent be a mere dictionary or register of names, and, consequently, the more simple the principles are on which the substances are arranged, the more easy and convenient will the reader find the process of reference to its several parts. Those minerals, accordingly, which bear the closest resemblance in external characters, ought to be placed the nearest to one another in the volume as well as in the museum; and, we will add in support of these views that every arrangement

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which has not facility of reference for its object is nothing better than labour thrown away. A distinct and expressive nomenclature, together with accurate descriptions of the individual substances, and a short notice of their specific relations, is all that the student requires to guide his readings, at home, and his examinations of nature, in the mine or the mountain: and these objects being secured, it is a matter of the slightest importance imaginable to him whether the classification of the system at large rest on chemical principles, or on those which are denominated natural-historical. In this respect the Manual now before us is without a fault. It contains the most complete and systematic description that has ever yet been given of every mineral known either to the man of science or to the practical lapidary; and if it embrace *more* than the student absolutely requires to lead him on his way, it *omits* nothing which could be of the smallest service to him in conducting his advances into one of the most agreeable departments of modern research. It is besides a Manual of Geology as well as of Mineralogy, exhibiting in a narrow compass and with great simplicity of language, a very intelligible outline of the Wernerian geognosy.

According to the views of the distinguished author just alluded to, rocks are divided into primitive, transition, secondary or floetz, alluvial, and volcanic. Later writers, and in particular Dr. Macculloch of Woolwich, whose work on this subject we noticed a few months ago, are disposed to omit the transition class altogether, as not having sufficient marks of difference to distinguish them from the primitive on the one hand and the floetz on the other. This, like other divisions and sub-divisions in natural history, ought to be viewed as an affair of mere convenience, and it is only because we think it useful as a technical distinction rather than as marking a physical peculiarity that we are inclined to adhere to the wonted terms, and admit *transition* rocks.

The primitive, as every novice has learned, are those rocks whose period of formation is considered as more ancient than the creation of organic beings. Hence, says our author, we arrange in this class all those formations which have not been found to contain petrifications or fossil organic remains. Should future observations, however, prove that these rocks do occasionally inclose animal or vegetable remains, still it would be well to consider them as a distinct class, and retain the name *primitive*, because from their lying under the rocks of the other classes, they are to be considered as having been formed before them, and may therefore be said to be primi-

tive or first formed.—In some countries we observe resting upon these, and even alternating with them a series of rocks of which clay-slate is a predominating member, having less of the crystalline aspect, and containing fossil organic remains. Werner considers this set of rocks as interposed between the grand series of primitive rocks and those which are called secondary; and that, “although it occasionally alternates, on the one hand with the primitive, and on the other with some members of the secondary class, still its characters are so well marked, that he views it as a distinct class, to which he gave the name *transition*, from its forming, as it were, the transition or passage from the primitive to the secondary rocks.”

It is true, adds the Professor, that the transition rocks are but a continuation of the primitive, and on a general view, might with propriety be considered as a portion of that series; but their imbedded fossil organic remains, less crystalline aspect, and particular rocks, such as greywacke, appear to characterize them, if not as a distinct class, yet as a separate group, in the grand series of rock formations. We give a list of the two classes of rocks now specified extracted from Mr. Jameson's Manual.

PRIMITIVE.

- 1 Granite, with cyenite and topaz rock.
- 2 Gneiss, with some varieties of white stone.
- 3 Mica slate, with different varieties of talc slate.
- 4 Clay slate, with alum slate, flinty slate, &c.
- 5 Primitive limestone, and primitive gypsum.
- 6 Primitive trap.
- 7 Serpentine.
- 8 Euphadite or drallage-rock.
- 9 Porphyry.
- 10 Quartz rock.

TRANSITION.

- 1 Greywacke.
- 2 Limestone.
- 3 Granite and porphyry.
- 4 Gneiss, mica slate, &c.
- 5 Serpentine.
- 6 Quartz rock.
- 7 Red sandstone.
- 8 Trap.
- 9 Gypsum.

It will be observed that several of the same rocks occur in both classes, and it will be readily acknowledged by every candid geologist that, from a mere inspection of hand-specimens, or even of large masses and strata, it is not always easy to determine which should be called primitive and which should be called transition.

There is a very interesting chapter towards the end of the volume on petrifications, or fossil organic remains found in mountain-rocks. One of the most remarkable specimens of that kind is the entire skeleton of a whale, seventy-two feet in length, found a year or two ago in the neighbourhood of Stirling, at the depth of four feet and a half, in a bed of clay. According to measurement this skeleton was

imbedded in the soil about twenty feet above the level of the highest tides now witnessed in the Firth of Forth. Cortesi is said to have likewise found a complete skeleton of a whale near Pulgnasco in Italy, resting in a bed of black marine clay.

Of the elephant only one fossil species has hitherto been discovered. It is the *mammoth* of the Russians : it differs from both the existing species, the African and Asiatic, but agrees more nearly with the latter than the former. Its bones have been found in many different parts of this island, as in the alluvial soil around London, in the county of Northampton, at Gloucester, at Trenton, near Stafford, near Harwich, at Norwich, in the island of Sheppey, in the river Medway, in Salisbury plain, in Flintshire, in Airshire, and West Lothian; and similar remains have been dug up in the north of Ireland. Bones of this animal have been dug up in Sweden; and Cuvier conjectures that the bones of supposed giants, mentioned by the celebrated bishop Pontoppiden, as having been found in Norway, are remains of the fossil elephant. But it is in Asiatic Russia that these remains occur in the greatest abundance. Pallas says that from the Don or the Tanais to Tchutskoinoss, there is scarcely a river the banks of which do not present portions of the mammoth; and these are frequently imbedded in, or covered with, alluvial soil, containing marine productions. The bones are generally dispersed, seldom occurring in complete skeletons, and still more rarely do we find the fleshy part of the animal preserved, as was the case with the carcase found on the shores of the Arctic ocean by Mr. Adams.

This part of the work is extremely entertaining, and lays open views both astronomical and geological upon which science has not yet prepared even the most learned men to enter with advantage. The great catastrophe revealed in holy Scripture has left strong marks of its destructive operation on all classes of created things, animal, mineral, and vegetable: but still there are phenomena set before us in these interesting relics of a former world, which cannot be fully explained on the ground of any principles at present recognized either among natural philosophers or divines. There is a veil thrown over the past as well as over the future, and man who was made to "look before and behind," in vain endeavours to penetrate either the one or the other, so as to obtain a perfect knowledge of what has been or of what will be.

It is superfluous to conclude this brief article by expressing

our high respect for Professor Jameson—an author who has done more than any one now living to introduce the mineralogical science into this country, and to render the study of it popular and useful. Comparing the books now written on this subject with the volumes of Kirwan and Walker—the only indigenous treatises on minerals of any name—we seem to contemplate a new science altogether, so extended are the views and, at the same time, so minute the details of external character, chemical composition, locality, use, geographical distribution, and geognostical relation which pervade the most elementary works, even those put into the hands of our children. Much of this improvement is owing to the zeal and unremitting exertions of Professor Jameson. Societies have been formed and lectures have been established in every part of the united kingdom, stimulated by the example presented at Edinburgh: and many of the most expert mineralogists and able geologists of the day, received their first instructions from this able disciple of Werner. We lament therefore that he has not, to use a common phrase, *more a mind of his own*, and that he is so willing to adopt the crude systems and barbarous jargon recommended to him from Germany.

ART. VIII. *Recollections of a Classical Tour through various Parts of Greece, Turkey, and Italy, made in the Years 1818 and 1819. By Peter Edmund Laurent. Illustrated with coloured Plates. 4to. 336 pp. 1l. 18s. Whittakers. 1821.*

Cuculla non facit Monachum. To travel in Greece or Italy, and then to publish a journal “dashed and brewed” with a few hackneyed quotations, is not enough to justify the title of a classical tourist. Numberless as the recent pretenders have been to this very honourable distinction, we recollect none but Messrs. Eustace and Dodwell who are likely to maintain their right to it. If, however, there are any to whom this sweeping sentence may convey uncomfortable sensations we are content to qualify it for the present, and to apply our observation solely to Mr. Laurent. His quarto is very well as quartos go now-a-days; and if he had called his Tour a Tour, we would have travelled on with him quietly enough; but as for the classical part of it, any fourth-form boy would be flogged if he could not say by heart nine-tenths

of the passages which are cited: and any sixth-form boy, we may add, would be ashamed to shew his journal, if he had written them down in it.

On embarking at Trieste, the sea naturally enough suggests, "*Illi robur et æs triplex*," &c.; a sight of the Gyaræ calls up "*brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum*;" and the island of Cœa cannot be touched upon without recalling the three hundred heifers who crop its "*pinguia dumeta*." Horace, Juvenal, and Virgil, all in a breath! Caprification leads to Pliny, we wonder it did not lead to Herodotus. The Troad is less fruitful, but for this we can readily account.

"When I visited the plain of Ilium I had heard but little of the dispute in question. I indeed knew that some persons had endeavoured to prove the Trojan war a fable; but I rejected the idea as a Christian does that of infidelity, from which, in future life, he guesses much harm may perhaps accrue, while with certainty he knows that no bad effects can ensue from his adhering to the tenets of his ancestors. If it be proved that the truth of the main facts contained in the Iliad is chimerical, what will become of the history attached to them? Are we to betray to all-devouring scepticism so many interesting records? If we prove that Helen, that Paris, that Achilles, that Troy itself never existed, the interest felt in reading the works of Homer must necessarily be diminished, the pleasure will be no longer so great, and the bard, whose poems have nearly exhausted the whole fund of human knowledge, would be more neglected than even he now is—Apollo and the Muses defend us from so dire a misfortune!" P. 45.

In this reasoning we wholly agree with Mr. Laurent, and would, if it were necessary, even in spite of conviction, be as zealous Anti-Bryantians as the elegant scholar, who has put all we feel into language, for which we should find it difficult to substitute any English equally impressive.

Ὅταν γὰρ καὶ δόλος χάριν φέρει
Ἐξέσθ' ἀμαρτεῖν, κ' οὐ δόλος κεκλήσεται.

But we do not think any grown up gentleman quite competent to write a "Classical Tour," who in the outset professes ignorance of the controversy concerning Troy Town.

Notwithstanding his anxiety to assure himself of the former existence of Ilium, Mr. Laurent found no artificial or natural vestige which could satisfy him; and he believes the whole face of the country to have been changed since the days of Homer by some mighty convulsion.

The Turks are bloody-minded fellows, and must be very terrific to peaceable travellers. Many of the soldiers at the Dardanelles drew their swords, and shewed Mr. Laurent the

marks of human gore deeply rusted on their blades. They are not good engineers however, for they believe that a castle, built in the indescribable shape of Mahomet's name, can never be stormed. The Greeks, as is well known, are marvellous thieves, and more particularly their ecclesiastics. In the island of Zea, in the Saronic gulph, every article in the possession of Mr. Laurent and his companions was stolen; and the goods were traced to the *egoumenos*, or abbot of a convent. "It is an assertion," he continues, "which many travellers have made, and I believe with justice, that hardly ever is any crime committed in modern Greece, the instigator and mover of which is not a minister of religion." Yet these are the good Christians, for whom our poets exhort us to

"Dash down yon cup of Sunian wine,"

and our politicians to assist in cutting the throats of their Mohammedan masters, without loss of time, by wholesale.

Mr. Laurent was in the feverish lethargy succeeding the delirium of a calenture, when the sounds *Atene! Atene!* struck his ear; and in treading, for the first time, the Attic shore, he "felt as all must feel who have read the pages of Grecian history." Now as most people have done thus much at some time of their lives, either in Dr. Goldsmith's two snug octavos, or Mr. Pinnock's still snugger Catechism, we should not have believed, unless we had been so assured, that these feelings were of a kind which "few, very few can describe:" as far as we can collect they are contained in the four following lines.

"Where now are the superb temples which adorned this shore? Where those magazines, crowded with merchants? Where those streets, thronged with mariners of every nation? All, desert and abandoned, reposes in the melancholy quiet of ruin." P. 82.

A modern Athenian wedding must be an amusing sight. We select an account of it in preference to a very bald and crude description of antiquities.

"It was on a Sunday afternoon: the heat was excessive, and we were occupied in arranging our journal; my ear was struck with the monotonous sound of a Greek tambour, and the noise of people hurrying through the street: I followed them, and after turning through two or three lanes, came to the spot whence the sound proceeded. Some dirty musicians, with a tambour, a fiddle, and a guitar, were dancing, playing, and singing; after them came a Greek damsel, supported by two grave matrons, and followed by a long string of dames hoary with age: she was the bride, and not-

withstanding the thermometer stood at 96°, was covered with mantles and furs; her fingers' ends and joints were stained red; the lower part of her eyes was tinged with a blue colour, and her cheeks were ornamented with stars of black dye and leaf gold; a dirty urchin, walking backwards, held a mirror in such a manner that the young woman had her image constantly before her.

“ They moved literally at a snail's pace; the people threw from their windows and doors bottles of orange water, which perfumed the air, and the crowd, loud in their expressions of joy and congratulation, augmented as we advanced, hurrying round the bride, whose brow was never bent with a frown, and whose lips were never crossed with a smile during the ceremony.

“ The procession stopped at the house of the bridegroom; the bride was seated in an arm chair, and placed on the right of the house door; on the opposite side was seated her husband, his hairless head uncovered; by him stood a Turkish barber, holding in his hand a circular looking-glass (similar to that with which Venus is represented) and other shaving instruments: the music continued playing, and the crowd shook the air with their shouts. Each, placing a few *parats* on the barber's looking-glass, sprinkled with orange water the face of the bridegroom, and kissed him on the forehead and the eyes: the money thus collected was to procure a comfortable establishment for the young people; I subscribed my share, but preferred dispensing with the kisses. A Greek, an old man, whose age was a sufficient excuse for the joke, pushed me towards the bride, whom I was consequently obliged to salute amidst the loud cheers of the assembly:—how the ceremony ended I cannot tell you, as the day fell, and I returned home ere all had embraced the bridegroom.” P. 98.

Mr. Laurent thinks much may be said on both sides, respecting the removal of the Athenian marbles to the British Museum. One thing is sufficiently clear, that the destruction which was commenced, right or wrong, on the grand scale by the ambassador, is now, on the precedent, carried on piece-meal by individuals. Mr. Laurent himself was present when a traveller, in the uniform of an English naval officer, clung with his left hand round the base of one of the Caryatides in the temple of Erechtheus, “ while his right hand, provided with a hard and heavy pebble, was endeavouring to knock off the only remaining nose of those six beautifully sculptured statues.” Lord Elgin's similar mutilation, if we recollect right, began in the temple of another Deity.

When again launched on the Saronic Gulph, with Corinth, Eleusis, and Salamis on his right, the Acropolis behind him, Hymettus on his left, and Ceos and the Sunium promontory in the horizon, Mr. Laurent (how could he help it?) thought

himself very like Cicero; and exclaimed as Cicero also, if he could have spoken Anglo-Saxon, no doubt would have ejaculated, "Will France and England ever be as Greece and Rome now are?" In the streets of Argos the classical traveller was offered a halfpenny of Louis XV. as a valuable medal, and as he might have purchased it for five piasters, we wonder that he omitted to do so. The walls of Mycenæ still justify to their utmost extent the peculiar epithets, "*fortes*," and "*ἐὺκτιμένοι*," which Virgil and Homer have selected to distinguish them from all other fortified cities. This, doubtless, as Scriblerus would say, is a strong proof of the authenticity of those poets. In the Morea "the horses do not understand a word of English; if you *cluck* to them they stop short, and if you cry "*wo*," they set off at full speed. This ignorance is not only troublesome to the unexpected traveller, but also clearly manifests the inferiority in intellectual attainment of the Greek horses, compared with the French pigs; for Foote assures us, in one of his veracious dramas, that these latter animals cry "*tweekè weekè*," as plainly as the best in Britain. But the Peloponnesian cavalry altogether is but ill equipped. The saddle is a wooden pack covered with a blanket, the stirrups the noose of a rope, the bridle a halter, and the bit a slice of packthread. The steeds are bar-shod, and find their way, at night, by scent: add to this that a postillion rides behind the traveller, and by constant flogging makes him gallop over no smooth roads with terrific rapidity.

Near Tegea, at Kriavrio, the following incident strongly illustrated the mixture of fury and cowardice in the Turkish character.

"Round the fire were squatting a Turkish Agà, or gentleman, and a fine negro, a Mohammedan freedman; the latter was just come from Hydra, where he had heard that Buonaparte had escaped to America: our opinion on the subject was anxiously asked, and this produced a long conversation on the merits and demerits of the conqueror, whom both Greeks and Turks allowed to have been a *μεγάλη κέφαλη* (great head,) although their observations proved them as ignorant of the character of Napoleon as any British peasant may be of the history of Mahomet the Second. As we were discussing warlike subjects, the Agà, who had been in a campaign against the Russians, could not resist the opportunity of fighting his battles over again: he amused us with a history of his adventures, and an account of his being taken prisoner, in a manner rather ludicrous: the detail of the circumstances excited to laughter poor George, who, yielding to the irritability of his

nerves, burst into a loud laugh;—this insult the Turk could not brook, but rising from his carpet with an agility which I before could not have suspected him to possess, his eyes sparkling with rage, and his lip quivering with anger, he prepared to inflict summary vengeance on the miserable Giaour: our poor servant would in all probability have suffered for his ill-timed merriment, had we not rushed to his assistance: the Turk immediately started back, and, eyeing us a few seconds with penetrating attention, returned to his rug, and continued his conversation as if nothing had happened. Such an example of the power of man over his passions I never recollect witnessing; it would have honoured a Socrates." P. 172.

At Concurra, not far from Olympia, Mr. Laurent had the good fortune not to be killed in a squabble with the natives. There is no danger in a Greek Tour, if the traveller will but cherish one caution which we give on the highest authority, "always to reserve his *second* fire." What is done in the way of murder in these countries is always done thoroughly. The corse of an inhabitant of Santa Maura, is now rotting in an iron cage suspended from a gibbet near Leucas. This worthy with his own hand put an end to his father, his mother, his brothers, and his sisters.

Cujus supplicio non debuit una parari
Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culeus unus *.

Negotiations concerning Parga were carrying on during Mr. Laurent's stay at Corfu. The ambassador from Joannina had received orders to hasten the transfer, by offering presents to the secretary of the high commissioner.

"In one of their conferences the Mussulman made known his intentions;—the secretary led him to a window of the palace, and, pointing to the highest mountain of the island, told him—'Were that mountain a mass of gold, and your master to offer it to us, he would not obtain Parga one moment ere the dictates of justice had been fulfilled.' " P. 230.

The gentlemen who in Parliament, or in print, have expressed such tender concern for the reputation of our Government in this transaction, cannot but be delighted by the perusal of this anecdote.

Our readers may be amused by the following extracts from a Corfu newspaper.

* N. B. This quotation is *bonâ fide* our own property, not that of Mr. Laurent.—*Editor*.

“ ΔΗΛΟΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ.

“ ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΓΝΩΣΤΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΗΣ, ΟΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΝ ΗΤΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ Η 2.^α ΤΟΥ ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ, Η ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΞΟΧΟΤΗΣ Ο ΛΟΡΔ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΡΜΟΣΤΗΣ ΔΕΧΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΣ 11 ΩΡΑΣ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΣΗΜΕΡΙΟΥ.

“ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΥ ΤΗ 28.^η ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΥ 1818.

“ Ρ. ΠΕΠΕΡ ΑΡΔΕΝ,

“ Ο Ε. ἐν τῷ Στρατ. Δορυφ.”

P. 233.

“ Ο Λορδ Βέρεσφορδ ἐπαρρησιάζοιτο πρὸς τὸν Πρίγγιπα Αντιδιοικητὴν, καὶ ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ Β. Υ. τοῦ ἀκρόασιν εὐθὺς ἀφ’ οὗ ἔφθασεν εἰς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν.

“ Φαίνεται ὅτι ὁ Δουξ Οὐέλλινγκτον ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τὸν Μητροπολιν ταύτην ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς διορίας : τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου εἶναι ἄγνωστον.

“ Ο Πρίγγιψ Αντιδιοικητὴς ἠνωχλήθη ἐχθὲς ἀπὸ τὴν Ποδάγραν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀνέβαλε τὴν εἰς Βρίχτον ὁδοιπορίαν του.”

“ Ο Τρίτος Αρχιθαλάσσιος Σὲρ Χὸμ Πόφαμ πιάσχει μὲ κάθε τρόπον καὶ μὲ κάθε αὐστηρότητα νὰ παστρεύσῃ τὸ παραθαλάσσιον τῆς Γιαμάικας ἀπὸ τὰ ληστρικὰ Πλοῖα τοῦ Βουενοσάντες.”

“ Ο Πρίγγιψ Λεοπόλδος ἔχει σκοπὸν, καθὼς λέγουσι, νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς Βέβμουθ, ἀφ’ οὗ ἐπισκεφθῇ τὸ Β. Υ. του τὸν Πρίγγιπα Αντιδιοικητὴν.

“ Ο Κόμης Βαθούρστ ὑπῆγε τὸ ἀπερασμένον Σάββατον εἰς τὸ Κλαρεμόντ, διὰ νὰ ἐπισκεφθῇ τὸν Πρίγγιπα Λεοπόλδον.

“ Βεβαιοῦται, ὅτι θέλει ἐγερθῇ ἐν Μνημεῖον εἰς τὸ Μοναστήριον τοῦ Βεστμίνστερ εἰς μνημόσυνον τῆς Μακαρίτιδος Πριγκιπέσσας Καρλόττας.” P. 242.

One benefit we trust will be imparted to the Ionian Islands by the foundation of the University. The evil to be remedied, according to Mr. Laurent's account, is indeed a crying one. Three hundred troops in the English service had been garrisoned twelve months in Santa Maura, and during the whole of that period had never had an opportunity of attending divine service, as no chaplain is attached to that part of the States. It can be no matter of surprize that dissipation and libertinism are the fruits of this gross and unchristian negligence.

We cannot part on better terms from Mr. Laurent, than by expressing our entire concurrence with the well-founded indignation which this circumstance calls forth from him.

ART. IX. *An Essay on the Political Economy of Nations; or a View of the Intercourse of Countries as influencing their Wealth.* Longman and Co. 1821.

ART. X. *A few Doubts as to the Correctness of some of the Opinions generally entertained on the Subjects of Population and Political Economy.* By Piercy Ravenstone, M.A. Andrews. 1821.

BOTH these books are very absurd, and yet even in their absurdity, they are extremely different. The former is written with the utmost affectation and obscurity, aiming at a species of axiomatic precision in its phrases, and depth in its observations; which, when coupled with the utter inanity of its contents, from beginning to end, have no other effect than to raise a smile at the author's weakness and presumption. He has thought proper to keep his name from the public; and has thereby put it out of our power to say whether the enquiries in which he has lately indulged, are, or are not alien to his ordinary professional pursuits: but were we to hazard a conjecture as to his habitual studies, we should certainly not place them among those which are said to be patronized by the Muses. Speaking of the state of markets in Italy, and referring to the opinion given by Sismondi, in regard to the cause of the glut of British produce, which, we are told, prevails in that part of the continent, our author positively denies the fact altogether, adding, "*quæque ipse vidi, et quorum pars magna fui!*" In what respect this quotation can be applicable at once to Manchester goods, and to a learned writer, we are at a loss to guess, though we are willing to allow that a traveller may know something of the practical "intercourse of countries as influencing their wealth," without being able to explain the grounds upon which that intercourse is most advantageously conducted. In justice, to him, however, let us observe, at parting, that whilst we lose temper at his composition and reasoning, we like his spirit. He is a friend to his country, and prizes its institutions and practical government: and though he murders its language, and shews no respect for the authority of its best writers and logicians, he yet loves its monarch, and takes pleasure in its prosperity and greatness. *Valeat seque in meliora reservet.*

Of Mr. Ravenstone, we know not well what to say that is fit to be said of an old man and a master of arts. It has been the fate of Mr. Malthus, all along, to have arrayed against him, on the question of population, the most irritable and

hair-brained authors, who have, in any shape, come before the public, since the beginning of the present century; and it may be enough, by way of giving our opinion of the author now at our bar, to observe, in hacknied phrase, that Godwin and Ravenstone, though last, are by no means the least, in the qualities just mentioned. Of these two, again, the latter, as a writer, is perhaps the more malignant and inflammatory; for whilst Godwin directs all his envenomed arrows against the individual antagonist to whom he has opposed himself, Ravenstone points his artillery against all those principles and usages upon which the social condition of man is built, in this, and every other country; but chiefly, and with peculiar rage, against the distinction of ranks, and distribution of property which obtain at present in England. He blames and condemns with indiscriminate severity; sees nothing good in men or things, and looks for no happiness, no prosperity to this devoted nation, until we shall have a revolution after the manner of the French jacobins, and thereby get rid of all our gentry, and all our capital. Rent, property, and capital, are, according to him, the bane of society, the Pandora's box of all political evils; the plague, pestilence, and famine of statesmen; the source of all human suffering, and the corner-stone of all injustice and wrong. Leaving the subject of population for our last topic in this article, we shall proceed, in the mean time, to lay before the reader a *precis* of the notions entertained on the above points by the sapient author of the "Doubts."

"Rent," says he, "may be defined as "the idle man's share of the industrious man's earnings." "Every increase of it is a conversion of industry to idleness. Every one who is supported by rent, is a person taken from the class of producers, to be added to the class of consumers." "The labour of one man in England, it appears, is sufficient to procure subsistence to five families." "The problem, then, to be resolved is, what contributes most to the general happiness of society. That all should live with moderate exertion, or that some should labour hard that others may live in idleness. None can derive from nature a right to claim a share in the earnings of another. Rent can only exist by the vice of society: the only ground upon which it can be claimed is, that its existence is beneficial to all its members. There is no more a divine right to an estate, than there is to a crown: landlords do not, more than kings, come into the world booted and spurred; labourers are not more than subjects, born with saddles on their backs." "If in any country the wages of labour are insufficient for the maintenance of the labourer, it can only proceed from labour being too highly taxed, from too large a proportion of its earnings being applied to the maintenance of the idle. It is because the bread of

the children is given to the dogs." "High rents are indeed the greatest grievance which a nation can endure; they draw on in their train high profits and high taxes; they are the most gratuitous evil that avarice ever inflicted on humanity." "The too great increase of idle men, the too great extension of their rights, have been the causes of all the revolutions which have altered the condition of empires and states. The inability to suffer, has compelled the people to resist: governments have been overthrown because they have considered the rich as the nation; because to their benefit they have sacrificed the interests of the other members of society."

The spirit and intention of these extracts cannot be mistaken; but their absurdity can only be made apparent by connecting the opinions implied in them, with the author's notions on population. Rent, as every one knows, is uniformly found to increase in proportion as the inhabitants of a country press upon the means of subsistence, and thereby give occasion to the breaking up of new ground, or to the cultivation of such as is less productive. No man of sense ever imagined that the rent of land could be raised by the mere will of any government, or even by the combination of land-owners; the rise of price here, as in every other department of human dealings, being strictly regulated by the proportion which the demand bears to the supply. As the number of eaters increases, food will, in the first instance, at least, rise in price, and the increased price of food will necessarily enhance the price and rent of land; on which account, nothing can be more absurd than to proclaim the advantages of a growing population, and to deprecate, at the same moment, the horrors of rising rents. But to finish this picture of ignorant misrepresentation, he mentions that *rents diminish produce*. And why? because the landlord does not need to work with his hands! If he had not an income paid him by others, he would find it necessary to dig and weed: and as it is a fixed principle in our author's system, that production is always *in proportion to the amount of industry exerted*, he teaches his readers that any given field produces just so much the less that its owner is exempted from holding the plough, or handling a hoe, in person. Mr. Ravenstone repeats again and again, that subsistence always increases in an exact proportion to the amount of labour employed on its production: a statement which involves the monstrous absurdity that if the labour of three men in a field will make it produce ten quarters, the labour of thirty men in the same field, would secure a return of a hundred quarters. Such drivelling requires no refutation!

Under the head of taxes, we have the same round of

radical declamation and common place. We are told here, again, that

“The whole of the benefits arising from improved labour are reserved for the idle. They go to satisfy the claims of property. The condition of the labourer remains unaltered. His additional industry, his greater ingenuity, produce no advantage to himself, they are all for his landlord.”—“This is, indeed, but a melancholy view of the benefits of society. The great body of the people are, it seems, to be looked upon merely as beasts of burden. What is absolutely necessary for their subsistence, is to be allowed them; because, without that, they would be useless to their masters. They are to be kept in sufficiently good condition, to enable them to go through the greatest quantity of labour. Their physical powers, their thewes, their sinews, their withers, must not be impaired; for they are indispensably necessary to the due performance of their task.”—“They are to be kept on the same principle that a farmer keeps his horses in good condition; not from any regard to their comfort; not from any consideration of their happiness, but solely from views of interest, to extract from them the greatest quantity of labour.”

In England, we are further told, all society may be considered as at an end. The industrious are overborne by the increased pressure of the idle. Our rich men have grown faster than our wealth. Their establishment has been formed entirely from the spoils of industry, &c. &c.

It is impossible to enter seriously into controversy with an author who holds in contempt the fundamental principles of the science on which he writes, and who sets at defiance the opposition of all who are compelled to differ from him. His *panacea* for the evils of taxation, consists in laying all the burdens of the state on property: and as property, in his acceptance of the term is nearly restricted to the produce of the soil, a tax on land, is to be regarded as the substitute for all other imposts. Now, it is acknowledged by himself, that the rental of the landed interest in England, does not much exceed £25,000,000, and it is known to every reader of the newspapers, that the revenue of the country amounts to more than the double of that sum, it must, therefore be a perplexing consideration for a financier to devise means whereby to raise in taxes, year after year, more money than falls to the owners of land in the course of any two years. Our author, no doubt, would free the country from one part of its burdens, by extinguishing the national debt, and setting all monied men to work for their bread with the sweat of their brows. He would carry us back to the happy days of Alfred, or William the Norman, when, as yet, there were no stock-

holders, no capitalists, no large manufactories, no rich merchants, no colonies, and no ships. Or, if that consummation could not be effected, he would favour us with a revolution; the only cure, it should seem, for the many miseries and privations under which we groan. Formerly the Englishman was a much richer, and more comfortable person than the Frenchman.

"But the French revolution," says Mr. Ravenstone, "has entirely altered the relative condition of the inhabitants of the two countries. The misery which was formerly the characteristic of the French people, is now transferred to their rivals: Hogarth's *"Gate of Calais,"* is no longer even a caricature likeness of that country; its resemblance can only be found in England. The ease and comfort which formerly gave rotundity to the person and hilarity to the countenance of Englishmen, have now migrated to France. In their anxiety to uphold ancient institutions, Englishmen have taken to themselves the cast-off abuses of other nations: to the military taste of his king, John Bull owes the introduction of a standing army; the mock charity of the rich have brought him acquainted with *soupe maigre*; wooden shoes, the slightest evil of the three, are alone wanting to naturalize in England all the miseries with which, in the wantonness of his better days, he was wont to taunt his less fortunate neighbours." "Every act of the last thirty years, has tended to transfer the earnings of industry from those who labour, to those who only consume. The enormous debt which has been created, has doubled the number of the unproductive classes. The taxes which have been imposed to pay its interest, having all been taxed on consumption, the whole burden of maintaining this new horde of idle men has fallen on the industrious. To them the imaginary addition to our wealth has only produced beggary. Whatever has been given to the stockholders, has been taken from the labourer. *The tree of their wealth has been planted in the bowels of the poor. The fruits it bears are watered with their tears.*"

Rent and taxes, how pregnant soever with evil, are yet not so bad as capital. This imaginary, metaphysical, agent is the author of more than one-half the calamities which press down the native energy of Englishmen, and darken all their prospects.

"Capital," exclaims our author, "is like the subtle ether of the older philosophers; it is around us; it is about us; it mixes in every thing we do. It is no less useful to our economists, than that was to the philosophers." "It occupies the same place in their theories which was held by darkness in the mythology of the ancients. It is the root of all their genealogies, it is the great mother of all things, it is the cause of every thing that happens in the world." "It is the deity of their idolatry which they have set up to wor-

ship in the high places of the Lord: and were its power, what they imagine, it would not be unworthy of their adoration."

After a good deal of extravagant nonsense on trade and foreign commerce, in which Mr. Ricardo may perceive some of his favourite notions carried as far as they will go, our author concludes, by observing, that

"The only benefit industry derives from capital, is the necessity of sharing among the idle a larger proportion of its earnings:" and that, "so far from being to be dreaded, the loss of our capital would be the happiest event that could possibly take place." "I fear, however," he adds, "it is much more desirable than practicable. Capitalists are a species of vermin not easily shaken off. Where once they have established themselves, they are obstinate in maintaining possession. The individuals may be destroyed; but the species is imperishable. *Like that other little hopping animal, who too draws all his sustenance from the blood of the people,* and who, too, in his visions of political economy, probably attributes the life and spirits of his subject to the quicker circulation caused by his continual phlebotomy; they are only to be got rid of by burning the blanket in which they have burrowed. The existence of capital is inseparably connected with that of idle men. Its quantity depends on the greater or smaller claims they are allowed to make on the labour of the industrious." "It is, however, hopeless, to expect that industry will ever be able to rescue herself from the oppression of capital, when once the latter has firmly established its dominion. The contest is that of feebleness against power. It is the struggle of the horse against his rider. Like the little old man with the tawny breech, who, with his cowhide carcase, so long loaded the shoulders of Sinbad the sailor, Capital when it has once got its legs round the neck of a nation, never loosens its hold till it has strangled its victim. It is only by a revolution in its state, by a new casting of its society, that a people can ever escape from its thralldom."

Most writers on this subject, have esteemed it no small advantage to a country to have an abundant capital, as being not only the instrument of all trade and manufacturing industry; but likewise of the greatest improvements in agriculture, buildings, and indeed in every branch of internal economy. Capital, like all other commodities, may, no doubt, exist in excess; but it has been usually thought, that the evils attending this excess, were confined to the owners of the capital, whilst the nation at large, so far from suffering from such an abundance of disposable wealth, was viewed as more likely to derive advantage. But, in the eyes of Mr. Ravenstone, commerce is a mere hoax, a striking example of misdirected

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industry, the resource of all ruined countries and capital; being the means by which all this nonsense and mischief is carried on, cannot be viewed in any other light than as an unmixed and most destructive evil.

“No nation,” says he, “has ever been eminently commercial, that was not burthened with debt. With the increase of taxation has always grown the spirit of commercial enterprize. The unproductive industry of traders has increased in proportion as productive industry has been oppressed.” “England,” he continues, yet survives; but labouring under all the evils of taxation, *of trade, and of capital.*” “The struggle she is now making, serves but to shew her weakness. The weather-beaten hull of her commercial system still floats on the waves; but it is only kept above water by constantly working the pumps. Her timbers are only held together by a sheet drawn under her bottom. The vessel has become quite unmanageable. Every scheme to relieve her distress has failed. The straining of her beams, the exhaustion of her crew, the alarm of the pilot explain but too clearly, even to the most inexperienced of the passengers, that if the wind should at all freshen, she must either throw overboard her cargo, or perish in the storm.”

Since the days of Horace, some will think, we have had nothing in the allegorical style to be compared to the above specimen of figurative writing. The spirit of it, at all events, suggests a salutary admonition; for, at a time when men of talents and character, such as we assume Mr. Ravenstone to be, employ their pens in exaggerating unavoidable evils, in misleading the public, both as to the theory and practice of government, in holding up to the people their best friends as their most unfeeling enemies and persecutors, in stirring up the worst passions of the multitude, and inviting and instigating them to open rebellion, it cannot be unseasonable to use the words of the great poet named above, and say to our country,

‘Tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, CAVE.

Take the following instance of this author’s spirit, and say whether we have wronged him.

“The common good of society is no longer the object of our institutions. Our laws are partial and unjust, for they seek only the good of the few.”—“Whilst we have been boasting of our liberty, the great body of the people has been virtually reduced to slavery. They are compelled to labour not at their own choice, but at the discretion of parish officers. Those who wield the cart whip are not named by a single master, they are appointed by the property of the country. But the overseers of a plantation do not ex-

ert a more despotic authority over the unfortunate negroes committed to their charge, than is exercised by the overseers of the poor over the equally unfortunate Englishman. If it be the distinction between the freeman and the slave, that the one is paid in proportion to the value of his labour, the other receives what is necessary to his support, it is not difficult to determine to which the English peasantry belongs."—"All these evils owe their origin to the unnatural growth of property—to the great increase of idle men. Our legislators are not individually wanting in humanity, but the system which has been adopted—the supposed necessity of upholding the rights of property—of vindicating its usurpation against the reclamations of overloaded industry, has rendered them cruel. Their legislation is not that of honest representatives, seeking the good of their constituents—it is the jealous legislation of suspicious masters. Their laws are enacted, not for the people, but against them—not for their protection, but their oppression: the poor are made to groan under the worst and most odious of tyrannies—a tyranny sanctioned by law!"

Among the other reforms recommended by this enlightened patriot, he proposes that the clergy should be condemned to perpetual celibacy.

"The permission which those persons have obtained to marry, and have families, has," he says, "loaded every succeeding generation with children, who belong neither to the property, nor the industry of the country; who, too poor to be gentlemen, and too proud to be day-labourers, contribute to swell the number, already too great, of those who necessarily live on the labour of others."

He concludes, therefore, that clergymen should not be permitted to have descendants; that where there is no inheritance there should be no heirs. A married parson is a very useless, selfish being.

"The claims on his income are always greater than his means. A numerous family engages all his attention; his sympathies are entirely with them; he feels no want of the love and affection of his flock. They are to him as strangers; their claims interfere with dearer objects. The companion of the rich, and not the comforter of the poor; to relieve their wants seems no part of his duty; it is always done with reluctance."

In a word, we are a ruined people, plundered and oppressed, overrun with rich men, borne down with property, overwhelmed with capital, pestered with manufactories, and stunned with the bustle of trade. The sea is covered with ships, which had better been covering the hills with spreading boughs and green leaves; and we have thousands of sailors earning a perilous maintenance on the waves of every ocean,

who would have been more usefully employed in dibbling beans, or hoeing potatoes. Our clergy, too, have spouses and cradles in their houses; and our bishops are the husbands of one wife. But things cannot long remain in this unnatural predicament.

“ If the strong man be compelled to rouse himself—if industry be forced to take arms in her own defence, the issue of the contest cannot long be doubtful. The same causes which brought about a Revolution in France, are operating with not less activity in England; events are silently preparing a change beyond the power of man to resist: the vision of our imaginary wealth is fast passing away; what France was before her revolution, England now is. The good of the people is sacrificed to the supposed interest of their masters; the rich form a privileged class as much as ever the nobility did in France; the distinction between the two ranks of people is not less in the one country, than it was in the other; the misery formerly endured by the French peasantry, is scarcely equalled by that to which the English labourer is forced to submit. Our law cannot boast of more humanity than that of France; its execution is not more merciful,” &c. &c.

There is one particular in which old France is not paralleled by modern England—the impunity with which such writers as Mr. Ravenstone are allowed to publish inflammatory books, was unknown under the old regime; and is but sparingly exercised even in these days of her regeneration. If the people would but read on both sides, our government would have nothing to fear from the most unlimited freedom of printing: they read, however, no political books, but such as strengthen their prejudices, and render still thicker and darker the medium through which they view every action of their rulers; and, therefore, such works as this now before us, cannot fail to produce a deep and very general alienation in the minds of the multitude, already predisposed to think themselves injured, and robbed by all the classes above them.

We now proceed to the main subject, on which our author's “Doubts” are expressed, and to which, indeed, it should seem, that we owe his hairum scairum book; namely, the doctrine of population.

All our readers are aware of the opinions of Mr. Malthus on this head, and, in particular, that in very favourable circumstances, the population of a country will double itself in twenty-five years, and go on increasing at this rate as long as food and other means of life shall continue equally cheap and plentiful. It has appeared to him, however, that whilst the inherent fruitfulness of mankind would manifest itself in a geometrical ratio, that is, in a constant doubling of num-

bers, in a given period of years, the means of subsistence can only be increased in an arithmetical ratio, or by an addition of the original quantity at the end of the same number of years. In other words, whilst population increases as 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, subsistence cannot be augmented at a greater rate than as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; and therefore the increase of eaters must soon outrun the progress of the most active measures to supply them with food, and thereby check the advance of population even in the most fruitful countries.

The opponents of Mr. Malthus have taken advantage of the mathematical language employed by him for denoting the rates at which population and subsistence are supposed to encrease; and some of them have satisfied themselves that his theory is altogether groundless, merely because they have made out a few cases in which his hypothetical ratios do not apply. Mr. Ravenstone is pleased on this head to try the *argumentum ad absurdum* against his antagonist. Supposing that the eight persons who survived the flood derived just enough of food to subsist upon from the agricultural operations which they then recommenced, and assuming the principle stated by Mr. Malthus, that subsistence can only be increased in an arithmetical ratio, in periods of twenty-five years, he comes to the conclusion that the quantity of provisions at present raised on the face of the whole earth, is equal to nothing more than the maintenance of 1328 individuals. Thirteen hundred and twenty-eight rations are all, says he, that are allotted for the subsistence of one thousand millions of people. But, continues he, when we come to consider the other branch of the proposition, when we attempt to set down the numbers of people who ought at present to exist for the consumption of this scanty stock of provisions, the ridiculousness of the result almost deters us from proceeding. Eight persons, doubling geometrically in periods of twenty-five years, should give for the number of the present inhabitants of the world 256,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000; a number so extravagant, he observes, that though the figures may be placed before our eyes, yet no language has ever been, or ever will be, able to invent terms by which an idea of its immensity can be conveyed to the mind.

Now, as Mr. Ravenstone finds, upon an actual inspection of things, that the human race has not yet multiplied so as to cover the surface of the globe at the rate of 256,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 men, women and children, to every

square inch, he pronounces the Essay on Population to be a mere tissue of absurdity.

Reasoning on this subject would be absolutely thrown away upon a writer who maintains that mankind encrease equally at all times and in all circumstances ; that “ the proportion of births and deaths, the chances of life, are the same in Turkey and America ;” that “ population does not encrease less rapidly in China than in Switzerland ;” that “ the greatest encouragements to population, and the greatest checks, produce almost exactly the same results ;” that “ the growth of population is in no manner regulated by the amount of subsistence ;” that “ no increase in the means of subsistence can at all add to the numbers of a people ;” that “ births, marriages, and deaths observe the same dull, unvarying routine in a land of wildernesses that they do in countries supposed to be already overstocked with inhabitants ;” and that “ the law of increase is the same on the banks of the Wolga as on those of the Seine, on the borders of the White Sea as on the shores of the Mediterranean.” Maintaining that subsistence always increases in an *exact proportion to the amount of labour employed on its production*, he cannot possibly anticipate the period when any country or even district of a country will be overpeopled, for subsistence will always be most abundant where the people is most numerous. The man who can say this will say anything, and is really not fit to be reasoned with. *Quoad hoc*, he is not in his right mind.

In a large portion of his absurdity on the disputed question of population, as applicable to North America, our author has not the merit, such as it is, of being original. On the contrary, he adopts, without the slightest reference or acknowledgment to Mr. Boath, (a gentleman who has incorporated in Mr. Godwin's book a Dissertation on the ratios of increase among mankind) a rule suggested by that writer for ascertaining what proportion of any people is to be ascribed to native increase, and what to the immigration of strangers. Indeed Mr. Ravenstone gives the said rule in almost the very words of Mr. Boath, without so much as intimating that such a person existed. It is as follows :—

“ If we take a census of the citizens twenty years since, and compare it with one of the present day, it is obvious that all the persons comprised in the first, who are still living, will be found in the second, in the class of those who have passed their twentieth year. If the number of those in the second census who have passed their twentieth year, exceed the whole number of the first

census, it is equally certain that they cannot be a part of the native population; that they must have been added from the stores of other nations."

We shall not enter into the several calculations founded on the principle now explained, because these require such a variety of corrections to bring their result at all near the truth, that we should, in following them out, greatly exceed our limits and abuse the patience of the reader. Suffice it to say, as a palpable proof of the absurdity to which it leads, that our author has discovered by means of it, that "the number of persons for whom America will be really indebted to immigration in the interval between the two censuses, (1790 and 1810) will amount to 2,370,000, or four-fifths of the whole increase!" The average annual augmentation from this source is not less than 118,500. It is not indeed said that the emigrants amount yearly to near 120,000, but that this class of persons, with their children begotten in America, add that number annually to the population of the United States. According to our author, the adult settlers proceeding as emigrants to the States, cannot have been less than 70,000 persons in each year. This computation, he adds, does not, of course, include those who may have arrived in their childhood, and who, at the time of the second census, had not completed their twentieth year; and what may have been the amount of this class of emigrants, there are no means of ascertaining.

In reply to this hypothetical conclusion, it is only necessary to adduce the facts collected by the latest and best informed writers of the United States. Mr. Warden, after mentioning that the population of his native country has more than doubled every twenty years, since the period of the first American establishments, remarks, that

"We have not been able to ascertain the amount of emigration from foreign parts into the United States; but it is obvious that the additions derived from this source bear but a small proportion to the annual increase of the population. In time of peace the number of those who arrive annually in the United States, with the view of settling, has been estimated at 8000. During war it is very inconsiderable."

Dr. Seybert too, the author of the Statistical Annals of the United States, calculates upon the authority of completely authenticated documents, that from 1790 to 1810 the average number of immigrants, who arrived annually in that republic, could not exceed 6000: and adds, that the population of the Union would have doubled in nearly the same time which it

has required independently of the accession supplied by foreign settlers. Four-fifths of a year make all the difference. Bristed's estimate coincides very closely with that of Dr. Seybert.

"The recent convulsions and distresses of Europe," says the former of these authors, "have, during the last two or three years (he wrote in 1818) thrown a more than usual quantity of foreign emigrants into the United States. For the rapid increase of population, however, this country is much less indebted to foreign emigration than is generally believed. The number of emigrants from other countries into the Union has not averaged more than 5000 annually, during the twenty-five years preceding the peace of Europe in 1815; and full half that number have, during the same period, emigrated from the United States, partly into Upper Canada, and partly as seafaring adventurers all over the world. The proof that this country owes the rapid increase of its population chiefly to its own exertions in that universal domestic manufactory, the production of children, lies in the fact that the average births are to the deaths, throughout the whole United States, as 100 to 48; in the healthiest parts, as New England and the Middle States, as 100 to 44; in the least healthy, namely, the two Carolinas and Georgia, as 100 to 52."

Without placing absolute reliance on Registers, which are not kept with perfect accuracy in any part of the world, we see no reason to doubt but that the immense increase of American population is almost entirely owing to births. In many parts of England it is no easy matter to obtain the exact number of the children born, owing to the great prevalence of Dissenters in the large manufacturing towns, and more especially of such sects, as Quakers and Anabaptists, who do not bring their infants to the Christian font. In America, where there are nearly three millions of people who have neither church nor chapel, and where religious ordinances are very little attended to, the difficulty of preserving accuracy in the lists of births, weddings, and burials, must be still greater. The uncertainty arising from this source will, however, be completely removed by the actual numbering of the people every ten years; and the uniform result of every census has been to establish the fact, that the population of the States generally, has doubled in twenty-five years.

Ravenstone ascribes the periodical reports of American increase to their national vanity.

"The extraordinary powers of procreation in the inhabitants of the United States, are too flattering to their vanity to be easily

relinquished. They have too strongly seized on the imagination of many on this side of the Atlantic to be dissipated by a single calculation. Men who are ashamed any longer to believe in nations with one eye, or with the heads of dogs, are delighted to have found something extraordinary on which they may soberly feed their credulity. The opinion is grateful to all who hanker after novelty in whatever form. *This doctrine is of the family of the devils who are distinguished for their obstinacy, who will not yield to the first summons of the exorcist, who can only be driven out by patience and long-suffering.*"

He then proceeds to another method of casting out the evil spirit which possesses at once Malthus' theory and the American facts on which it rests: but we are tired of the subject and of the interminable absurdity with which it is now overlaid by such unthinking writers as Godwin and Ravenstone. They must secure a triumph to every cause which they oppose: their bad reasoning would endanger the best; and, on the present occasion, their arguments have no weight whatever but in refuting the monstrous errors which they endeavour to uphold. We have no wish to expose more openly than we have done to the contempt and execration which they cannot fail to encounter, the anti-patriotic spirit of the author more immediately before us, and the vile insinuations which he every where mutters against the policy of his country and the wisest and best men with whom it is adorned. Alluding to the doctrines brought forward in the *Essay on Population*,

"The great and rich," says he, "could not be much offended at discovering that whilst their rights were augmented, they were entirely absolved from the performance of those actions which the less enlightened judgment of other times had classed among the most important and most essential of their duties. To be merciful to our own faults, and severe to the errors of others: to believe our idle expenses meritorious, and to view with indifference the distresses of the poor; to set up selfishness as the idol of our idolatry, and to drive away charity to dwell only in the habitations of the wretched—are duties not very repugnant to our nature. Taxation was no evil; the privations it caused only checked the increase of the poor; its inflictions only superseded the severer inflictions of nature; its mild and mitigated pressure only took away the necessity of pestilence and famine; the moral check destroyed the physical evil: it was better for man to fall into the hands of his fellow-creatures than into those of his God."

The object of this vile trash cannot be mistaken; but it can do injury to no one if we except the individual whose head conceived such a miserable sarcasm, and whose heart gave consent to its publication.

ART. XI. *Ten Years' Exile; or Memoirs of that interesting Period of the Life of the Baroness De Staël-Holstein, written by Herself, during the Years 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813, and now first published from the Original Manuscript, by her Son. Translated from the French.* 8vo. 450 pp. 12s. Treutel & Co. 1821.

THIS is a curious and extremely entertaining work. Entertaining it could hardly fail to be, because it is the production of a person, all of whose works bear the stamp of genius; the curiosity of it, however, proceeds from another quarter: we mean the light which it throws upon the character of the late ruler of France. It is, indeed, in this last point of view that we think the volume before us will be principally valued by posterity. That part of it which belongs properly and exclusively to Madame de Staël, as the History of her Travels in Austria, Poland, and Russia, though written with all her usual eloquence, is simply amusing; but in the earlier part of the volume, where she describes the series of persecutions which she endured from Buonaparte, and which ended in her exile from France, there is to be found matter for much graver reflection. We have never been disposed to underrate the talents, either civil or military, of that extraordinary man. No human being ever understood better than he did, which were the *means* best adapted to his ends; nor ever employed them with more skill or perseverance. It was in the choice of his *ends*, that the inferiority of his character was in fact displayed. His love of power and of fame; his conception of greatness, his taste in the arts, were all of the most vulgar kind. And withal, there was in every part of his conduct, such a total want of magnanimity, as at once draws a deep line of separation between him and most of those other successful usurpers, whom the world has heretofore been pleased to dignify with the name of heroes.

With respect to this last feature in his character, it would not be easy to pitch upon any single trait in his history, in which the littleness of his mind was more unequivocally exemplified, than in the account which Madame de Staël has here left us, of the pains and trouble he took to tease and torment her. It forms by itself a chapter in his history. His conduct towards Spain, his horrible assassination of the Duke d'Enghien, the calumnious falsehoods, and contemptible boastings of his bulletins, only shew that there were no means, however bad, or however low, which he would disdain to employ when they promoted his ends. But in his

persecution of Madame de Staël, it is plain that he could have no further views beyond the gratification of his immediate feelings. The only complaint which he had to make against her, was simply that she absented herself from the crowd of his worshippers. In her books, there were no opinions expressed against which *he* could take exception, whatever exception might be taken against them by those who take their morals from the Bible. It was of her *silence* only that he had to complain. She made no mention of him in her works; expressed no approbation of his government, nor any admiration of his achievements. To put a woman to death, or even to imprison her, when it was notorious that this was the "head and front of her offending," would have appeared too ridiculous, would have been to make too humiliating a confession, even if there had been no obstacles in public opinion of a more insurmountable description, to deter him from such an exposure of his weakness. Madame de Staël had early notice of the offence which she was giving. Shortly after 18th Brumaire, Joseph Buonaparte, who appears in Madame de Staël's account, to be a man of considerable sense, and many amiable qualities, told her, "My brother complains of you. Why, said he to me yesterday, why does not Madame de Staël attach herself to my government? What is it that she wants? the payment of the deposit of her father? I will give orders for it. A residence in Paris? I will allow it her. In short, what is it she wishes?" Madame de Staël's reply to this was quick and conclusive. "*Mon Dieu!*" said she, "the question is not what *I wish*, but what *I think*."

Buonaparte had the means of revenging himself in his hands, and he knew well in what way to exercise them. The ruling passion of Madame de Staël's mind, was the love of admiration. Paris was almost the only air in which she could breathe; but Paris was nothing to her without the society which it contained. The First Consul commenced with turning his back upon all who frequented her house. He publicly reproached his brother Joseph for continuing to visit her. Joseph felt it necessary, in consequence, to stay away, and his example was followed by three-fourths of her acquaintance. On a particular day, when Benjamin Constant was to make an exhibition at the tribunate, she had invited a party. At five o'clock she had received ten notes of apology. "The first and second" says Madame de Staël, "I bore tolerably well; but when they began to succeed each other rapidly, I began to be alarmed;" and she confesses, that nothing except the recollection of her father, and of his

blood that flowed in her veins, gave her strength of mind to persist in not bending the knee.

"Madam de Staël," said the prefect of Geneva, "has contrived to make herself a very pleasant life at Coppet; her friends and foreigners come to see her: the emperor will not allow that." And why did he torment me in this manner? that I might print an eulogium upon him: and of what consequence was this eulogium to him, among the millions of phrases which fear and hope were constantly offering at his shrine? Bonaparte once said: 'If I had the choice, either of doing a noble action myself, or of inducing my adversary to do a mean one, I would not hesitate to prefer the debasement of my enemy.' In this sentence you have the explanation of the particular pains which he took to torment my existence. He knew that I was attached to my friends, to France, to my works, to my tastes, to society; in taking from me every thing which composed my happiness, his wish was to trouble me sufficiently to make me write some piece of insipid flattery, in the hope that it would obtain me my recall. In refusing to lend myself to his wishes, I ought to say it, I have not had the merit of making a sacrifice; the emperor wished me to commit a meanness, but a meanness entirely useless; for at a time when success was in a manner deified, the ridicule would not have been complete, if I had succeeded in returning to Paris, by whatever means I had effected it. To satisfy our master, whose skill in degrading whatever remains of lofty mind is unquestionable, it was necessary that I should dishonour myself in order to obtain my return to France,—that he should turn into mockery my zeal in praise of him who had never ceased to persecute me,—and that this zeal should not be of the least service to me. I have denied him this truly refined satisfaction; it is all the merit I have had in the long contest which has subsisted between his omnipotence and my weakness." P. 221.

Shortly after, in 1800, was published her work on Literature, and the success it met with, again filled her drawing room. In the mean time the battle of Marengo was fought, and Bonaparte was absent from the capital. Before his return, Madame de Staël had gone to pay her annual visit to her father at Coppet; and she soon learned, both from her friends and enemies, that her return to Paris, would probably be only the signal of her final banishment. To avoid this, she took up her residence at a country seat, which she possessed about 10 leagues distant, hoping that the smallness of the number of those who would visit a person out of favour with the government, at that distance from the capital, would probably attract no notice, or at least excite no jealousy. Small as the number was, however, she was wrong in the rest of her reasoning. For it did excite the

jealousy of the ruler of France, or rather she was mistaken, because he was resolved, that she should have no enjoyment of which it was in his power to deprive her.

“I was at table with three of my friends, in a room which commanded a view of the high road, and the entrance gate; it was now the end of September. At four o'clock, a man in a brown coat, on horseback, steps at the gate and rings: I was then certain of my fate. He asked for me, and I went to receive him in the garden. In walking towards him, the perfume of the flowers, and the beauty of the sun particularly struck me. How different are the sensations which affect us from the combinations of society, from those of nature! This man informed me, that he was the commandant of the gendarmerie of Versailles; but that his orders were to go out of uniform, that he might not alarm me; he shewed me a letter signed by Bonaparte, which contained the order to banish me to forty leagues distance from Paris, with an injunction to make me depart within four and twenty hours; at the same time, to treat me with all the respect due to a lady of distinction. He pretended to consider me as a foreigner, and as such, subject to the police: this respect for individual liberty did not last long, as very soon afterwards, other Frenchmen and Frenchwomen were banished without any form of trial. I told the gendarme officer, that to depart within twenty-four hours, might be convenient to conscripts, but not to a woman and children, and in consequence, I proposed to him to accompany me to Paris, where I had occasion to pass three days to make the necessary arrangements for my journey. I got into my carriage with my children and this officer, who had been selected for this occasion, as the most literary of the gendarmes. In truth, he began complimenting me upon my writing. ‘You see,’ said I to him, ‘the consequences of being a woman of intellect, and I would recommend you, if there is occasion, to dissuade any females of your family from attempting it.’ I endeavoured to keep up my spirits by boldness, but I felt the barb in my heart.” P. 93.

From this moment war was openly declared against her; to exile her from France, and from the countries over which his influence extended, would not have suited the revenge which the First Consul proposed to execute. In England, (where she wished to be allowed to go) she could still surround herself with admirers, and still avoid some of that ennui of which she felt so much horror. One by one he cut her off from the intercourse of every friend she possessed, it being at last generally understood, that whoever had the generosity to visit her in her prison of Coppet, would expose themselves to the fate which they presumed to commiserate. Nor was this an empty threat; several of her friends were actually banished for no other crime, and one

of these victims was Madame Recamier, whose beauty some of our readers may remember to have admired in London, during the short interval of the peace of Amiens.

“While I was in this state, I received a letter from Mame Recamier, that beautiful person who has received the admiration of the whole of Europe, and who has never abandoned an unfortunate friend. She informed me, that on her road to the waters of Aix in Savoy, to which she was proceeding, she intended stopping at my house, and would be there in two days. I trembled lest the lot of M. de Montmorency should also become hers. However improbable it was, I was ordained to fear every thing from a hatred so barbarous and minute, and I therefore sent a courier to meet Madame Recamier, to beseech her not to come to Coppet. To know that she who had never failed to console me with the most amiable attention was only a few leagues distant from me; to know that she was there, so near to my habitation, and that I was not allowed to see her again, perhaps for the last time! all this I was obliged to bear. I conjured her not to stop at Coppet; she would not yield to my intreaties; she could not pass under my windows without remaining some hours with me, and it was with convulsions of tears that I saw her enter this chateau, in which her arrival had always been a fête. She left me the next day, and repaired instantly to one of her relations at fifty leagues distant from Switzerland. It was in vain; the fatal blow of exile smote her also; she had had the intention of seeing me, and that was enough; for the generous compassion which had inspired her, she must be punished. The reverses of fortune which she had met with made the destruction of her natural establishment extremely painful to her. Separated from all her friends, she has passed whole months in a little provincial town, a prey to the extremes of every feeling of insipid and melancholy solitude. Such was the lot to which I was the cause of condemning the most brilliant female of her time; and thus regardless did the chief of the French, that people so renowned for their gallantry, show himself towards the most beautiful woman in Paris.”
P. 220.

Wearied out with persecutions, and still more alarmed to think that her residence even on the confines of France, should prove a snare to the generosity of her friends, Madame de Staël at length resolved to fly to England; and it gives us a lively idea of the horrible slavery to which the world was reduced under the hero of our modern republicans, that the only road which was open to her from Switzerland to this country, was through Moscow, and from thence through Petersburg and Sweden. She left Coppet almost in disguise, and with all the precautions against interruption, which might have been necessary in the case of a common criminal.

For the detail of all the particulars by which Madame de Staël was pursued during several years, and of which the history of the suppression of her work on Germany is not the least characteristic, we must refer our readers to the volume before us. It may just suffice to notice, that this last work just mentioned, was allowed to go through the press, after having been submitted to the Censorship, and subject to such alterations as the minister at the head of that department deemed requisite; and that it was not until 10,000 copies had been struck off, that the blow was struck of suppressing it. Simply to have forbidden the publication of the work in the first instance, would have made the mortification of its author not sufficiently complete.

The history which is now presented to the public, was left in an unfinished state, and is given to the world by her son. The narrative begins in 1800, and stops at 1804. It recommences in 1810, and breaks off abruptly, at her arrival in Sweden, in 1812. Between the first and second of these Memoirs, there is consequently an interval of nearly six years. And the Memoirs themselves possess totally different characters. The former may almost be considered as a chapter in her work upon the French Revolution; and in fact the materials of that work were in part formed from those papers, of which we have here the remainder. But the second part of the volume, ought rather to be regarded as a personal narrative of Madame de Staël's travels in Germany, Poland, and Russia. The interest which this portion of the work possesses is very considerable. The circumstances under which she travelled through the Austrian dominions, expecting at every stage to be stopped, and subject to various marks of jealousy, arising from the situation in which Austria was then placed with respect to France, gave occasion to several incidents and scenes sufficiently amusing; and her remarks upon Russia and the Russian character, just before the French invasion, and at a moment when the national feelings were peculiarly developed, are strongly impressed with the marks of her keen talent for observation. There is, however, in the work, as in the mind of its authoress, so little method—subjects are taken up, and abandoned, and resumed, with so little regard, often either to logic or chronology, that it will not be in our power to offer any thing like an abridgment of its contents; we must be content with extracting here and there in the volume, a few passages by way of specimen, which appeared to us as containing matter deserving of notice, either from the facts, or from the reflections with which they are accompanied.

Whatever the faults of Madame de Staël may have been, she was a high minded woman, and quite above relating any thing which she did not believe to be true; on this account we attach particular value to the political anecdotes which the work before us contains. Her means of gaining correct information were unquestionable; and however great the injuries may have been, which she suffered at the hands of Buonaparte, yet she no where evinces a disposition (which where it exists, is always distinguishable) to adopt mere slanderous reports. But the following atrocity we do not remember to have ever before heard laid to his charge; which, however, we give on her authority. The "infernal machine" by which the First Consul so narrowly escaped with his life, was, as our readers are aware, the result of a royalist conspiracy. But as his power was in no way endangered by this party at that time, but rather by the jacobins, of whose crimes he was reaping all the fruits, and whose authority he had forcibly usurped, he endeavoured, Madame de Staël tells us, to stifle rather than to avail himself of it, as he wished the nation to believe that his only enemies in France, were those of order. It was upon England accordingly, that he affected to throw the odium of that abortive attempt; nevertheless he made it the pretence of transporting by a mere *senatus consultum*, one hundred and thirty jacobins, to the island of Madagascar. The lists were made in the most arbitrary manner; names were put upon it, or erased, according to the recommendation of counsellors of state; and as none of the individuals who were the victims of this act of tyrannical power were ever more heard of, no doubt was entertained of their having been committed to a watery grave. They were probably all of them great criminals, but as Madame de Staël remarks, it is the right, and not the fact, which constitutes the legality of actions.

Of all the crimes which Buonaparte committed, the most odious and the most gratuitous, was the murder of the Duke D'Enghien. It is really difficult to assign any adequate motive (putting the infamy of the act out of the question) for his conduct on that occasion. It was not done in the heat of passion; for between the execution of the duke, and the order for his seizure, eight days elapsed. And as to any calculation of policy, that surely was strongly against it. Madame de Staël tells us, that in France the public opinion was openly expressed, and the indignation general: so much so, that Buonaparte felt himself uneasy for some time after, at the disposition of men's minds. She herself was in Berlin, at the time when the news arrived; and the sensa-

tion which it there created, may perhaps have been one cause of the peculiar hatred which Buonaparte always evinced against the royal family of Prussia. Prince Louis Ferdinand, who was afterwards killed, we believe at the battle of Jena, did not dissemble his indignation.

"I resided, says Mad. de Staël, at Berlin on the Spree Quay, and my apartment was on the ground floor. One morning I was awoke at eight o'clock, and told that Prince Louis-Ferdinand was on horseback under my windows, and wished me to come and speak to him. Much astonished at this early visit, I hastened to get up and go to him. He was a singularly graceful horseman, and his emotion heightened the nobleness of his countenance. 'Do you know,' said he to me, 'that the Duke d'Enghien has been carried off from the Baden territory, delivered to a military commission, and shot within twenty-four hours after his arrival in Paris?' 'What nonsense!' I answered, 'dost you see that this can only be a report spread by the enemies of France?' In fact, I confess that my hatred of Bonaparte, strong as it was, never went the length of making me believe in the possibility of his committing such an atrocity. 'As you doubt what I tell you,' replied Prince Louis, 'I will send you the *Moniteur*, in which you will read the sentence.' He left me at these words, and the expression of his countenance was the presage of revenge or death. A quarter of an hour afterwards, I had in my hands this *Moniteur* of the 21st March, (30th Pluviose), which contained the sentence of death pronounced by the military commission sitting at Vincennes, against the person called Louis d'Enghien! P. 119.

"Prince Louis wrote to me, beginning his note in these words, 'The person called Louis of Prussia begs to know of Madame de Staël, &c.' He felt the insult offered to the royal blood from which he sprung, to the recollection of the heroes, in the roll of whom he burned to place his name." P. 119.

It is said, that an old jacobin when he heard the news, exclaimed, "So much the better! General Buonaparte is now become one of the Convention." And for some time, we are told, that it was expected in France, that the murder of the Duke D'Enghien, was the signal of a new system of terror, and that the scaffolds were about to be re-erected.

It is wonderful how soon custom reconciles the mind to what at first may have appeared the height of absurdity and extravagance; and we now talk and think of Buonaparte's kings, and dukes, and counts, just as composedly as if he had formed part of the ancient monarchy in France. But Madame de Staël tells us, that the excessive ridicule of Buonaparte's imperial court was for some time the subject of laughter in Paris. The account which she gives us of the effect produced upon the imagination of the Parisians, by the

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sudden metamorphosis of Jacobins and Jacobinnesses into titled Lords and Ladies, and of the absurdities into which some of the new Princes and Princesses were misled by their new honours, is amusing enough.

“ A very odd peculiarity in the French, and which Bonaparte has penetrated with great sagacity, is, that they, who are so ready to perceive what is ridiculous in others, desire nothing better than to render themselves ridiculous, as soon as their vanity finds its account in it in some other way. Nothing certainly presents a greater subject for pleasantry, than the creation of an entirely new noblesse, such as Bonaparte established for the support of his new throne. The princesses and queens, *citizenesses* of the day before, could not themselves refrain from laughing at hearing themselves styled, your majesty.

“ Puns without end were darted against this nobility of yesterday; and a thousand expressions of the new ladies were quoted, which presumed little acquaintance with good manners. And certainly there is nothing so difficult to learn, as the kind of politeness which is neither ceremonious nor familiar: it seems a trifle, but it requires a foundation in ourselves; for no one acquires it, if it is not inspired by early habits or elevation of mind. Buonaparte himself is embarrassed on occasions of representation; and frequently in his own family, and even with foreigners, he seems to feel delighted in returning to those vulgar actions and expressions which remind him of his revolutionary youth. Buonaparte knew very well that the Parisians made pleasantries on his new nobility; but he knew also that their opinions would only be expressed in vulgar jokes, and not in strong actions. The energy of the oppressed went not beyond the equivocal of a pun; and as in the East they have been reduced to the apologue, in France they sunk still lower, namely, to the clashing of syllables. A single instance of a *jeu de mots* deserves, however, to survive the ephemeral success of such productions; one day as the princesses of the blood were announced, some one added, *of the blood of Engliên*. And in truth, such was the baptism of this new dynasty.” P. 145.

We now come to the second part of these Memoirs, which contain the history of Madame de Staël's final banishment from France and subsequent travels, after the suppression of her “*Allemagne*.” We have before mentioned that, at this period, no one of all her numerous friends were permitted to have any intercourse with her, under the penalty of sharing in her punishment and disgrace; but this system of interference extended even to her domestic circle. M. Schlegel had for eight years been employed in the education of her sons. His society, however, was a resource which Buonaparte was resolved Madame de Staël should be deprived of; and accordingly the tutor of her children received orders not only to quit Coppet, but to leave Geneva. The

pretence for this further instance of petty spite in the mind of "Napoleon the Great," is also worth recording; and we cannot do better than give it in Madame de Staël's own words.

"I then wished to know why I was deprived of the society of M. Schlegel, my own friend, and that of my children. The prefect, who was accustomed, like the greater part of the emperor's agents, to couple very smooth words with very harsh acts, told me that it was from regard to me that the government banished M. Schlegel from my house, as he made me an Anti-galican. Much affected by this proof of the paternal care of the government, I asked what Mr. S. had ever done against France: the prefect objected to his literary opinions, and referred, among other things, to a pamphlet of his, in which, in a comparison between the Phædra of Euripides and that of Racine, he had given the preference to the former.—P. 197.

This last drop of malice made the cup to overflow, and from this moment she formed her resolution of escaping, at all risks, from the power by which she was persecuted. We pass over the particulars of her preparations for her journey, and of the various contrivances for evading the precautions of the prefect, by which she finally eluded his vigilance, and escaped through the Tyrol into Germany. She arrived at Vienna just at the period when the emperor was absent at Dresden, at the levee of Buonaparte, preparatory to the Russian invasion. As her fear was lest this last should hear of her escape, and reclaim her as a French subject, she hurried away from Austria, without waiting for the arrival of her Russian passport. Having at length surmounted the difficulties and obstructions which she met with in her passage through Galicia, she reached Moscow; and from that period we hear of nothing except of the fêtes to which she was invited, and the honours which she received. Although it is evident that nothing can be farther from her intentions than to say any thing disobliging of Russia, and that, in fact, the whole account which she gives us of the country is a constant apology for whatever she sees that is unpleasant in the landscape, or faulty in the people or the government; yet, for that very reason, the conviction conveyed into the mind of the reader is only the stronger, that of all the countries in the civilized world, Russia is the last in which a civilized being would choose to take up his abode. We can readily imagine the effect which the following landscape would produce upon the eager mind of Madame de Staël. She is describing the road between Kiow and Moscow.

"Although I was driven along with great rapidity, it seemed to me that I did not advance a step, the country was so extremely

monotonous. Plains of sand, forests of birch trees, and villages at a great distance from each other, composed of wooden houses all built upon the same plan: these were the only objects that my eyes encountered. I felt that sort of nightmare which sometimes seizes one during the night, when you think you are always marching and never advancing. The country appeared to me like the image of infinite space, and to require eternity to traverse it. Every instant you met couriers passing, who went along with incredible swiftness; they were seated on a wooden bench, placed across a little cart drawn by two horses, and nothing stopped them for a moment. The jolting of their carriage sometimes made them spring two feet above it, but they fell with astonishing address, and made haste to call out in Russian, *forward*, with an energy similar to that of the French on a day of battle. The Slavonian language is singularly echoing; I should almost say there is something metallic about it; you would think you heard a bell striking, when the Russians pronounce certain letters of their alphabet, quite different from those which compose the dialect of the west.

“ We saw passing some corps de reserve approaching by forced marches to the theatre of war; the Cossacks were repairing, one by one, to the army, without order or uniform, with a long lance in their hand, and a kind of grey dress, whose ample hood they put over their head.” P. 323.

“ I was always advancing nearer to Moscow, but nothing yet indicated the approach to a capital. The wooden villages were equally distant from each other, we saw no greater movement upon the immense plains which are called high roads; you heard no more noise; the country houses were not more numerous: there is so much space in Russia that every thing is lost in it, even the chateau, even the population. You might suppose you were travelling through a country from which the people had just taken their departure. The absence of birds adds to this silence; cattle also are rare, or at least they are placed at a great distance from the road. Extent makes every thing disappear, except extent itself, like certain ideas in metaphysics, of which the mind can never get rid, when it has once seized them.” P. 330.

Nor do we think that the portrait she draws of the Russian character itself, will convey a very high notion of its merits. It is, however, well drawn, and may the more be depended upon, as the delineation of character is Madame de Staël's peculiar excellence.

“ The manner of the Russians is so obliging, that you might imagine yourself, the very first day, intimate with them, and probably at the end of ten years you would not be so. The silence of a Russian is altogether extraordinary; this silence is solely occasioned by what he takes a deep interest in. In other respects they talk as much as you will; but their conversation teaches you nothing but their politeness; it betrays neither their feelings nor opinions. They have been frequently compared to the French,

in my opinion with the least justice in the world. The flexibility of their organs makes imitation in all things a matter of ease to them; they are English, French, or German, in their manners, according to circumstances; but they never cease to be Russians, that is to say uniting impetuosity and reserve, more capable of passion than friendship, more bold than delicate, more devout than virtuous, more brave than chivalrous, and so violent in their desires that nothing can stop them, when their gratification is in question. They are much more hospitable than the French; but society does not with them, as with us, consist of a circle of clever people of both sexes, who take pleasure in talking together. They meet, as we go to a fête, to see a great deal of company, to have fruits and rare productions from Asia or Europe; to hear music, to play; in short, to receive vivid emotions from external objects, rather than from the heart or understanding, both of which they reserve for actions and not for company. Besides, as they are in general very ignorant, they find very little pleasure in serious conversation, and do not at all pique themselves in shining by the wit they can exhibit in it. Poetry, eloquence and literature are not yet to be found in Russia; luxury, power and courage are the principal objects of pride and ambition; all other methods of acquiring distinction appear as yet effeminate and vain to this nation." P. 334.

If the love of truth, however, appears to have constrained Madame de Staël to be not very complimentary in the general remarks which she is obliged to make upon the people of Ruszia, her good nature and gratitude have led her to make some amends by the uniform commendation which she passes upon every person, and almost every building which she describes in particular. She points out all the beauties of Moscow with a partial hand, and Petersburg under her pencil appears, as we believe it really to be, a magnificent city. That the emperor himself should be painted to advantage, is not to be wondered at. His patriotism and good intentions cannot be doubted, even by those who are not so ready to believe in the superiority of his talents; and the manner in which he received and conversed with Madame de Staël, certainly displays his character and manners in an amiable and manly point of view. The following extract contains nothing that is intrinsically interesting, but it is always a matter of some curiosity to know how a man who has half a million of soldiers under his command, thinks and feels.

"As I was conversing with the empress, the door opened, and the emperor Alexander did me the honour to come and talk to me. What first struck me in him was such an expression of goodness and dignity, that the two qualities appear inseparable, and in him to form only one. I was also very much affected with the noble simplicity with which he entered upon the great interests of

Europe, almost among the first words he addressed to me. I have always regarded, as a proof of mediocrity, that apprehension of treating serious questions, with which the best part of the sovereigns of Europe have been inspired: they are afraid to pronounce a word to which any real meaning can be attached. The emperor Alexander, on the contrary, conversed with me as statesmen in England would have done, who place their strength in themselves, and not in the barriers with which they are surrounded. The emperor Alexander, whom Napoleon has endeavoured to misrepresent, is a man of remarkable understanding and information, and I do not believe that in the whole extent of his empire he could find a minister better versed than himself in all that belongs to the judgment and direction of public affairs. He did not disguise from me his regret for the admiration to which he had surrendered himself in his intercourse with Napoleon.' P. 378.

"Alexander expressed to me his regret at not being a great captain: I replied to this noble modesty, that a sovereign was much more rare than a general, and that the support of the public feelings of his people, by his example, was achieving the greatest victory, and the first of the kind which had ever been gained. The emperor talked to me with enthusiasm of his nation, and of all that it was capable of becoming. He expressed to me the desire, which all the world knows him to entertain, of ameliorating the state of the peasants still subject to slavery. 'Sire,' said I to him, your character is a constitution for your empire, and your conscience is the guarantee of it.'—'Were that even the case,' replied he, 'I should only be a fortunate accident.' Noble words! the first of the kind, I believe, which an absolute monarch ever pronounced! How many virtues it requires, in a despot, properly to estimate despotism! and how many virtues also, never to abuse it, when the nation which he governs is almost astonished at such signal moderation." P. 381.

We can afford room for only one more extract, when we shall bring our review of this entertaining volume to a close. It is the account which Madame de Staël gives us of a visit which she paid to Prince Narischkin, at his country-seat near Petersburgh. It is highly characteristic, and detailed with great liveliness and effect; nor do we think our readers will complain of its length.

"I went to spend a day at the country seat of Prince Narischkin, great chamberlain of the court, an amiable, easy and polished man, but who cannot exist without a fête; it is at his house that you obtain a correct notion of that vivacity in their tastes, which explains the defects and qualities of the Russians. The house of M. de Narischkin is always open, and if there happen to be only twenty persons at his country seat, he begins to be weary of this philosophical retreat. Polite to strangers, always in movement, and yet perfectly capable of the reflection required to stand well at court: greedy of the enjoyments of imagination, but placing

these only in things and not in books; impatient every where but at court, witty when it is to his advantage to be so, magnificent rather than ambitious, and seeking in every-thing for a certain Asiatic grandeur, in which fortune and rank are more conspicuous than personal advantages. His country seat is as agreeable as it is possible for a place of the kind to be, created by the hand of man: all the surrounding country is marshy and barren; so as to make this residence a perfect Oasis. On ascending the terrace, you see the gulph of Finland, and perceive in the distance, the palace which Peter I. built upon its borders; but the space which separates it from the sea and the palace is almost a waste, and the park of M. Narischkin alone charms the eye of the observer. We dined in the house of the Moldavians, that is to say, in a saloon built according to the taste of these people; it was arranged so as to protect from the heat of the sun, a precaution rather needless in Russia. However the imagination is impressed to that degree with the idea that you are living among a people who have only come into the North by accident, that it appears natural to find there the customs of the South, as if the Russians were some day or other to bring to Petersburg the climate of their old country. The table was covered with the fruits of all countries, according to the custom taken from the East, of only letting the fruits appear, while a croud of servants carried round to each guest the dishes of meat and vegetables they required.

“ We were entertained with a concert of that horn music which is peculiar to Russia, and of which mention has been often made. Of twenty musicians, each plays only one and the same note, every time it returns; each of these men in consequence bears the name of the note which he is employed to execute. When one of them is seen going along, people say: that is the *sol*, that is the *mi*, or that is the *re* of M. Narischkin. The horns go on increasing from rank to rank, and this music has been by some one called, very properly, a living organ. At a distance the effect is very fine: the exactness and the purity of the harmony excite the most noble ideas; but when you come near to these poor performers, who are there like pipes, yielding only one sound, and quite unable to participate by their own emotions in the effect produced, the pleasure dies away: one does not like to see the fine arts transformed into mechanical arts, to be acquired by dint of strength like exercise.” —P. 388.

“ Calmucks with flat features are still brought up in the houses of the Russian nobility, as if to preserve a specimen of those Tartars who were conquered by the Slavonians. In the palace of Narischkin there were two or three of these half-savage Calmucks running about. They are agreeable enough in their infancy, but at the age of twenty they lose all the charms of youth: obstinate, though slaves, they amuse their masters by their resistance, like a squirrel fighting with the wires of his cage. It was painful to look at this specimen of the human race debased; I thought I saw, in the midst of all the pomp of luxury, an image of what man may

become, when he derives no dignity either from religion or the laws, and this spectacle was calculated to humble the pride which the enjoyments of splendor may inspire.

“ Long carriages for promenade, drawn by the most beautiful horses, conducted us, after dinner, into the park. It was now the end of August, but the sun was pale, the grass of an almost artificial green, because it was only kept up by unremitting attention. The flowers themselves appeared to be an aristocratic enjoyment, so much expence was required to have them. No warbling of birds was heard in the woods, they did not trust themselves to this summer of a moment; neither were any cattle observable in the meadows; one could not dare to give them plants which had required such pains to cultivate. The water scarcely flowed, and only by the help of machines which brought it into the gardens, where the whole of this nature had the air of being a festival decoration, which would disappear when the guests retired. Our calèches stopped in front of a building in the garden, which represented a Tartar camp; there, all the musicians united began a new concert; the noise of horns and cymbals quite intoxicated the ideas. The better to complete this entire banishment of thinking, we had an imitation, during summer, of their sledges, the rapidity of which consoles the Russians for their winter; we rolled upon boards, from the top of a mountain in wood, with the quickness of lightning. This amusement charmed the ladies as much as the gentlemen, and allowed them to participate a little in those pleasures of war, which consist in the emotion of danger, and in the animated promptitude of all the movements. Thus passed the time; for every day saw a renewal of what appeared to me to be a fête. With some slight differences, the greater part of the great houses of Petersburg lead the same kind of life: it is impossible, as one may readily see, for any kind of continued conversation to be kept up in it, and learning is of no utility in this kind of society; but where so much is done only from the desire of collecting in one's house a great multitude of persons, entertainments are after all the only means of preventing the *ennui* which a crowd in the saloons always creates.”—P. 392.

We close the volume before us with the same sentiments with which we close every production of her pen: with the greatest admiration for her genius, and the fullest conviction of the sincerity of her opinions. To say that we always approve, or that we do not frequently very strongly disapprove of her principles, would be beyond the truth, but still we can always read what she has to say in favour of them, with patience and respect. Madame de Staël never *cants*; and we can listen to her, while she is uttering sentiments and advocating feelings, which, in the mouth of Lady Morgan, or of any other of her disciples and imitators, we should turn away from with contempt.

ART. XII. *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski: containing a Sketch of his Travels, with an Account of his Reception at the different Courts of Europe, &c. &c. Written by Himself.* 8vo. pp. 394. 12s. Baldwin and Co. 1821.

THE precise locality of that anthropomorphous nation, the height of which is comprehended in two feet or three spans, has always been a matter of doubt among philosophers. Whether we are to place the territory of this diminutive people beyond Japan, as Paulus Jovius delivers; or about the Moluccas, as Pigafeta affirms; or in Greenland, as Olaus Magnus opines; or towards the head of the Nile, as Aristotle thinks; or on the banks of the Ganges, as Philostratus holds; or in Gerania, as Pliny implies, is yet an unsettled point. But the very controversy respecting their possible residence must be admitted as a satisfactory proof of their absolute existence; and that man must have little veneration for the authority of antiquity who would deny the assertion of Ctesias that the Pigmies are blackamoors, and that their king entertains a body-guard of three thousand archers; or still more, who would refuse assent to that well accredited tradition that they obequitate on the backs of rams and partridges, and wage war with the feathered infantry of the cranes. It must not be concealed however that in opposition to the aforecited testimonies we find arrayed the scepticism of the judicious Strabo, of the diligent Julius Scaliger; of the exact Zoographer Ulysses Aldrovandus, who has discoursed largely and especially on the subject; of the shrewd Eustathius; of the profound Albertus Magnus; and lastly, of the disputatious Cardan, who himself having been born contrary to the regular ordinances of nature, may be deemed no unfitting judge of her less common productions. Some of these sages would assign a middle disposition between the human and the spiritual to the pigmies, whom they term Non Adamical men; and others again would degrade them still lower, to the cercopithecal level of unintelligent apes.

Be this as it may, on a point concerning whose verity so many contending testimonies are arranged on opposite sides, a partial suspension of opinion is the duty of the wise; whether we admit or deny the aggregated habitations of these cubital mannikins, (they are called Gammadin by the Hebrews, and in the Chaldaic and Cappadocian versions, as well as that of Symmachus, Theodotion, Trevellius, and many others, the Textuary word is retained, notwithstanding a deviation from it in the Arabic and High Dutch) we must be fully prepared to acknowledge their occasional appearance as individuals. Every body has heard

of Marius Maximus and Marcus Tullius, both Roman knights, whose bodies Pliny measured after their embalment, and found them but two cubits in height; of the Egyptian in the time of Theodosius, who was so small, that he resembled a partridge, yet exercised all the functions of a man, and could sing tuneably; of John de Estive, of Mechlen, who was three feet high, had a long beard, could not go up stairs, was ingenious and industrious, played well at tables, and was skilled in three tongues; of Mark Anthony's page, who did not reach two feet, and yet was of vivid wit; of Augustus Cæsar's actor, who weighed but seventeen pounds, and yet had a great and strong voice; and of the French gentleman of Limosin, with a formal beard, who lived in a parrot's cage, and played upon an instrument. Every body also in our own days must himself have seen, or have seen others who have seen for him, the right worthy and very excellent little heroet of the volume now before us.

Joseph Boruwlaski was born in the environs of Chalicz, the capital of Pokucia, in Polish Russia, to which place his family had retired in consequence of the loss of an estate on the Borysthenes. Both his father and mother (the former was killed during the narrator's infancy) were of the middle size. They had five sons and one daughter, three of whom attained the natural stature of man, while the two others, with the count, fell far short of it: his sister died at the age of twenty, being at that time only two feet four inches in height, with a lovely figure and admirably proportioned shape. At the time of his birth the count, though neither weak nor puny, measured eight inches only; his growth was progressive till the age of thirty, when he attained his extreme limit of three feet three.

His mother was left a widow in embarrassed circumstances, and very readily committed his education to the care of the Starostin de Caorlix, a friend who voluntarily adopted him. On the re-marriage of this lady, he was transferred at her particular request to the Countess Humiecka, under whose protection he passed the remainder of his youth: her residence was at Rychty in Podolia; but she appears to have travelled much in various parts of Europe. The Count accompanied her; and at an early age had acquired a most distinguished tone of gallantry, if we may judge from one of his interviews with Maria Theresa.

“At another time when, according to her desire, I had performed a Polish dance in the presence of this Sovereign, she took me on her lap, and after having fondly caressed me, and asked me many questions, how I spent my time, she wished to know what I found at Vienna most curious and interesting. I answered, I had seen

there many things worthy of a traveller's admiration, but nothing seemed to me so extraordinary as what I beheld at this moment. 'And what is that?' said her Majesty. 'It is,' replied I, 'to see so little a man on the lap of so great a woman.' This answer gained me new caresses. The Empress had on her finger a ring, upon which her cypher was set in brilliants with the most exquisite workmanship. My hand being by chance locked in hers, I happened to look upon the ring attentively, which she perceived, and asked whether the cypher was pretty. 'I beg your Majesty's pardon,' replied I, 'it is not the ring I admire, but the hand which I beseech you give me leave to kiss;' and with these words I took it to my lips. The Empress seemed charmed at this little gallantry, and would have presented me with the ring which had caused it; but the circle proving too wide, she called to a young Princess about six years old, took from her finger a very fine brilliant she wore, and put it on mine. This young Princess was the unfortunate Queen of France, wife of Louis XVI." P. 27.

At Luneville, in which place Stanislaus Leszinski, the titular king of Poland, resided, Count Boruwlaski was introduced to one Bebe, who lived with that Prince, and who, up to the time of this fatal interview, had been considered the least of existing men; but, καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει: the Count carried away the prize of minimism, and the discomfited Bede from the moment in which his *superiority*, as we must term it, was declared, conceived the most violent jealousy, and never saw his rival without fury sparkling in his eyes.

At Paris the Count was received with "warm enthusiasm" and "excited ecstasy." *Joujou*, as he was called, was every where *fêté*. M. Bouret gave an entertainment in which plates, spoon, knives and forks, with all the eatables, as ortolans and beccaficos, were proportioned to the size of his guest; and if it had not been for the seasonable interference of the Queen, the Count would have caused a deadly quarrel between the lady who patronized him, and the Duchess of Modena.

But, alas, these dreams of prosperity were soon to fleet away; Boruwlaski, though in miniature, was still a man; and what man is there who has not bowed to beauty: the Countess introduced into her family a young maiden, whose name alone sufficiently bespeaks her loveliness, and Isalina returned the affection which her charms had inspired. In vain the Countess turned the fair one out of doors, and kept the Count to his room for a fortnight; in vain she discharged his footman, for his successor was soon bribed into a Mercury. The patroness in the end "became furious," and gave him his choice between the renunciation of her house or his mistress: without hesitation he clung to love, and having

obtained a pension of a hundred ducats from the King of Poland, through the interest of Prince Casimir, he plunged at once, out of his depth, into matrimony.

Of the subsequent destinies of Isalina we are left in profound ignorance, for her name is not again mentioned in the course of these memoirs; but from the moment of marriage the Count adopted a scheme of travelling, in order to meet his increased expences. At Vienna, Presburgh, and other places through which he passed, he gave subscription concerts, and proceeding by the Persian Gulph he reached Damascus: a severe illness delayed him in the town for some time, and on his recovery, he continued his route by Astrachan, Kayan, and Abo, to Lapland. In Nova Zembla he met with a somewhat inhospitable proof of savage curiosity. The natives surrounded his lodging in great numbers, and despatched a messenger to inform him, that if he did not come out and see them, they would pull down the whole house. When, as was most prudent, he appeared before them they lifted up their hands and eyes to the sun and gave thanks to him for allowing them to find such a man, as they had seen many people of various sizes, but never beheld any thing like his. The Count in order to express his gratitude, played them a few tunes on the guitar, and acknowledged that they had feeling hearts.

Tobolsk, Bolcharetskoi, and Behring's Straits, were the next objects of his journey; in the passage of the last he was fortunately well stocked with provisions, or he would have been compelled, like the inhabitants, to digest snakes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and vermin. We cannot trace the itinerary henceforward very clearly, but we find the Count at one time in Susa, under the guidance of a renegado Jew Musselman, who is deep versed in all the mysteries of "St. Mary's bath" and "Lac Virginis" in

"Lato, Azoch, Zernich, Chibrit, Heautarit"

and soon after, he appears tickling Voltaire, at Madame de Jofruen's Parisian coteries: the account of this interview with the sage of Ferney is amusing, and shews what garbage of flattery egregious vanity will condescend to feed on.

"The first sight of the philosopher made such an impression on my mind, that I became at once profoundly silent. This circumstance was noticed by l'Abbé Raynal, and the rest of the company, who were somewhat surprised, as they knew me to be in general lively, noisy, and talkative. Madame de Jofruen asked me with her accustomed sweetness, where I had lost my tongue. 'Indeed, Madam,' I replied, 'I have been reflecting, that the knowledge of the mysterious sources of the works of nature, which is in fact

so difficult to acquire, has been obtained in inimitable perfection by this gentleman. When I consider that he is already in full possession of it, must I not look on his head as a wonderful reservoir of wisdom, from which it is poured forth in copious streams around the admiring world.' At this avowal of the sentiments I felt, which that respectable old philosopher so justly merited, I could perceive his eyes filled with an expression of surprise and interest. He instantly approached me with enthusiastic joy, like one suddenly awakened from a dream, snatched me up in his arms, and addressing himself to the company, paid me this flattering compliment: 'Here is a good soil, where the best seeds may be sown with advantage.' 'As you are a good farmer,' I immediately answered, 'I beg you will clear it of weeds.' With this reply, Madame de Jofruen, l'Abbé Raynal, and the rest of the company, were highly pleased." P. 129.

The *respectable old philosopher* could be cheaply gratified:

Quid apertius? et tamen illi
Surgebant cristæ!

England was the Count's haven after his extensive rambles. He has been many years amongst us, and by the generous exertions of a few benevolent individuals, he is now at the close of a protracted life, secured, as we hope, from pecuniary distress, in a retirement near Durham. His memoirs are published by subscription; they convey the picture of a lively and contented disposition, and we sincerely hope, will effectually answer the purpose which is the end of their publication.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

DIVINITY.

A Letter of Mr. C. L. Hallar, Member of the Supreme Court of Berne, in Switzerland, to his Family, dated the 13th of April last, announcing his Conversion to the Catholic Faith. Translated from the French. By J. Norris, of the English Academy. 9d.

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A Sermon preached at an Episcopal Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, in the Cathedral Church of Londonderry, on the 10th Day of July, 1819. By the Rev. Alexander Ross, M.A., Rector of Banagher, and Vicar of Dungiven, in the Diocese of Derry. 8vo. 3s.

The Gospel Preacher ; or, an Enquiry into some of the assumed and real Characters of the Evangelical Office : a Sermon preached at the Visitation, holden in the Parish Church of Swindon, on Wednesday, the 18th Day of July, 1821, before the Rev. Matthew Marsh, A.M., Chancellor of the Diocese of Sarum, (officiating for the Archdeacon of Wilts,) and the Clergy of the Deanery of Cricklade; and published at their Request. By William Roles, A.M., Rector of Upton Lovell, Wilts. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Some of the principal Objections to Communion with the Established Church considered ; in a Sermon, preached on September 23, 1821, being the Lord's Day immediately subsequent to the opening of a new and enlarged Independent Chapel, at Ashford, Kent. By the Rev. John Nance, D.D., published by Request. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

LAW.

A Digest of the Laws relating to the Poor. By J. Stamford Caldwell, Esq., of Lincoln's-Inn, Barrister at Law. 12s.

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Mr. Gill, for many Years, one of the Chairmen of the Committee of Mechanics, in the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in the *Adelphi*; assisted by a Circle of mechanical Friends, in this and other Countries, is preparing for Publication, a *Technical Repository of Practical Information*, on Subjects connected with the present daily Improvements, and new Discoveries in the useful Arts.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR NOVEMBER, 1821.

ART. I. *Two Discourses on the Unity of the Church, her Divisions, and their Removal. To which is subjoined, a short View of the Plan of Religious Reformation originally adopted in the Secession. By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh. 12mo. 174 pp. Blackwood, Edinburgh; Cadell and Davies, London. 1821.*

THIS is an able, and in many respects a valuable work. With the immediate object of the writer, as it is rather obscurely alluded to in his Appendix, we, who live so far south of Tweed, have but little concern; but the forcible arguments by which he proves it to be the duty of Christians to be "of one heart and of one soul" in the scriptural sense; and the discriminating clearness with which he has marked the distinction between this unity, and those spurious coalitions now so often substituted in its place by weak theorists, or designing partisans; render the greater part of his volume a manual useful for all readers, and particularly applicable as a preservative against the besetting temptation of the present times.

It is not to be supposed, that we can agree with Dr. M'Crie in his view of ecclesiastical discipline, or in his notions of the apostolic form of Church government. We certainly are not surprised to find a "Minister of the Gospel in Edinburgh" treating Episcopacy as an innovation, and expatiating with evident complacency upon "the greater purity in religion, and higher degrees of reformation attained by Scotland than any other Protestant country." Nor is it our business to inquire, how it happens that a Presbyterian Minister, and, as we collect from his Appendix, a seceder from the Establishment of his own country, has chosen to treat of

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“Christian Unity” at all; or has written so forcibly and convincingly in its favour, without applying his arguments to his own case. Those who have chanced to meet with Baxter’s powerful treatise on the “Cure of Church Divisions,” will perceive, that Dr. M’Crie is not singular in his course, however difficult it may seem to reconcile his opinions with his practice. We might perhaps have been better persuaded of his Christian candour, a quality which he knows how to recommend to others, if he had spoken in somewhat milder terms of our own ecclesiastical Establishment. But he appears to be deeply impressed with abhorrence of “the perjury” in which he considers Scotland to have been involved at the Union, “by giving her consent to the maintenance and preservation of the hierarchy and ceremonies of the Church of England.” P. 125. And as he cannot now remedy “the evil” which his ancestors committed, by not insisting that the Church of England should be sacrificed as the price of the Union; a condition which he doubtless thinks that they ought to have made, and might have obtained; he has no readier means of shewing that he is clear from their sin, than by railing in good set terms against their negligence and our prelacy. It is therefore an evident relief to his afflicted conscience, to declaim on the benefits which England would have received, “if a lordly hierarchy, together with a burdensome and unprofitable mass of human rites and ceremonies, and an ignorant, idle, and scandalous clergy had been removed; and if, in their place, an evangelical, pious, laborious, and regular ministry had been settled in every parish.” P. 128. All this, and the frequent recurrence of remarks upon “the corruptions of the English Church,” the “usurped claims of the hierarchy,” the “trammels of a formal and stinted Liturgy,” the “domineering lordship of the Bishops,” and various other equally charitable expressions, we are contented to regard as the flowers of secessional eloquence; or the seasoning which he judged necessary to recommend his viands to the palates of those for whom they were chiefly prepared. It would perhaps be condemned as uncharitable, even to venture a hint that they are proofs, that Dr. M’Crie is at all deficient in that “moderate and healing spirit” which peculiarly fits a man for a preacher of unity; or that he is desirous of keeping alive that animosity which has hitherto marked religious differences with peculiar bitterness, and exemplified the truth of the observation, that “a brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city, and their contentions are like the bars of a castle*.” As we have no intention of

* Proverbs xviii, 19.

suffering ourselves to be drawn aside by these little "spots in our feast of charity," from the consideration of that important subject which Dr. M'Crie has so ably and so seasonably discussed, we thus briefly advert to them now. Not in anger certainly, but perhaps a little touched with sorrow by the evidence they afford of the influence of inherited prejudices over the most powerful minds; and the unhappy obliquity of intellectual vision produced by long cherished antipathies, which mars the fair proportions of every object it contemplates.

To restore the unity of the Christian Church, has been the ardent wish of every pious man whose attention has been turned to the subject. "*Vere possumus adfirmare,*" says the amiable Melancthon, "*nos sic affectos esse, ut etiam morte nostrâ piam Ecclesiæ concordiam redimere cupiamus.*" So powerful indeed has been the force of truth in this particular instance, and so bitter the lesson taught by experience of the evils of division, that more than one example can be produced from the history of our own Church of men, who, by their writings, have borne strong testimony in favour of unity, though in their practice they have seldom or never been found among its supporters. We have already alluded to the case of Baxter; and were we called upon to pursue this subject, we might produce the names of other zealous advocates of schism, who were permitted to see and taste the fruit of their own devices; and in deep repentance of their erroneous courses, openly confessed their folly and sin, and laboured that others might profit by their fall. Such men there have ever been, and ever will be: persons who see not the offence, till they are themselves offended; who rue not the division, till their own cause is weakened by it; who are no advocates for union, until they have learned experimentally, first by the injuries they have inflicted on others, and then by their own sufferings, that no better mode can be devised than to "sow strife where we desire ruin." Nevertheless it has happened, that the cause of truth and unity has been essentially served by labours which were originally perhaps directed to a narrower and less holy purpose. Those "who were for peace, but not of the whole street, but of their house alone; or not of the whole city, but of their street alone; or not of the whole kingdom, but of their city alone*," have yet pleaded ably in its behalf; and their reasoning has been far more convincing, when applied to the general question, than when limited to that particular modification of it which they had

* Baxter's Cure of Church Divisions.

in view. Such indeed has been the controuling power of truth over the minds of religious disputants, that perhaps we might be almost justified in affirming, that, were the irrefragable arguments against schism which the advocates of the Church have so abundantly furnished unfortunately lost; were the writings of Hooker, Bilson, Leslie, Hiekes, and the numerous train of authors who have fought under the same banners, and against the same enemy, all swept away; still enough might be gleaned from the testimony of Dissenters; from their contests with each other, or their conscientious retractations and penitent confessions of their own mistakes and misconduct, to maintain the cause of Christian unity, and shew, in the words of the pious Bishop Hall, that "the God of the Church cannot abide either conventicles of separation, or pluralities of professions." The volume before us is an instance in point. It is valuable, because it pleads the cause of unity with great force of argument; and it is curious, as it shews how nearly a powerful mind may approach to the truth, and yet fail of its attainment. We do not wonder that Dr. M'Crie is a zealous advocate for the Presbyterian regimen; but it certainly appears to us a little extraordinary, that a writer who could so ably plead the cause of unity, did not perceive that his book would furnish at least a *primâ facie* argument against the form of ecclesiastical government to which he adheres. He seems never to have considered, that the greatest schism ever made in the Church was the work of those who rejected Episcopacy, which for fifteen centuries had been carefully preserved, and universally acknowledged to be of apostolic authority and institution, throughout the whole Christian world. He should have remembered, that the laws and government of every society are its joints and bands; and that they are the dividers who tear them asunder, by renouncing obedience to lawful authority, and framing a new system of association for themselves. Dr. M'Crie will probably admit, that the government of the Church is wholly distinct from its doctrine; and that the latter may be corrupted, and require reformation, while the former is pure in its form, and needs only to be placed in the hands of those who will use it for lawful purposes. If this be the case, it can scarcely be denied, that the doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome, which are peculiar to herself, do not of necessity involve in condemnation with them that form of Church government which she maintained in common with every Church in the world; and which has been traced, without a single break in the chain, up to the immediate successors of the Apostles. He will not, therefore, it may be

hoped, involve the question by saying that the Episcopalian, upon his own reasoning, may be driven to a re-union with Rome and her corruptions. As an historian, he knows that the Reformers broke with Rome for the errors of her doctrine, and not for the faults of her polity. Even those who unfortunately did not preserve the episcopal succession among them, did not deny its apostolic institution, nor wish to renounce obedience to its authority. On the contrary, they ardently desired, and earnestly sought the means of securing to themselves the same blessing which the reformed Church of England possessed; and they acknowledged it to be a singular mercy of God which had enabled her to retain the primitive government of the Church, at the same time that she restored the purity of its doctrine. We may then be allowed to consider it as something extraordinary, that he stopped short in that road which, had he pursued it, might have shewn him the only true foundation of that unity which he desires; and we may be astonished, that so skilful a pleader for the harmony which originally prevailed in the Christian Church, should forget that its characteristics were a continuance in the "Apostles' fellowship" as well as "doctrine;" or that he should overlook the testimony of the apostolic fathers, who so severely condemn every deviation from the rule of obedience to episcopal authority, as the fatal source of all disunion. We will refer him only to two passages from Ignatius, as authority for our assertion; for our limits would fail us, if we enlarged on this topic. To the Magnesians he writes, *υποταγητε τῷ ἐπισκοπῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ σὰρκα, καὶ οἱ ἀποστολοὶ τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, ἵνα ἐνωσῶς ἡ σαρκικὴ τε καὶ πνευματικὴ* *. To the Philadelphians thus, *Οὐκ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῶν μερισμὸν εὐρον, ἀλλ' ἀπώδυλισμον: Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοὶ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἥτοι μετὰ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ εἰσὶν, καὶ ὅσοι ἀν' μετάνοησαντες ἐλθῶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνοτητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἥτοι Θεοὶ εἰσονται, ἵνα ὡσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες* †.

For the sake of order, Dr. M'Crie arranges what he has to say under the following heads:—1. The Unity of the Church. 2. Its Divisions. 3. The Removal of these, and the Restoration of its violated Unity.

The arguments by which he pleads for the Unity of the Church are, for the most part, well chosen, and forcibly stated. The most general view we can take of the Church as a society, implies its unity: for what is association, but the union of individuals upon certain terms, and for some de-

* Ignat. Epist. ad Magnesios, Sect. 13.

† Ibid. ad Philadelp. Sect. 3.

finite purposes? In the purposes for which the Church is associated we find its unity further implied; for, as Dr. M'Crie states, "true religion is essentially one, even as God its object is one. It, as its name imports, *binds* its professors to one another, as well as to the sole and common object of their supreme homage and service." P. 8. These might be considered as axioms; but such is the perverseness of the disputers of this world, that they are prepared to doubt the unity of truth; and to maintain that God, whose first attribute is unity, is pleased with the discrepancies which deform the opinions and worship of those who profess to learn of him, and to serve him.

The argument gains strength as we proceed: for the Church is not only a society instituted for religious purposes, but a society taken out of the world, which, as it is lying in wickedness, will of course be hostile to its existence; unity therefore seems essential to its safety. It is a society called unto one profession of faith, in a revelation made by God; to one mode of worship divinely instituted; to one hope of a reward suspended upon the condition of obedience to one rule of conduct. And if we look back to the most perfect example of the kind of society which the great Head of the Church intended to establish, namely, that example produced when it was under the personal superintendence of the Apostles, we find that unity is its prevailing characteristic. "The multitude of them that believed, were *then* of one heart and of one soul*;" "and they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers†." This essential characteristic of the Church is not affected, as Dr. M'Crie observes, by certain distinctions which are commonly made in treating of it. The difference between the Church of the Old, and the Church of the New Testament, the Jewish and Christian Churches, is a difference only in degree. Notwithstanding the change made in her external form and institutions at the coming of Christ, the Church remained the same: "as the heir does after reaching majority, although no longer under tutors and governors; and as the olive tree does after a great part of its natural branches have been broken off, and others taken from a wild tree, have been grafted in their room‡." P. 12. So the distinction made between the visible and the invisible Church, does not imply that there are two Churches, or that one part of the Church is visible and another invisi-

* Acts iv. 32.

† Acts ii. 42.

‡ Gal. iv. 1—3. 9 Rom. xi. 17—24.

ble: "but it means that all who make a profession of the faith compose the Church considered as visible, while those among them who are endued with true faith constitute the Church considered as invisible. The former includes the latter; and it is sometimes spoken of in Scripture under the one and sometimes under the other view. But whether the Church of Christ be viewed in its internal or external state, unity is still its attribute." P. 13. Nor is the distinction of the Church into catholic and particular, destructive of its unity; as all particular churches are parts of the one Catholic Church which, when regularly constituted, though each is complete in itself, do not imply separation from or opposition to each other. "*Quomodo*," says Cyprian, "*Solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copię largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine* *."

Thus far we have walked in the same track with Dr. M'Crie; agreeing in all his greater positions, and generally admitting the force of his arguments, and the aptitude of his illustrations. When he proceeds to state what appears to him essential to the constitution of a Church, the points of difference between us are of course brought forward; and he is perhaps prepared to hear, that, in our opinion, the conscientious necessity under which no doubt he lies, to maintain the peculiarities of Presbyterianism, obliges him to quit the strong ground on which he has hitherto stood, and to advocate some positions which seem not a little injurious to that Christian unity, of which he is in the main an able advocate. To the terms of the following passage we find no reasonable cause of objection; and yet we are well aware, that they will hardly be accepted by us both in the same sense; and that our verbal agreement will not at all forward our real unity of sentiment on some of the subjects to which the author refers. Such is the imperfection of language, such the extreme difficulty of finding expressions which shall convey to the mind of the reader precisely the same notions which the writer intended to embody. The question will still arise, what is that opposition of sentiment, what that contrariety of practice, which does endanger the faith?

"Christianity being intended for general diffusion through the world, must in its nature be adapted to all countries and people. It would be extreme weakness to suppose, that its being embraced by people of different garbs, colour, and language, of different

* Cyprian de unitate Ecclesię.

manners and customs, barbarous or civilized, or formed into distinct civil communities and living under different forms of government, produces different religions, or a diversity of churches, provided their faith and practice are intrinsically the same. Their formularies of faith and religious service may be differently expressed or arranged; and they may vary from one another in different circumstances in external administrations, which are not, and could not be, prescribed by positive rule in Scripture, and which (to use a much abused word) may be called circumstantial, without marring that unity of faith and that fellowship which belongs to different Christian societies, as parts of the same general body. Nor is simple ignorance in some and knowledge in others, with respect to some things which belong to the Christian system, or greater and less degrees of advancement in different churches, or in the members of the same church, necessarily inconsistent with religious unity and peace. But there must be no denial or restriction of the supreme authority by which every thing in religion is ruled; no open and allowed hostility to truth and godliness; and no such opposition of sentiments, or contrariety of practices, as may endanger the faith, or destroy the constitution and edification of churches, or as may imply, in different churches, or in different parts of the same church, a condemnation of one another." P. 14.

"There must," says Dr. M'Crie, in continuation of his argument, "be assemblies among Christians for divine worship and instruction, and for the exercise of discipline. The unity of the Church requires that we join in communion with our fellow Christians, in the place where Providence has cast our lot, provided they are found walking by the common rule of Christianity, and as long as no sinful bar is laid in the way of such a conjunction." P. 15.

This will be admitted, but still it must be asked, what is "a sinful bar laid in the way?" And the consistent member of the Church will answer, the renunciation of episcopacy is such a bar; for it is a breach of the unity of the Church, by a rejection of the polity which the Apostles established. For, as Ignatius testifies, Ο εντος Θυσιαστηριου ὦν, καθαρὸς ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ ἐκτος ὦν, ἢ καθαρὸς ἐστὶ τὸτ' ἐστίν ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ πρεσβυτερίων, καὶ διακονῶν πράσσων τι, ἢτος ἢ καθαρὸς ἐστὶν τῇ συνειδήσει*. And, as our own judicious Hooker remarks from Cyprian, "It was the generally received persuasion of the ancient Christian world, that *Ecclesia est in Episcopo*, the outward being of the Church consisted in the having of a Bishop †." Let this bond of unity, this ancient apostolic

* Ignatii. Epist. ad Trallianos, Sect. 7.

† Hooker's Eccles. Pol. Book VII. Sect. 5.

rule he maintained, and all those intricate questions which divide the Presbyterian from the Independent, and both from the Church will be removed ; and the connecting chain will be evident and effectual, which binds all the parts of each particular Church together by a due subjection to their own Bishops ; and again unites the several Bishops of each national Church in one synod, under one metropolitan bearing chief rule in the Church ; but still in due subordination to him, who, as Sovereign, has the supreme authority in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil within his dominions. This chain was unbroken for 1500 years. Stern and unavoidable necessity was the only plea, on which those who then partially dissolved it, ventured to justify their conduct ; and nothing, we have reason to believe, was further from their minds, than a wish to perpetuate the schism which overruling, but as they hoped temporary circumstances had produced.

How far the argument for unity which is thus founded upon apostolic institution, and primitive unbroken usage, is stronger than any which can be urged from expediency or analogy, for the preservation of any confederations of mere human institution, let those judge who have attentively considered the reasoning of Dr. M'Crie.

“ As individual Christians are not at liberty to walk and act singly, so neither are particular congregations at liberty to act as independent and disjointed societies. For the ordinary performance of religious duties, and the ordinary management of their own internal affairs, they may be said to be complete churches, and furnished with complete powers. But extraordinary cases will arise among themselves from time to time ; and there are, besides, duties, dangers, and interests, which do not properly or exclusively concern one congregation, or a few congregations, and which require the joint cognizance and co-operation of many. This is taught by the light of nature itself, it flows from the oneness of the Church of Christ, and is clearly exemplified in the New Testament. Being similar parts of the same general body, it is the duty of particular churches to draw together, to combine, and to co-operate, according as this may be practicable, and as Providence may open a door for it, with a view to mutual help and the promotion of the common cause in which they are all engaged. They may agree in explicitly approving of the same articles of faith and rules of discipline, and in yielding a scriptural subjection to a common authority in the Lord. Such confederations, on the presbyterian plan, are fully warranted by the word of God, and are most congenial to the spirit of Christianity, which is catholic and diffusive ; they may include all the Churches in the same neighbourhood, in the same nation, or even in many na-

tions: and by means of them that unity which belongs essentially to the whole Church of Christ is formally recognized, and its bonds are strengthened and drawn more close." P. 16.

It is no part of our present purpose to enter into the wide field of discussion which must be traversed, if we attempted to follow Dr. M'Crie through all the aberrations from the primitive standard, into which he is led by the necessity of maintaining that foundation on which the Presbyterian discipline is built. It will be perhaps a more useful, certainly a more pleasant task, to produce him as an able defender of the great principles of unity itself; as a forcible expositor of the evils and miseries of schism; and as an earnest insister upon the necessity of their removal, and the restoration of that peace and harmony which they have violated.

In the following passage, the duty of that unity in respect of external government and discipline, for which we plead, is strongly urged, and upon the same ground on which we build, namely, that of divine institution.

"Christ, the head of the Church, 'gave pastors and teachers—helps, governments, for the work of the ministry, for the gathering together of the saints, for the edifying of the body, till they all come in the unity of the faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect man *.' The exercise of authority and government is necessary as a bond of union and a basis of stability, in all societies. By means of it the largest communities, and even many nations, may be made to coalesce and become one, under the same political government. And can any good reason be assigned for supposing that the Church of Christ should be destitute of this bond, or that it should not be necessary to her union as a visible society? If every family has its economy and discipline, if every kingdom has its form of government and laws, shall we suppose that the most perfect of all societies, 'the house of the living God,' and 'the kingdom of heaven,' should be left by her Divine Head without that which so evidently tends to the maintenance of her faith, the purity and regularity of her administrations, and the order, subordination, unity, and peace which ought to reign among all her members? Whatever is necessary to her government, and the preserving of her order and purity, either is expressly enjoined in Scripture, or may be deduced by native inference, from the general rules and the particular examples which are recorded in it." P. 20.

It is indeed lamentable to reflect upon the rapid downward progress, the *facilis descensus* of every deviation from the truth. How short, comparatively speaking, is the period,

* Eph. iv. 11—13. 1 Cor. xii. 28."

since those first arose in the Church, who were originally constrained by circumstances, and afterwards tempted by the enjoyment of usurped authority, to relinquish the subordination of parties and teachers which, by the ministry of his Apostles, Christ the head of the Church had appointed: and now we find able and learned men overlooking that form of government which he established, or speaking of it with utter contempt, even while they argue for unity in respect of external discipline from the very words of his own Gospel. Let the argument of the passage above cited be properly weighed, let the Scriptures be searched without prejudice, the testimony of history be received with candour, and the universal reception of Episcopacy from the first fairly taken into account, and unity may yet, by the blessing of heaven, be restored, by a return to that Church wherein, as Bishop Hall has eloquently said, "We, in her communion, do make up one body with the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and faithful Christians of all ages and times; we succeed in their faith, we glory in their succession, we triumph in their glory*."

External unity thus provided for, there remains, only the cultivation of charity, the great inward principle of peace and agreement, to render the bond of connection perfect. And here again we cannot express our own feelings in language more appropriate, more persuasive, more affectionate, than that with which Dr. M'Crie has furnished us.

"This is the silken cord which ought to be thrown over all the others, and which makes Christian union complete. Hence, charity, or love, is called by an Apostle a perfect bond: 'Above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness †.' A vague and erratic charity, which soars above fixed principles of belief, looks down with neglect on external ordinances, and spurns the restraint of ordinary rules, whether it seeks to include all Christians within its catholic embrace, or confines itself to those of a favourite class, is a very feeble and precarious bond of union. True Christian Charity is the daughter of Truth, and fixes on her objects 'for the truth's sake which dwelleth in them.' On the other hand, a bare and cold agreement in the articles of a common faith, and external uniformity in the acts of worship and discipline, will not preserve the unity of the Church. To 'be perfectly joined together,' Christians must be of 'the same mind,' or affection, as well as of 'the same judgement.' It is by 'speaking the truth in love,' that they 'grow up in all things to their head,

* Bishop Hall's Sermon on the Beauty and Unity of the Church: Works, folio, Vol. II. p. 310.

† 1 Cor. iii. 14.

even Christ.' Love must cement the union which faith has formed; and it is by the joint influence of both that Christians 'cleave to the Lord,' and to one another in him, 'with purpose of heart. Without mutual affection, and its kindred graces, mutual consideration and condescension and compassion, forgiveness will not be extended towards injuries, forbearance will not be exercised towards unavoidable infirmities, offences will arise, alienations will be produced, and 'the brotherly covenant will not be remembered.'" P. 21.

The divisions of the Church are primarily referred to the just judgment of God; to which, says Dr. M'Crie, "it is proper to advert, before proceeding to inquire into the immediate and proper sources of the evil." We readily admit that "the malignant spirit could not sow the seeds of dissension and division, nor could they grow up and spread without the permission of the Lord of the Vineyard." Our faith also forbids us to doubt, that, when this permission is given, it is "for wise and holy ends:" and we do not deny, that it may be granted "as a punishment to a people called by his name." But still we shrink with reverential awe from any particular appropriation of God's judgments, other than those specifically pointed out in Scripture. We know that evil is allowed to visit good men which cannot be intended as a punishment; we reason therefore from analogy, that trials may be allotted to Churches also which are not penal.

We entirely believe, that they cannot happen but by the permissive Providence of God; and that they never do happen but for good purposes: but we know not when they are sent as a punishment, nor ought we to presume to determine. For such presumption will perhaps involve us in sin against God, and in a breach of charity to man. It may induce us to regard the trials of a suffering Church as her punishment, rather than her purification; and thus, instead of viewing the authors of the schism with a just abhorrence, we may be tempted to judge harshly of that "congregation of faithful men" whose peace is disturbed, and whose existence is endangered. For similar reasons, we cannot be quite satisfied with such expressions as these: "In permitting divisions in the Church, God overrules the instrumentality of men who are actuated by different motives and principles for which they are entirely responsible." P. 27.

We have no doubt that Dr. M'Crie is as anxious as we are, to guard against any approach to that error which makes God the author of sin; and that he sees nothing in his language which leads to any such inference. But, as it is most true, that

“the violation of unity must be traced to a sinful cause,” we do not like the phrase which represents God as *overruling* the instrumentality of men to such an end; lest some should say, that, but for this overruling, the sinful violation would not have been produced; which would lead to an *ergo* that Dr. M'Crie would deprecate as earnestly as ourselves, though it might puzzle an acute logician to shew that it was not a legitimate deduction from such premises. To *permit* is one thing, to *overrule* the agency of man for the production of any end by that agency, is surely another, and a very different matter. We may be puzzled to conceive how God can permit an event to take place without contributing to its production; but we cannot separate from causation the idea of an Almighty power *overruling* the motions of a subordinate instrument for a particular purpose. And, if we say that God *overrules* the instrumentality of man in the production of a sinful violation of unity, how can we escape from the charge of making God the author of sin?

When Dr. M'Crie proceeds to state the immediate causes of schism, we follow him with more confidence. “The dissensions which prevail in the Church, like those which distract and break the peace of other societies, may be traced in general to the workings of human corruption.” They spring from the ignorance, error, unbelief, prejudice, pride, passion, selfishness and carnality which are predominant in the minds of some of the members of the Church, and are but partially subdued and mortified in the best. These lead to the adoption and patronage of errors which sometimes strike against the principal and leading articles of the faith; sometimes consist of uncertain and vain questions, which are effectual only to unsettle the minds of those who entertain them, and to produce perverse and endless disputations. Others more immediately affect the peace and unity of the Church.

“Loose and extravagant notions respecting private judgment, conscience, and Christian liberty, by which these rights, invaluable when duly understood and regulated, are explained and stated in such a way as to convert all religion into a matter of individual belief and concern, to render union and co-operation among its professors impracticable or precarious, and to contradict the important truth, that “the powers which God hath ordained, and the liberty which Christ hath purchased, are not intended by God to destroy, but mutually to uphold and preserve one another *.” This is the case, when the duty of Christians at large is explained

* Westm. Conf. of Faith, Chap. xx. Sect. 4.”

in such a way as to encroach on the office of a regular gospel ministry: when the lawfulness of confessions of human composition, as public declarations of the faith of a Church, and their usefulness as tests of orthodoxy, though conformable in their matter to Scripture, and necessary in times of abounding error among persons professing Christianity, are impugned: when ecclesiastical office-bearers are stripped of that authority which is competent to them, and necessary for preserving order and subordination, and the supreme power of finally determining every cause is lodged with the whole people in every worshipping congregation." P. 29.

Sectarianism such as this, if, as Dr. M'Crie observes, "the common sense and experience of mankind did not check its operation, and prevent its keenest abettors from acting rigidly and consistently on their own principles, would lead to the dissolution of all religious society;" and the effect it has already produced has rendered Christian unity little more than an empty name. The generality of Christian professors consider themselves at liberty, at all times, to chuse their own persuasion, and to change their opinions as often as caprice may dictate; to communicate with every class of Christians by turns, or to withhold themselves from association with any. Many, in pursuance of that most dangerous notion, that the opinions in which all Christians agree are those only which are fundamental; and that, therefore, all their differences are in fact on unessential points, conduct themselves as if the Socinian and the Calvinist, the Quaker and the Churchman, the Independent and the Roman Catholic, and every other class of Christians in profession, however they may dissent from each other in their creed, their worship, or their discipline, may yet meet as one body in Christ Jesus, because each, in his own way, and with his peculiar reservations holds the Scriptures to be the word of God.

Among other causes of disunion, Dr. M'Crie enumerates a spirit of pride, vanity, and ambition. This, if it were duly investigated, would be found perhaps to be the most efficient cause of all. For, not to mention that it has ever formed a prominent feature in the character of heresiarchs and founders of sects; it is to be found prevailing in its grossest form over a very large proportion of their followers; whose best reason for quitting the Church will be found in the flattering attentions and distinctions with which they are greeted in the Meeting-house; where the chief seats, and the petty pomp of congregational office and title are attainable by those, who, in the Church, must have been content to mingle unnoticed with the assembled multitude of worshippers.

Tyranny and unreasonable impositions are mentioned as another fruitful source of division. And every Protestant who knows how to justify his renunciation of papal domination and superstition, will acknowledge the truth of the observation. Happy is it for us that we can clearly shew the strength of this our plea for separating from the Romish Church. We can prove that she exacted sinful terms of communion; that her ritual was idolatrous, her doctrine anti-scriptural, her assumed dominion over other churches an usurpation. We can shew that she had deserted the faith, and that to continue in her doctrine and fellowship was impossible without incurring deadly sin. Upon this ground we protest against her; upon this ground we maintain that we have not created division in the Church, but that she is the author of the offence. She has deserted the ancient platform, and we have returned to it. We are members of that pure Church which is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, she has mixed the hay and stubble of human errors and corruptions with the gold which these wise master builders raised on the primitive foundation, and from such a building we were bound in conscience to retire. But when, as Dr. M'Crie remarks,

“A Church has been constituted conformably to the Scripture pattern, makes a faithful confession of the truth, and maintains good order and discipline agreeably to the laws of Christ, a divisive spirit is evinced by those who factiously exclaim against its severity, enter into schemes, open or covert, for relaxing its bonds, or form themselves into another society connected by looser and more general ties; whether this be done to obtain greater latitude to themselves, or with the view of uniting persons of opposite religious sentiments and practices in one general and catholic communion.” P. 34.

We would willingly hope that those who have hitherto closed their ears against such unwelcome truths, when pronounced by the ministers of their own Church, will not wholly disregard them when thus proceeding from one who boldly bears witness to their force, even against himself.

That our Church has been “constituted conformably to the Scripture pattern;” that she “makes a faithful confession of the truth,” we conscientiously affirm. Let those who first chewed the sour grapes of division which have since set the teeth of their children on edge against her, be called to bear witness of this. They objected not to the doctrine or the polity of our Church; they praised the one, they envied the other. They regarded her as *omnium reformatarum re-*

formatissimam in point of doctrine; they lamented that cruel circumstances had cut them off from the possibility of preserving her apostolic form of government. “*Certum est mihi Λειτουργίαν anglicanam, item morem imponendi adolescentibus in memoriam Baptismi, auctoritatem Episcoporum, Presbyteria ex solis Pastoribus composita, multaque alia ejusmodi satis congruere institutis vetustioris Ecclesiæ, a quibus in Galliâ et in Belgio recessum negare non possumus*.*” And let it be remembered that, the wiser of the foreign Protestants, who, as the divisions in our Church increased, marked their progress with profound attention, though in some things they symbolized with the dissentients rather than the Church, utterly denied that they had any good cause for separation. “*Grave quidem per se malum est,*” writes Beza to Grindall, “*eos inter se dissidere quos compunctissimos esse oportebat: gravius, quum levi ac penè nullâ de causâ magnum dissidium excitatur†.*”

The original causes of dissent have all ceased to operate. The very habits which the fathers of the schism regarded with a superstitious abhorrence as rags of popery, and remnants of antichrist, are now ostentatiously assumed in some Meeting-houses. Nay, even the Liturgy itself is either wholly or in part used in many buildings licensed under the toleration act for dissenting worship; and in others forms the basis of the apparently extemporaneous effusions which are intended to supply its place. Of all the pleas which the present race of sectaries inherited from their ancestors, one only is now made use of; namely, that which charges the Church with relaxation of discipline: and of all those pleas, surely this is the most groundless. For they who have refused to be in subjection to the pastors regularly set over them, are the last who should accuse the Church of not maintaining those rules of discipline which they have broken; or not exerting that authority which their schism has rendered nugatory. As the Church is at present situated, not only is she charged with the disorderly conduct of her own nominal members, who are able and ready at any time to retreat from her censures within the sanctuary of the Meeting-house; but all who have little more connection with Christianity itself, than the name which they bear affords them, all who live without God in the world, and never attend on public worship any where, are reckoned among the members of the Church, because they have not formally dissented from her communion; and the scandal of their irreligious

* Grotius ad Boet.

† Beza Opera. Vol. III. p. 231.

lives is most unfairly urged against the purity of her discipline. Few who indulge themselves in railing against the laxity of Church discipline, have ever allowed themselves to take a candid view of the real difficulties by which the Church is encompassed. Such an inquiry would perhaps compel them to admit that the breaches of which they complain are not the fault of the Church herself, but the inevitable consequence of that schism, of which she is neither the cause nor the promoter. Fewer, still, of those who live in separation from the Church have ever made themselves acquainted with the original causes of that schism which they perpetuate; or can truly affirm that they have carefully examined her terms of communion, and find them such as they cannot conscientiously accept. They were born in the separation, and therefore they live in it; they have inherited the enmities of their fathers, but have never inquired into their causes; they have imbibed prejudices which render them always unwilling fairly to investigate, and too often, it is to be feared, unable fairly to decide; and until these obstacles can be removed, we know not a more delicate, or a more hopeless task, than that of establishing a re-union on any sound principles of adherence to the real "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Dr. M'Crie has many sensible remarks on the extreme difficulty of such an undertaking.

"Attempts to reunite must encounter the resistance of those corrupt principles and passions which led to division. The force of these is sometimes greatly increased by indulgence, and parties become more and more alienated from one another by mutual injuries and recriminations; for 'the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water *.' If time has served to allay the heat and fierceness of controversy, and to smooth down the harshness and asperities of personal animosity, it has perhaps contributed to widen the breach in another way. It has added to the original grounds of difference and separation. Parties at variance are inclined to remove to a distance from each other. They are apt not only to magnify the real point in dispute, but also to create or discover new ones, with the view of vindicating their separation, and enlarging the charges which they bring against their opponents. The adoption, too, of one error, and the defence of one sinful practice, leads to the adoption and defence of another, and that of a third; so that when an individual or a society has turned from the right way, every step they take carries them farther astray, and removes them to a greater distance from those who have been

" * Prov. xvii. 14."

enabled to keep the path of truth and duty. The consequence is, on either of these suppositions, that when proposals of accommodation come to be made, and a treaty of re-union is set on foot, the original cause of the breach forms perhaps the smallest matter of difference between the parties, and instead of one point twenty may require to be disposed of and adjusted in the progress of the negotiations." P. 35.

He observes also with evident truth, that the subject of litigation among Christians, and even the relation in which they stand to one another, interpose peculiar obstacles to reconciliation. The very ties of brotherhood, which should have united them, once broken become whips and scorpions to inflame their mutual rancour; and differences in religion excite every powerful feeling of the human mind, and pervert its best passions and its holiest wishes into instruments of evil. Anxiety for the safety of a brother's soul leads to persecution, and zeal for the honour of God incites his worshippers to destroy one another. These are extreme cases; but, in every exertion of the human mind which religious disputes occasion, there will be more or less of the alloy of evil which a breach of kindred ties always produces. The defender of the truth will scarcely be entirely free from it, any more than its oppugner; and if the zeal of sectarianism sooner degenerates into personal hostility, it cannot be denied that the charity which "thinketh no evil," but, "beareth all things," and "hopeth all things," is not always kept in view as a principle of conduct, or a moderator of disputation, by the advocate of the Church. Upon this subject, Dr. McCrie speaks with great candour and discrimination. He has too masculine an intellect not to discern the mischievous folly of those, who are always puling forth their infantine complaints of the evils of controversy; at the same time he sees, and marks with becoming indignation the scandals which some have brought upon religion, by the violence with which they have written or spoken in its defence.

"It has often been remarked, that religious disputes are managed with uncommon warmth and acrimony; and this has been urged as an argument against all controversies of the kind, and even as an argument against religion itself. It cannot be denied, that, amid the din of disputation, that important truth, 'The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God,' has often been forgotten by the contending parties; and the personal altercations, the railing accusations, the uncharitable judgments, the rash censures, the wilful misrepresentations, the injurious calumnies, which have too often infused their malignant and poisonous virus into these debates, have, it must be confessed, contributed to

bring great scandal on religion ; though this sacred cause can never justly be made responsible in any degree for excesses so inconsistent with its spirit and its precepts. But let us not be unjust in seeking to be liberal. Genuine moderation and candour are not to be confounded with indifference and lukewarmness. Religion is of paramount importance, and we ought not to wonder that those who are in earnest about it should display a warm and fervent zeal in the cause. They do not feel themselves at liberty to make the same sacrifices to peace in the ' matters of the Lord,' which they may be warranted and willing to make in their own. They must ' buy the truth, but not sell it.' True religion is an entailed inheritance, which they are bound to preserve and transmit, unalienated and unimpaired, to their posterity, ' that the generation to come may know it, even the children that shall be born, who shall arise and declare it to their children.' They are only ' stewards of the mysteries of God, and it is required in stewards, that they be found faithful.' In proportion, therefore, as they are persuaded, that the honour of God, and the interests of truth, and the welfare of souls are concerned in the subjects which are litigated, and enter into the grounds of difference between them and other Christians, it may be expected that they will shew themselves firm and tenacious. And, as this must be supposed to be the persuasion of persons of different parties, and indeed of all who maintain a separate communion on conscientious principles, it is easy to perceive what an obstacle it presents in the way of conciliation and union." P. 39.

When indeed the various obstacles opposed to this result by the passions and prejudices, the conscientious scruples of some, the influence of party spirit over others, the authority of inherited opinions, the attachment to venerated names and early associations, and last, but it is to be feared not the least in the catalogue, by the urgent claims of self interest are duly adverted to, we shall not be greatly surprised that so little progress has yet been made in the work of composing differences among Christians.

" Sensible of these difficulties, and despairing of being able to remove them by the ordinary mode of conference, explanations, and discussion, many have come to adopt the opinion that there is but one way of putting an end to the divisions of the Church ; that is, by abstracting totally the points of difference, consigning all the controversies which have arisen to oblivion, and bringing together the separate parties on the undebatable ground which is common to all. A remedy which would prove worse than the disease—an expedient which would lay the basis of union on the grave of all those valuable truths and institutions which have been involved in the disputes of different parties, and which constitute the firm

and sacred bonds of ecclesiastical confederation and communion." P. 45.

Hopeless then of success from mere human efforts, and seeing that they have hitherto been productive of evil rather than good, the Christian supplicates that blessing from God, which he alone can give; and looks forward with hope to the predicted time, when those whom unfortunate circumstances or impetuous zeal have separated, and prejudices still keep apart, shall again be one in the hand of their Saviour.

In his second discourse Dr. M'Crie points out the grounds which are laid in Scripture for our hope, that this blessing is reserved for the Church; and that God will ultimately remove her divisions, and restore her violated unity. He then proceeds to state the several preparatory methods, by which he conceives that God prepares the way for the final accomplishment of this desirable event. One of these, he says, is by causing the divided parties to participate in the same afflictions and deliverances; and we have selected this, because one of the instances which he mentions betrays in its statement a carelessness or ignorance of the fact which we certainly should not have expected from Dr. M'Crie.

"Bishops Hooper and Ridley," says he, "had a warm contest in the reign of Edward VI. but when, in the time of the bloody Mary, they were thrown into the same prison, and had the prospect of being brought to the same stake, they lovingly embraced, and Ridley readily professed his contempt for that ceremony, which with intolerant eagerness he had imposed on his reluctant brother." P. 70.

The subject of their contest was not a ceremony, but the episcopal habits which Hooper refused to wear, as every reader of ecclesiastical history well knows. And there is upon record a letter from Ridley to Hooper, written when both were in expectation of a speedy martyrdom, which exhibits a most affecting proof of the courteous and amiable character of the writer, but by no means professes any contempt for those habits, which, in compliance with the order of his superiors, and under a conscientious sense of duty, he had endeavoured to induce Hooper to adopt. His words are these;

"But now my deare Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficialle scene, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, against the which the worlde so furiously rageth in these our daies, howsoever in time past in certain by matters and circumstances of Religion,

your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment *," &c.

This we believe to be the only communication on the subject which ever took place between the venerable Bishops, after their imprisonment. We know not from whence Dr. M'Crie derived his statement, but unfortunately he has been misled in every part of it. The truth, as we shall proceed to shew, is plainly this; that Ridley and Hooper never saw each other after they were taken into custody; that they never were confined in the same prison; never had the prospect of being brought to the same stake. Of course, the loving embrace, the conference, and the contempt expressed by Ridley for some ceremony on which he had before insisted, are all purely imaginary. Bishop Hooper was committed to the Fleet Prison, Sept. 1, 1553. There he remained until January 28, 1555. When, after an examination before the Commissioners at the Church of St. Mary Overy, Rogers and himself were delivered to the Sheriffs of London, with an order that they should be kept both of them in the Compter at Southwark. On the 29th of January they were brought again before the Commissioners, and carried from thence to the Clink, a prison near the Bishop of Winchester's House, and kept there till night, when they were taken to Newgate, where Hooper remained until the 5th of February. At four o'clock in the morning of that day he was moved from Newgate by the Sheriffs, and sent in charge of six of the Queen's Guard to Gloucester, where he arrived on the following Thursday at five in the evening; and on Saturday the 9th he suffered martyrdom in that city †.

Bishop Ridley was first taken into custody at Framingham, July 26, 1553, and sent up to London, where he was confined in the Tower until he was moved to Oxford a little before Easter, which fell on the 25th of March, 1554, and there he remained until his martyrdom on the 16th of October in the same year ‡. We have thought it necessary to enter into these details, in order to vindicate the memory of the martyred Ridley from the charge which Dr. M'Crie's statement appears to imply. He was not accustomed to form his opinions with haste, nor to impose them with intolerant eagerness; nor was he likely to express his contempt of those

* Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, Vol. II, p. 443.

† See various documents in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography: Life of Hooper, Vol. II.

‡ See Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, Fox, &c.

habits which he had formerly defended as decent and proper, and which had been imposed by that lawful authority in the Church, to which he was as ready to bow as an individual, as he felt himself bound to uphold it in his official capacity. The fact we believe to be, that the retraction of error was made by Hooper, and not by Ridley; and that he ingenuously confessed, that he had been wrong in his pertinacious resistance of the power of the Church to make regulations in things in themselves indifferent.

We pass over Dr. M'Crie's remarks on the efficacy of "solemn pledges" given by Christians "of their fidelity to God and one another." That solitary instance of such a compact which our Ecclesiastical History presents, does not afford us any ground for believing that these "exercises" are at all instrumental in healing the divisions of the Church.

It is not extraordinary that Dr. M'Crie should look with a favourable eye on the "Solemn League and Covenant." But, if we are to take his own evidence of the ecclesiastical state of Scotland for our guide, we have no reason to conclude, that, even there, it has much impeded the unholy work of division. What it did in our own country, the rebellion it fostered, the bloodshed it caused, the horrible regicide consummated under its auspices, the persecutions of the Church in which it was mainly instrumental, the "unheard of divisions" (to use the words of Baxter) which it introduced, have left a stain upon our annals that centuries will not efface. In courtesy to Dr. M'Crie we will not stigmatize it in the strong language of South; but, when we remember by whom it was framed, and for what purpose; when we estimate its character by its effects in our own country, and by its failure as an instrument of union in his, we cannot admit it to a place among those healing remedies of which the God of Peace may be supposed to be the Author.

The following observations on Schism are so just and discriminating, that we lay them before our readers with unqualified pleasure.

"Schism does not consist, as some have preposterously maintained, in separation from the Church considered as invisible. It is not to be restricted to separation from the Catholic body, or whole community of Christians; as if none could be justly chargeable with this sin, for withdrawing from the communion of particular churches. It is often displayed in fomenting factions within a church, and accompanied with an uncharitable, bitter, or turbulent spirit; but there is no good reason for confining it to one or both of these; and neither the proper meaning of the word nor

the scriptural use of it, supports the favourite opinion of some modern critics and divines, that 'no person, who, in the spirit of candour and charity, adheres to that which, to the best of his judgment is right, though in his opinion he should be mistaken, is, in the scriptural sense, either schismatic or heretic*.' Dishonesty and uncharitableness are not essential qualities either of heresy or schism, but aggravations which are sometimes found cleaving to them.

"On the other hand, schism and separation are not convertible terms, nor are the things signified by them necessarily of the same kind. Schism is always evil: separation may be either good or evil, according to circumstances. To constitute the former, there must be a violation of some of the scriptural bonds of unity in the body of Christ. It presupposes a church formed and constituted by the authority and according to the laws of Christ, and an administration corresponding to the nature, character, and design of such a society, at least as far as that persons may belong to it without sin, and hold communion with it consistently with that regard which they owe to their spiritual safety and edification. The Christian Church is not an arbitrary institution of men—not a mere voluntary association of any number of people, for any purpose, and on any terms, which to them may seem good; nor has its communion been left vague and undetermined by the laws of its founder. It is not schism to refuse submission to human constitutions, though they may be called churches, and may have religion some way for their object, nor to refuse conformity to such terms as men may be pleased to impose without warrant from the word of God; whether these constitutions and terms proceed from the lust of power, or from the pride of wisdom, and whether they be intended to forward the policy of statesmen, to feed the ambition of churchmen, or to flatter the humours of the populace." P. 78.

But, as he afterwards says, although in some cases the lawfulness and duty of separation must be asserted and vindicated; it must ever be so done, as to set forth at the same time with due force the evils of Schism, and to afford full warning against rash and unwarrantable separations.

"It cannot," says he, "admit of a doubt, that in the present time there is a strong tendency in the minds of many to run to this extreme." Men must therefore be told, that the responsibility under which such a step is taken is tremendous; and if they are influenced by mere arbitrary will, or obstinate humour; by capriciousness and levity; by aversion from

* "Dr. Campbell's Dissertation on Heresy and Schism; prefixed to his New Translation of the Gospels. Some of the positions in that dissertation, indefensible, in my opinion, on the principles either of sound criticism or sound divinity, have been admitted with surprising facility in this country."

controul, by impatience of spiritual censures, by persona offences, by pride, envy, or disappointed ambition, few sins are more deep and deadly, few more injurious to man, or more offensive to Him whose last prayer for his disciples was that they might be one.

But there is an evil even greater than Schism itself; and it is to be found in those latitudinarian schemes of union and fellowship, from which some have hoped to extract a healing balm for all the dissensions of Christians.

The first class of these which Dr. M'Crie notices, comprises in it all those associations lately formed of Christians of all denominations, from which some have anticipated the happiest results.

"But," as he says, "a little consideration may serve to lower the exultation which these facts are calculated at first view to raise. The general object of some of these societies, and the distant field of exertion chosen by others, remind us of our existing differences. Under the combinations, too, which have been forming, a process of decomposition has been secretly going on in the minds of Christians, by which their attachment to various articles of the faith has been loosened. A vague and indefinite evangelism, mixed with seriousness, into which it is the prevailing disposition of the present age to resolve all Christianity, will, in the natural progress of human sentiment, degenerate into an unsubstantial and incoherent pietism, which, after effervescing in enthusiasm, will finally settle into indifference; in which case, the spirit of infidelity and irreligion, which is at present working and spreading to a more alarming extent than many seem to imagine, will achieve an easy conquest over a feeble and exhausted and nerveless adversary. 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith in the earth?' Let wise men judge whether these forebodings are fanciful." P. 87.

Wise men are judging, and will judge. The events of every day are opening the eyes of candid and well intentioned persons to the truth. The late secession of some eminent individuals from these associations, may, we trust, be hailed as a prosperous omen. They first joined them in the genuine spirit of that Charity, which "thinketh no evil" of those, whose talk is of righteousness and peace; and they have now left them, because the evidence of facts has at last painfully convinced them, that the forebodings of less sanguine minds were not confounded, and that evil was secretly operating, where they intended nothing but good. That evil Dr. M'Crie has assuredly not exaggerated; and we think it possible, that his statements may not wholly fail of

effect, where our often repeated warnings have been hitherto disregarded.

Dr. M'Crie then enters his protest against some specific schemes of union which are founded upon "principles usually styled latitudinarian." Those which proceed on the notion, that God is pleased with all the various modes in which men sincerely profess their regard to him, are properly stigmatized, as "utterly evasive of a religion founded on the unity of the divine nature and will, and on a revelation which teaches us what we are to believe concerning God, and what duty he requires of us." Those which are grounded upon a distinction of the Articles of Religion into essential and non-essential, fundamental and non-fundamental; and aim at little less than the union of all sects, however differing, upon some common ground, are well exposed; but the passage is too long for insertion. Such ground, if it be found at all, will be a position on which the Deist will readily take his stand by the side of the Christian; for little pains is necessary to prove, that every characteristic and fundamental doctrine of our holy faith has been denied by one or other of those sects which have assumed the Christian name, except that belief in the existence of one God, to which the Deist adheres, as the sum and substance of his religion. Another plan of union we shall give in Dr. M'Crie's own words. To us it is new; and to our readers it may afford an alarming proof of the monstrous absurdities into which the human mind is prone to fall, when it has once deserted the salutary paths of Scripture, and submitted to the influence of the dangerous delusions of will worship.

"Another plan of communion, apparently opposite to the former, but proceeding on the same general principle, has been zealously recommended, and in some instances reduced to practice, in the present day. According to it, the several religious parties are allowed to remain separate, and to preserve their distinct constitution and peculiarities, while a species of partial or occasional communion is established among them. This plan is liable to all the objections which lie against the former, with the addition of another that is peculiar to itself. It is inconsistent and self-contradictory. It strikes against the radical principles of the unity of the Church, and confirms schism by a law; while it provides that the parties shall remain separate, at the same time that it proceeds on the supposition that there is no scriptural or conscientious ground of difference between them. By defending such occasional conformity, English Dissenters at a former period contradicted the reasons of their dissent from the Establishment, and exposed themselves to their opponents: for where communion is law-

ful, it will not be easy to vindicate separation from the charge of schism. The world has for some time beheld annually the spectacle of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Methodists, and Seceders, sitting down together at the Lord's Table, and then going away and maintaining communion, through the remainder of the year, on their own separate and contradictory professions. Nay, it has of late become the practice to keep, in the same church, an open communion-table for Christians of different denominations on one part of the day, and a close one for those of a particular sect on the other part of the day; while the same minister officiates, and many individuals communicate, on both these occasions. And all this is cried up as a proof of liberality, and a mind that has freed itself from the trammels of party *!" P. 94.

A more portentous developement of the evils consequent upon the morbid liberalism of the age cannot be made. If when these societies were first engendered which were to produce a union of affection without any compromise of differing creeds; and were to associate the lion with the kid, and entice the child into the den of the cockatrice, without taming the fierceness of the savage animal, or extracting the sting from the serpent;—If at that moment, when the monstrous paradox was first reduced to a practical mischief, some warning voice had been raised to shew the downward course of such an unnatural combination;—and if that voice had announced the approach of a day, when every sound idea of Church unity would be so completely lost, that Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Independents and Methodists, all stillly maintaining their discordant opinions, would meet

* "In America, 'A plan of Brotherly Correspondence' has recently been agreed to, between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church. The first article of agreement is 'The Churches are to remain entirely separate and independent.' By the remaining articles it is provided, that members of either church may be admitted to communion with the other: and that the officers in any congregation of either church, may invite to their pulpit any Minister or Probationer in the other, 'who preaches in their purity the great doctrines of the Gospel, as they are stated in the common Confession of Faith, and have generally been received and taught in the Reformed Churches.' Those under censure in the one church are not to be received into the other. The members of Presbyteries and Synods of one of the churches may be invited to sit as corresponding members of the same judicatories of the other; but if not invited they must not be offended. And a minister or elder from each of the supreme judicatories shall sit in the other, but without a vote.

"Though I consider this plan as obnoxious to the censures in the text, I would not be understood as condemning all intercourse or correspondence between separate churches. On the contrary, I think that in some instances it may be of great utility, for paving the way for the removing of subsisting differences, and preventing or remedying offences, hurtful to the general interests of religion, which may arise from the managements of either party; such as, the receiving into communion of those who have fled from discipline in the other."

in mock communion even at the Altar of God once in a year, and live in separation all the rest of it;—how would such a prophet have been pursued with bitter scorn and reviling for the libellous prediction!! But now, the almost incredible profanation is recorded as a fact; and we have little doubt, that the honest earnestness with which we have expressed the abhorrence which it has excited in our minds, will by some be “held up to odium and reproach, as dictated by bigotry, and as tending to revive old dissensions, and to defeat the delightful prospect of those happy days of peace which are anticipated under the reign of mutual forbearance and charity.” (P. 97.)

At the conclusion of his Discourses, Dr. M'Crie expatiates on the temper of mind which it becomes Christians to cherish in times of abounding divisions in the Church; and on the qualities required in those who would heal them. Among these he enumerates an inviolable love of truth, and a supreme regard for divine authority; a pacific disposition; Christian candour; the gift of knowledge and wisdom; and, lastly, a public and disinterested spirit. His remarks on these several qualities, and their necessity and application are very good; and the two-fold warning which follows, on the one hand, against indifference to the object of union on scriptural ground; and on the other, against too much eagerness for its attainment on any ground of mere human device, is peculiarly seasonable and well applied. When adverting to his second caution, he says,

“It is no less necessary to warn you, on the other hand, against being ensnared by fair and plausible schemes of union. Remember that the Spirit of error takes an active part in the unions as well as in the divisions of Christians; and be not ignorant of his devices. Of old he deceived the people of God by raising the cry of Peace, peace; and so successful has he found this stratagem that he has ever since had recourse to it at intervals. There is a rage for peace as well as for contention, and men otherwise wise and good have been seized by it as well as the giddy multitude. If religion has suffered from merciless polemics and cruel dividers, history shews that it has suffered no less from the false lenity and unskilful arts of pretended physicians—the motly tribe of those who have assumed the name of reconcilers. They will say that they have no intention to injure the truth; but it is your duty carefully to examine the tendency of their proposals, and not to suffer yourselves to be caught with ‘good words and fair speeches.’ Have nothing to do with those plans of agreement, in which the corner-stone is not laid in a sacred regard to all that is sanctioned by the authority of your Lord. Beware of all such coalitions as would require you to desert a faithful and necessary testimony for the truths and laws of

Christ, would call you back from prosecuting a just warfare against any error or sin, would involve you in a breach of your lawful engagements, or prevent you from paying the vows you have made to God. Keep in mind that there are duties incumbent on you beside that of following peace. Violate not 'the brotherly covenant' by which you may be already bound to walk with your fellow-Christians in a holy and good profession, from a fond and passionate desire of forming new connections. Throw not rashly away a present and known good for the prospect of a greater which is uncertain and contingent; and do not suffer your minds to be diverted from the ordinary duties of your Christian vocation, by engaging in extraordinary undertakings, while the call to these is not clear, and you have not good ground to depend on God for that extraordinary aid which is required in prosecuting them." P. 104.

Earnestly and solemnly do we intreat the members, and above all the Clergy of our own Church, to apply this warning caution to themselves; to estimate its force, and act upon its principles. No considerations of greater importance can be laid before them; no subject can be agitated which calls for more immediate, more deep attention. A morbid desire of union upon unsubstantial, nay let us not understate the fact, upon unscriptural and forbidden principles, is the besetting sin of the times. All the schisms and contentions which have disturbed Christianity from the beginning, have not so deeply injured its cause, so dangerously corrupted its purity, as the wretched expedients which this desire has rendered popular. Contention, bitter and painful as it is, yet has this good in it, that it cherishes the spirit of those who can defend the truth, although it also feeds the fire which would consume it. Like the persecution which tries the spirit of the Martyr, it purifies its victim: and though it may occasion partial destruction, the very flame which devours some, is a beacon to others. But the cold benumbing influence of modern liberalism operates like an opiate: if it relaxes the struggling fibre, and checks the painful convulsion, it produces this effect only by enchaining the faculties in helpless slumber, and rendering them incapable of beneficial, as well as injurious exertion.

Men may be thus brought to coalesce, and their religious animosities may be calmed; but with them will perish their religion also. They will not unite, because they have agreed to search for truth with honest industry and impartial candour, and to adhere to it when found; but because, bewildered and fatigued by their mutual contentions, they have taught each other to despise the very object of their dispute, or to give up the pursuit of it in despair.

From such a downfall there is no recovery. It may, we fear, be regarded as the forerunner of that final state of apostacy, when faith will scarcely be found upon the earth; and then, to use the language of the Psalmist, it will be time for God to "lay to his hand, when men have destroyed his law*;" and the Son of Man will come again to vindicate his despised and forsaken religion from the ungodly deeds of its impugnors, and all the "hard speeches of ungodly men."

ART. II. *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Minister of St. John's Church, Glasgow. Baldwin & Co. 1821.

It is impossible to read this volume, without respecting the motives of its writer, and praising his activity, however we may doubt as to the expediency of some parts of his views. Upon being removed from a remote and thinly-peopled parish to the heart of a crowded and rather depraved city, abounding with mechanics of a reading, disaffected, and infidel cast of character, Dr. Chalmers could not but be deeply struck with the difference between the peaceful peasantry he left behind, and the surly, discontented manufacturers, among whom he found himself called to minister. The working people in Glasgow have not unjustly been regarded as the most dangerous of all the bodies upon whom the spirit of insubordination has been let loose in Great Britain since the momentous era of the French Revolution; and this because they possess just that degree of the "little learning" which creates the pride of reasoning without securing its benefits, and because they are moved less by their passions than by certain crude systems of politics derived from the corrupted press of London and Edinburgh, to which they are used to pay the utmost deference. There is no town in the United Kingdom, perhaps, in which population has increased so rapidly, and the manners of the inhabitants suffered a change so decidedly for the worse, as in Glasgow; which is usually described as being at once the Manchester and the Liverpool of Scotland. About a hundred years ago, the number of the people there did not amount to 14,000, whereas, at present, the *census* has given a return of 148,000 and up-

* Ps. cxix. 126.

wards. Even in 1780, the city and suburbs contained only 42,832; the population having more than tripled in the course of forty years. In such a mass of human beings, the greater part of whom are congregated together in workshops and large manufacturing establishments, vice is propagated and diffused, in a ratio inconceivably greater than that at which they themselves increase; and it very soon becomes one of the most difficult problems on which the philanthropist and Christian can exercise his talents to determine the means whereby the torrent of depravity may be checked, and its devastations prevented, in circumstances at once so novel and alarming.

It has occurred to Dr. Chalmers that one great step to effectuate this desirable object would be gained by rendering a town parish as like as possible to a rural one, in all the means of instruction and clerical superintendence. At present, it would seem, the seats in the city-churches of Scotland are let by the Magistrates, who are the patrons to the inhabitants indiscriminately, and without any regard to parochial residence; so that the congregation of any given clergyman may be drawn, in certain proportions, from all the parishes under the jurisdiction of the civic rulers. In this way, no minister has a parish that can properly be called his own, and his notions of parochial duty must, of course, become very vague, and not likely to carry him to a sedulous or hearty discharge of them. In fact, if Dr. Chalmers' representations be not greatly overcharged, no body of clergymen have less in their power, or are expected to do less, in a strictly official capacity, than the ministers of large towns in the northern part of the Island. They make their appearance in church on the return of the seventh day, pronounce the stated service, and are understood thereby to fulfil all the duty, of a clerical nature at least, which the lapse of a week entails upon them. It will therefore be admitted, on all hands, that there exists a loud call for improvement in the parochial arrangements of Scottish towns: and accordingly, the great and leading position which Dr. C. advances upon this subject is, that the same moral regimen which, under the parochial and ecclesiastical system of Scotland, has been set up, and with so much effect in her country parishes may, by a few simple and attainable processes, be introduced into the most crowded of her cities, and with as signal and conspicuous an effect on the whole habits and character of their population;—that the simple relationship which obtains between a minister and his people in the former situation, may be kept up with all the purity

and entireness of its influences in the latter situation, and be equally available to the formation of a well-conditioned peasantry—in a word, that there is no such dissimilarity between town and country as to prevent the great national superiority of Scotland, in respect of her well-principled and well-educated people, being just as observable in Glasgow or Edinburgh, for example as it is in the most retired of her districts, and these under the most diligent process of moral and religious cultivation. “So that,” says he, “while the profligacy which obtains in every crowded and concentrated mass of human beings, is looked upon by many a philanthropist as one of those helpless and irreclaimable distempers of the body politic for which there is no remedy—do I maintain, that there are certain practicable arrangements which, under the blessing of God, will stay this growing calamity, and would, by the perseverance of a few years, lead us in a purer and better generation.”

On this sanguine project we have simply to remark, that the virtues and information of the Scottish peasantry have been of late not a little exaggerated, by writers in either division of the Island, who ascribe to mere education a potency and a charm which it has never been found to possess in a crowded and luxurious country. The main ground of superiority as to the qualities of peaceableness and comparative innocence, so loudly claimed for the labouring class in Scotland, at the expence of the same order of persons among ourselves, has hitherto consisted, we think, in the absence of those temptations and deteriorating causes which never fail to arise from the diffusion of wealth, the increase of large towns, and the progress of manufactures. Till the middle of last century the population of Scotland was not only extremely thin, but it was chiefly rural. There were not more than two towns, north of the Tweed, which contained 10,000 inhabitants; whilst the people at large, strangers to the contamination of bad example in the higher classes, and far removed from the contagion of vice, generated in crowded lanes and overflowing manufactories, where all ages and sexes mingle indiscriminately together, passed their days in the pure and simple occupations of an agricultural or pastoral life. In such circumstances, the absence of riot, dissipation, and crime, exhibited nothing remarkable either in the character of the people or in the means employed to cultivate their moral and religious feelings. All countries in similar circumstances have presented similar appearances; and the most bigoted native of North Britain will not be so unreasonable as to maintain that his country-

men were quieter or more virtuous than the Switzer, the Norwegian, or even the Spaniard prior to the days of revolutionary madness. But Scotland, the lowlands at least, has, within the last forty years, undergone a greater change than any other country on the face of the earth. The march of improvement there has outstripped any similar advances recorded in history; and the consequence is, that the people from having increased in numbers and wealth, and more especially from being brought together in masses and dwelling in large towns, have become as depraved as those in our own manufacturing districts, and probably more mischievous and formidable.

This being the case, there is, we apprehend, "such a dissimilarity between town and country," as to prevent what Dr. Chalmers is pleased to call "the great national superiority of Scotland, in respect of her well-educated and well-principled people, being just as observable in Glasgow or Edinburgh, as in the most retired of her districts." The circumstances of the two are so completely different, that the "moral regimen" which was found efficacious in the one, may be found altogether fruitless in the other. The peasant yielding to his simple habits, required not the active surveillance and admonition and reproof which will be necessary to keep from evil, and to bring back to virtue the hard-working artizan, who, surrounded by intemperate associates, and exhausted by an unhealthy occupation, will experience seducements which the other never knew. Still, in a matter where success will be attended with the most happy effects, and where failure even will be productive of partial advantage, it is right to try all means, and to adopt every expedient which hold out any rational prospect of gaining the end in view. The principal step, then, by which Dr. Chalmers hopes to effect the assimilation of a town-parish to a rural one, is the appointment of a select body of lay-assistants, whose duty will consist in visiting regularly all the families in their respective districts, in admonishing the thoughtless, encouraging the good, aiding the necessitous, reclaiming the vicious, and, in a word, keeping up a channel of communication between the clergyman and every individual in his parish. Out of these simple elements, as he expresses it, of attention and advice, and civility and good will, conveyed through the tenements of the poor, by men a little more elevated in rank than themselves, a far more purifying, and even more gracious operation can be made to descend upon them, than ever will be achieved by any other of the ministrations of charity. We cannot guess, he elsewhere

remarks, at a likelier or more immediate arrangement for this purpose, than to multiply the agents of Christianity amongst us, whose business it may be to go forth among the people, on no other errand than that of pure good will, and with no other ministrations than those of respect and tenderness.

“ There is one lesson that we need not teach, for experience has already taught it ; and that is, the kindly influence which the mere presence of a human being has upon his fellows. Let the attention you bestow upon another, be the genuine emanation of good will ; and there is only one thing more to make it irresistible. The readiest way of finding access to a man’s heart, is to go to his house, and there to perform the deed of kindness, or to acquit yourself of the wonted and the looked for acknowledgment. If Christianity be the errand on which you move, it will open for you the door of every family : and even the profane and the profligate will come to recognize the worth of that principle which prompts the unwearied assiduity of your services. By every circuit which you make amongst them, you will attain a higher vantage ground of moral and spiritual influence—and in spite of all that has been said of the ferocity of city population, be assured that in your rounds of visitation, you will meet with none of it, even among the lowest receptacles of human worthlessness.”

In short, the Doctor’s plan is a general attack upon the strong holds of vice and ignorance ; and in order to render the attack effectual, he recommends a minute division of all the streets and lanes of the city into small districts, to be paraded regularly and thoroughly by men, who shall carry, with the approved weapons of Christian warfare, instruction, comfort, and ghostly admonition. In this important matter, he deprecates vehemently all general or universal systems of moral tactics. There is at present, he justly observes, an appetite amongst us for designs of magnificence. There is an impatience of every thing short of a universal scheme binding in a universal result. Nothing will serve but a mighty organization, with the promise of mighty consequences ; and let any single person be infected with this spirit, and he will decline from the work of a single court or lane in a city, as an object far too limited for his contemplation. It is a standing maxim with our author, that as in the days of its first promulgation, so in these days of growing depravity in our large cities and towns, the Gospel of Christ must go in search of its proper objects, it must *seek* in order to save them that are lost. There must be an *aggressive* movement upon the dense and deadening mass of ignorance and guilt, which

fills so many of our lanes and alleys, our garrets and our cellars ; for if Religion go not forth with the direct intention to discover the morally blind and deaf, and lame, and invite their thoughts to her claims and her sanctions, she will never be sought for by them. Differing from the superficial economists of the United States of America, who maintain, that as religion is one of the *natural wants* of mankind, it will be produced in all countries *in a supply equal to the demand*, and, therefore, that the establishment of any particular form of Christianity is altogether superfluous, Dr. Chalmers insists, and no one will question the soundness of his views, that the more destitute the heart of man is of religious principle and feeling, the less is he conscious of his wants, and the less desirous is he to provide for them.

Without professing to understand all the details of the system recommended by our author, for conducting the business of instruction and maintenance as applicable to the lowest class of society, we cannot fail to perceive that his plan for *localizing*, as he calls it, the city and suburbs of Glasgow, and increasing the number of churches and schools, is well calculated to work out a good effect upon the manners and character of the people. Dr. Chalmers is a bit of an enthusiast, no doubt, on this subject ; and in every other perhaps with which his active mind has for any length of time been kept in close collision : but we like him not the worse for that peculiarity of temperament, it being obvious, that no man, who has not a strong impulse from within, will ever find his way through the filth, the ignorance, the poverty, and the vice which he labours to explore and remove. In combating the moral pestilence which walks in the darkness of our crowded manufacturing towns, the philanthropist must hold as nothing his own comfort and the repose of his nerves. The Howard who enters the prisons and the hospitals of those who are tied and bound with the chain of their sins, whose inner man is covered with wounds and bruises and putrifying sores, will require all the prompting and the cheering of an ardent and elastic spirit. The great expectations, therefore, which he entertains from his success in *localizing* Glasgow, and in *subordinating* the whole population to the aggressive movements of his multiplied agency, may all be necessary to sustain his mind during the first steps of his progress, where he will find many obstacles to impede and much opposition to dishearten him. As an instance of the beneficial results flowing from the scheme now alluded to, when cordially and judiciously pursued, we take pleasure in transcribing the following account of a Sunday

School which was formed and conducted by a gentleman in the author's neighbourhood, whose name, from motives of delicacy, he withholds from the reader.

"It is now about a year and a half ago since he assumed a district to himself which he resolved to cultivate on the system of local philanthropy. We believe that in respect of the rank and condition of those who live in it, it is greatly beneath the average of Glasgow. It comprises a population of 996; whom he, in the first instance most thoroughly surveyed, and all of whom, we are confident, he has now most thoroughly attached, and that by a series of the most friendly and enlightened services. He has found room within its limits for four Sabbath Schools, which he provided with teachers of his own selecting, and who, like himself, labour of course gratuitously in the cause; as indeed we believe, do all the other Sabbath teachers in the city. The scholars amount to 110; which is also in very full proportion to the number of inhabitants. He has also instituted a Savings' Bank, which takes in deposits only from those who live and from those who work within the bounds of this little territory. With this last extension of his plan, the bank may embrace a population of 1200; and from its commencement in December 1818 to December 1819, the whole sum deposited is £235 12s. 3d. During the twelve-month, sixty families of this small district have opened their accounts with the Bank, and received an impulse from it, on the side of economy and foresight. This, in such a year, proves what might be made of the neglected capabilities of our labouring classes. Any general Savings' Bank for the town at large, would not have called out one tenth of this sum from the obscure department of it which this gentleman occupies, and which, with the doings and devices of a most judicious benevolence, he is so fast rescuing from all the miseries which attach to a crowded population. We hold this to be one of the most signal triumphs of locality. The sum deposited in this local bank is about proportional to the sum of £30,000 for the town and suburbs of Glasgow; and forms another proof, among the many others which multiply around us of the superiority in point of effect, which a small, and at the same time, distinct and unfettered management holds over a wide and ambitious superintendence."

Before we proceed farther, it may be proper to mention that in order to explain his views, and gain the concurrence and assistance of his townsmen, Dr. Chalmers publishes quarterly the work now before us; to which, as expressive of its object, he has given the title of "*Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.*" There is one volume now completed, containing eight Numbers or Chapters, severally devoted to the following subjects; "*The Advantage and Possibility of assimilating a Town to a Country Parish:*" "*On the influence of*

Locality in Towns:" "Application of the principle of Locality to the Work of a Christian Minister:" "The Effect of Locality in adding to the useful Establishments of a Town:" "On Church Patronage (two chapters):" "On Church Offices:" "On Sabbath Schools."

In the chapters on Church patronage the Doctor brings forward his grand specific for all disorders of the body politic and ecclesiastical, consisting in the simple prescription of pleasing the multitude in the appointment of clergymen. The mass of the people, he assures us, entertain more correct notions of Christianity than the higher and better informed classes; and consequently the evangelical or popular doctrines on this important subject, are the most efficacious in subduing evil and fostering virtue in all descriptions of men, and particularly in the lowest. In attempting, however, to explain the process by which this good effect is to be produced, Dr. Chalmers shews nothing so clearly as that he does not understand in what true popular evangelism consists. "The advocates of the evangelical system," says he, "affirm the nullity of human righteousness when regarded in the light of its founding *any claim to reward* from the great Moral Governor of our species." And a little farther on he argues in defence of his position, as if any man in his senses had ever called it in question, in the following sensible and orthodox manner: "There is no inconsistency whatever, but the directly opposite, in that the obedience of man should be inadmissible *as his personal claim to heaven*, and yet indispensable *as his personal qualification* for it. And thus it is that while, in the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the virtue of a human being is not admitted as an ingredient at all into the title-deed which conveys to him his right of entry into paradise, *it is this virtue and nothing else*, which making constant progress in time, and reaching its consummate perfection in eternity, that renders him fit for the blessedness, and the employments, and the whole *companionship* of paradise." Could Dr. Chalmers inform us what church, or what divine of any reputation connected with any Protestant society, ever taught that human righteousness is to be regarded in the light of its founding *any claim to reward* from the great Moral Governor of our species; or that the obedience of man should be admissible *as his personal claim* to heaven; or that the virtue of a human being is to be admitted as an ingredient into that title-deed which conveys to him his right of entry into paradise? We know what the Kirk of Scotland propounds on these points; but well do we know that such heresy is not per-

mitted within the pale of our Establishment. On the contrary, the very opinions which Dr. Chalmers sets forth, as characteristic of what he calls evangelical or *popular* Christianity, are the doctrines preached in our Church; ascribing the justification of man before God, to the merits and death of Christ solely, and regarding virtue and pureness of living as qualifications whereby only we are made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. Nor is the learned doctor so ignorant as he may seem of the peculiar dogmas which please the multitude; nor does he hesitate on some occasions to give them all the weight and currency which his popular talents can so effectually confer. There is the tenet of personal election for example, the indefectibility of grace, and some other morsels of Calvinistic divinity, which he himself endeavours to magnify and make honourable, although at the expense (no great one to him) of consistency both in theoretical holding and practical teaching. It may appear odd, and yet it is perfectly true, that no man in the present age deserves more highly for his doings, so far as they go, than Dr. Chalmers, and yet is entitled to less reverence for his opinions, even on the very principles which he professes to follow in the exertions of his philanthropy. In fact, as a theologian, he has no fixed opinions whatever, but in one chapter of his book openly contradicts, or indirectly neutralizes, the leading statements contained in the chapter which precedes or follows it. We had marked a few passages of this description for quotation; but the object in view does not now appear worth the pains which such labour would inflict upon us.

The chapter on Sabbath Schools is principally devoted to the very nugatory question, whether a good education is of much use to a Clergyman, and likely to promote the interests of religion in the world. The Doctor, himself a scholar and a man of science, is decidedly in favour of learning; and yet by a species of fatality which attaches to all his reasoning, he contrives to introduce such arguments and illustrations as materially weaken the cause which he professes to advocate. If we compare the field in which a Clergyman labours to a piece of garden-ground under the charge of a horticulturist, learning will be useful to the former, not as it will enable him to improve the soil and foster the plants, but simply as it will qualify him to distinguish between a plant and a weed, when he sees them both spring up, and thereby to determine which of the two is to be left, and which is to be plucked up and cast away. The figure used by the author, however, is that of a *seal*, or stamp, used for making

an impression on a particular substance: and human learning, in this case, is advantageous only as it enables the clerical scholar to form a judgment as to the characters of the seal, and the accuracy of the impression, whether as being real or pretended: but as to the main thing, the application of the seal, and the affecting of the impress to be made by it, learning and science are of no use whatever. The Bible is the seal: "And," says our author, "the Bible may be brought into contact with the mind of the reader, and learning and talent, and all the forces that mere humanity can muster may be made to aid the impression of it, and still be wholly ineffectual. The Spirit of God may then undertake the office of an enlightener, and in so doing, he may keep by the Bible as his *alone instrument*; and not one truth may pass in conveyance from him to the spirit of that man on whom he is operating, but simply and solely the truths which are taken off from the written word of God; and all the Christianity that he teaches, and that he leaves graven on the hearts of his subjects, may just be a correct transcript of the Christianity that exists in the New Testament." The *doctrine* of the Bible, he assures us, "is made known to us by this process and nothing else." "Under the tuition of God's Spirit we only learn what has already been fully expressed by the letter of the Bible, but which without his influence can never be fully comprehended in its meaning, nor felt in its power."

Now, as the doctrines, that is, the real import of the Bible can only be understood by means of the supernatural teaching above described, it follows that human learning must be of comparatively little value to a preacher of God's word. It seems, however, that "by aid of the grammar and lexicon, and all the resources of philosophy," a man may find out, or "evince the literal doctrine" that is graven upon the written word; and also that he may, by the aid either of natural shrewdness, or of a keen metaphysical inspection into the *arcana* of character, drag forth to light that moral and intellectual picture which the doctrine of the Bible is said to have left upon the soul. And thus, (it is concluded,) he who has no part whatever in the teaching that cometh from God, who is still a natural man, and has not received the things of the Spirit may, to a certain extent, judge the pretensions of him who conceives that the Holy Ghost has taken of the things of Christ, and shewn them to his soul.

But this, after all, it is very obvious, is a mere play upon words, destitute alike of meaning and consistency. If the

Bible is to be compared to a seal, or stamp, the true characters of that stamp must be the real, the genuine, the spiritual doctrines of the Bible; and as these, according to our author, cannot be apprehended unless by means of supernatural agency on the soul, it is perfectly clear that the man of mere human learning can know nothing at all either about the *engraving* on the seal, or the *impression* which ought to proceed from it when applied by the "strong arm" of the Holy Spirit. It is admitted by Chalmers that the grammar and lexicon, with the other resources of philosophy, directed to the written word, will enable a man to evince the *literal* doctrine that is graven thereupon. So far the concession is encouraging. But, then, as it happens not to be the *impression of the literal doctrine*, which the scholar is called upon to examine and judge of, but the impression of the *hidden mystical doctrine* which no natural means can attain or comprehend, we make bold to assert that, on Dr. Chalmers' principles, human learning must be just as impotent and blind in pronouncing on the truth and accuracy of the impression, as it is, according to him, in applying the *die*. The reference to Horsley's controversy with Priestley, made by the author in support of his distinction, only proves that his distinction is at once absurd and groundless; for the question between these divines had not the most distant respect to the mystical teaching of a supernatural agent, as opposed to a literal exposition of Scripture, but was confined to the evolvment of the plain grammatical meaning of words, as bearing for the most part, upon the import of a merely human record. In fact, this controversy was a philological rather than a theological one: and it is worthy of remark that Horsley does not any where give his own opinion on the momentous question at issue, as founded on the reasoning plied against his opponent, but merely proves, from the literal meaning of their expressions, that the first Christian writers taught and maintained the doctrine of the Trinity.

If Dr. Chalmers meant nothing more than that there is a great difference between knowing doctrines speculatively, and acting sincerely under their practical influence, he has only used a multitude of words to no purpose; but if he intended to teach that there is *one* view to be obtained of scriptural doctrine, by the aid of grammar and lexicon, and *another totally different* to be obtained, or rather, *to be received*, supernaturally, we hesitate not to charge him with very dangerous, absurd, and fanatical notions.

The name of Horsley suggests to us that we ought in justice to the Glasgow Divine, to insert here his high com-

pliment paid to our Church, as being upon the whole, a learned and orthodox body, though chargeable with a particular kind of "intolerance, that so evidently scowls from the Episcopal bench." "There are many," says he, "who look with an evil eye to the endowments of the English Church, and to the indolence of her dignitaries. But to that Church the theological literature of our nation stands indebted for her best acquisitions; and we hold it a refreshing spectacle, at any time that meagre Socinianism pours forth a new supply of flippancy and errors, when we behold, as we have often done, an armed champion come forth in full equipment, from some high and lettered retreat of that noble hierarchy; nor can we grudge her the wealth of all her endowments, when we think how well, under her venerable auspices, the battles of orthodoxy have been fought,—that in this holy warfare they are her sons and her scholars who are ever foremost in the field,—ready at all times, to face the threatening mischief, and by the might of their ponderous erudition to overthrow it."

But highly as Dr. Chalmers esteems our learned controversialists, he is pleased to confer a still loftier meed of praise upon the celebrated calvinistic Divine of North America, President Edwards. The erudition of other men could proceed no farther than to endow them with the qualification of discerning between the characters of a seal and the impression made by means of it on a proper substance—the impression itself being the distinct and personal work of the Holy Spirit—but the critical acumen and spiritual gifts of the President are represented as having been equal to much greater effects than those. "In the former capacity (of a scholar) he could estimate the genuineness of the Christianity that had before been fashioned on the person of a disciple; but it was in the latter capacity (of a preacher) and speaking of him as an instrument, that he fashioned it, as it were, with his own hands. In the former capacity he sat in judgment as a critic, on the resemblance that there was between the seal of God's word, and the impression that had been made on the fleshly table of a human heart; in the latter capacity he himself *took up the seal, and gave the imprinting touch*, by which the heart is conformed unto the obedience of the faith." How President Edwards should have acquired the knowledge and the power and the sanctifying influence, necessary to perform the "distinct and personal work" of the Holy Ghost, the learned author has not said; but we think we can explain the mystery, by stating that the minister of St. John's speaks very much at random,

and has not attained to any thing like consistency or stability of opinion, on the main doctrines of our holy religion.

In the Number of the Civic Economy for last month, we have a specimen, well-marked and avowed, of that peculiar theology which, owing to the perversity of our nature, has so many and such powerful charms for the multitude. Dr. Chalmers dwells with apparent complacency on the frightful dogma of Calvin that few of the human race are to be saved. After recommending an increase of Churches, and an unlimited extension of his localizing system, together with week-day visitations and greetings between a minister and his people, he remarks that,

“Throughout the whole of this progress, he might rarely meet with the heirs and expectants of a blessed immortality—yet who does not see, that beyond the limits of a circle so select and peculiar, he bears about with him a humanizing influence that may be felt in almost every habitation? It is a sad contemplation,” he adds, “to him whose heart is occupied with the weight and reality of eternal things that out of so vast a population, a mere handful of converts may be the whole fruit of a lengthened and laborious incumbency.—‘A very handful out of the untouched mass, may be all the harvest that is reaped’—‘the mysterious and preternatural influence from above, falls on a *mere scantling* of the population;’ ‘all that an assiduous pastor shall leave behind may be a *mere fraction* of his parishioners, turned, through his means, to the genuine faith and discipleship of Christianity.’”

Still he is for more churches and more localizing, because, says he, whenever a more copious descent of the Holy Ghost shall come down upon us, it will pass through all the channels of conveyance *that have been furnished for it* in the land; entering into pulpits, and then spreading itself over congregations, and finding its way most readily through the most free and frequented path-ways, &c. &c. By subdividing parishes, he adds, we just multiply these pathways; and by localizing parishes we just make the pathways *shorter and more accessible* than before, (to the Holy Ghost!)—just as in the irrigating processes of Egypt, the reservoirs are constructed, and the furrows are drawn, and every field on the banks of the Nile is put into readiness, for the coming inundation; so we, knowing that the Spirit maketh its passage, &c. &c. In another place he still farther attempts to demonstrate to the Magistrates of Glasgow (of whose *vis inertie* he loudly complains) “the good and the necessity of a *terrestrial apparatus* for the distribution of that living water which cometh from above,” but still that apparatus,

viz. a score of new churches and twice as many chapels, continues to remain a *desideratum*!

We have done with the Doctor for the present; and at parting we willingly declare, that though we are often compelled to laugh at his phrases and figures, condemn his style, and even sometimes to question the soundness of his brain, we nevertheless hold him to be a benevolent, liberal, and honest character; ardent in the pursuit of what he thinks the good of his country, and, we will add, likely to promote it, to no inconsiderable extent. There is a wide field of arduous duty before him in the populous profligate town with which he is connected; he has resolutely entered upon it; pointed out the way in which reformation may be, at least partially, effected; and he has, we believe, roused and encouraged many fellow-labourers to join with him in the various and encreasing exertions which he has made.

ART. III. *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society.* Vol. I. Part. I. Cambridge. At the University Press.

No. 2. *On certain remarkable Instances of Deviation from Newton's Scale in the Tints developed by Crystals with one Axis of double Refraction, on Exposure to polarized Light.* By J. F. W. Herschel, M.A. F.R.S. L. and E. and of the Cambridge Philosophical Society.

No. 3. *On the Rotation impressed by Plates of Rock Crystal on the Planes of Polarization of the Rays of Light, as connected with certain Peculiarities in its Crystallization.* By the Same.

IN a former Number we introduced to our readers the first part of the Transactions of the newly formed Philosophical Society in Cambridge; and after enumerating its contents, we proceeded to the more particular review of one of its most interesting papers. In the present article we propose continuing our remarks by first entering upon some account of two papers, which from the interest and importance of their subjects, are to be considered as holding a superior rank to the other papers in the collection; and afterwards we propose to subjoin a very brief notice of the subjects and pretensions of the other communications which form the volume before us.

In bringing forward for examination the two papers just named, we are entering upon a department of science in which the most rapid and indeed astonishing progress has been made during the last few years, and which is even daily making acquisitions of new and important discoveries. We are well aware that the nature of these communications to the Cambridge Philosophical Society is such, that no one not previously acquainted, at least in some slight degree, with the terms employed, and the truths already known, in this branch of enquiry, can with any prospect of understanding them enter at once upon the perusal: but at the same time in order to give a just idea of the relative importance of these investigations in the scale of improvement, which we conceive necessary to a fair and complete review of them, we are obliged to exhibit at least some slight view of the grounds of comparison; and in so doing, to present at least some general sketch of the previous progress of discovery. In doing so indeed, we shall by no means be departing from a close review of the papers before us, for Mr. Herschel commences his enquiries with a sketch precisely of the same nature as that we propose; and in giving such an outline, we shall be enabled to give such of our readers as may not hitherto have turned their attention to a subject well deserving it, such an insight into its nature and principles, as will, we doubt not, be sufficient to create considerable interest in the very curious and beautiful discoveries which this branch of science lays before us. Under these impressions we conceive we may premise a very short account of the terms "double refraction," "polarization," &c. which occur in every page of these papers. The origin of these terms is to be found in several very simple appearances, which remained long known before any very extensive application of scientific principles raised upon them the superstructure of a regular philosophical system.

If a beam of light is made to pass through a plate of glass, or a mass of water, it will have the same appearance and the same properties after transmission as before it. If the same beam of light is made to pass through a parallel plate of calcareous or Iceland spar, or of various other crystallized bodies it will be divided at its entrance into the plate into two separate pencils or beams. The crystals which possess this property are called doubly refracting crystals; and hence all objects seen through them appear double. One of these pencils then is refracted according to the ordinary law; the other, being refracted according to a different law, is called the extraordinary pencil.

The phenomenon of double refraction was first observed in specimens of Iceland spar by Erasmus Bartholinus, about the middle of the seventeenth century: who remarked many particulars relating to the variations produced in the extraordinary refraction by different positions of the crystal.

Among other particulars, he observed that there was one position of the crystal, in which an object only appeared single. The line in which a ray may penetrate a crystal, without being separated into two, is called the axis of double refraction. Huygens afterwards examined the subject and found that the greatest separation takes place when the two rays are in a plane, formed by bisecting one of the obtuse angles of the rhombus, which forms the side of the crystal on which the ray falls; or in some plane parallel to this. When the ordinary refraction takes place in a plane at right angles to this, the separation does not take place: when in a plane forming intermediate angles, it is of intermediate degrees of magnitude. The plane above mentioned is called the principal section of the crystal.

He also investigated the ratio of the sines of incidence and refraction for the ordinary pencil in Iceland spar. For the extraordinary, he found the ratio varied with the inclination of the incident ray; but discovered a law by which it was regulated.

Huygens also tried many experiments with Iceland crystal, and investigating the laws, by which its double refraction is regulated, framed a theory to account for the phenomena, on the supposition of light consisting in the undulations of an ethereal medium. He supposes the ordinary refraction to be produced by undulations of a spherical form, whilst the extraordinary refraction arises from spheroidal undulations: the form of the ellipsis by which the spheroid is generated, being found from the ratio of the two refractions. His notion of the nature of light it is hardly necessary to observe, is entirely hypothetical, but it appears competent to explain the phenomena, as he has shewn that the deviation of the extraordinary ray, calculated upon this hypothesis, agrees precisely with observation. The particulars of his theory are somewhat of a complicated nature, and we have only introduced the mention of it here, in order to explain the meaning of the terms employed, and the nature of the design, and object of the enquiries, under consideration. According to Huygens' view of the subject, all the spheroids ought to be similar, and have their axes parallel; and he concluded from some considerations respecting the principal sections before mentioned, that the short diagonal of the rhomboid determined the position

of the axes of all the spheroidal waves, propagated from any point.

The double refracting property, by transmitting a ray through only one rhomboid, was all that Bartholinus discovered. It was reserved to Huygens to observe the properties of a ray, after it had passed through one crystal and was received into a second placed beneath. When all its sides were parallel to those of the other, he found that the two rays which entered the lower crystal were not again separated, but continued through it in their former directions; the former ordinary pencil having still only the ordinary refraction, and the former extraordinary only the extraordinary. On turning one crystal so that the principal sections of each were at right angles, the case was reversed, the former ordinary ray having an extraordinary refraction, and the extraordinary an ordinary; and in all intermediate points, that is when the principal sections formed any angle less than 90° , each ray was more or less separated into two on entering the lower crystal. Newton, in the queries subjoined to his optics, enquires whether rays of light may not have many peculiar properties inherent in them, besides those investigated in common optics; and from an examination of the phenomena above described, he concludes that rays of light possess two opposite sides, each endued with a property on which the unusual refraction depends, and the other two opposite sides not endued with it; and that to develope this property they must be turned towards one particular side of the crystal, thus accounting for all the appearances just mentioned. This property then which rays of light possess, on their opposite sides, has been termed polarity; and when a ray is so acted upon as to shew it, it is said to be polarized.

The passage of a ray of light then, through a doubly refracting crystal, is one mode by which it is polarized; and indeed was the only one known till the time of Malus. That philosopher placed two plates of glass parallel to each other, and letting a ray fall on the lower plate at an angle of $25^\circ 25'$, it was of course reflected, and met the upper plate at the same angle, and was there reflected again: the course of the ray was in a plane inclined to that of the parallel plates.—Now, if the upper plate be made to revolve about an axis parallel to the plane of the ray, it is clear that in all positions the ray will still form the same angle with it, estimated in its own plane. He observed, that when the upper plate was made to revolve, from its horizontal position, through a quarter of a circle so as to be now perpendicular to the lower, the ray was then not reflected from it but passed through it,

then turning it round another quarter of a circle the ray was now reflected as at first; and when it was turned again as much, the ray was again transmitted: thus light can penetrate glass, in one position and not in another. He accounted for this circumstance by supposing, that the light had bent into another position, just as a needle does when acted on by a magnet. It is obvious then that this phænomenon is one of the same kind as that before described, and the term polarization may be well adapted to convey an idea of the nature of the effects produced.

It is far from our intention to enter upon any thing like an historical view of the various discoveries which have gradually been made in these enquiries, our sole object in the present rapid sketch is merely to point out, to such of our readers as may have been deterred (as we believe many students are,) from pursuing, even in the most general way, these interesting investigations, under an idea of their abstruseness, the few simple steps by which they may arrive at a very satisfactory view of the subject; and with this intention we must briefly advert to the course of previous discovery, which Mr. Herschel notices at the commencement of the paper under review. Huygens having, as we have seen, referred the polarizing property to a certain axis, Laplace proceeded to reduce the effects to mechanical principles, supposing a certain repulsive force to emanate from the short diagonal, or axis of extraordinary refraction. It was, however, the observation of Dr. Brewster that we ought to enquire, in receiving this theory, whether the law of Huygens, on which it rests, is the universal law of double refraction, or merely an elegant and correct expression for the individual phænomena of calcareous spar. This and some similar reflections led him to enquiries which terminated in the discovery, that many crystals possess two axes of double refraction; and consequently that former theories required great modifications to make them coincide with the phænomena. These investigations are to be found in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1818, Part I.; and Mr. Herschel, speaking of them at the opening of his present paper, says,

“ The discovery of crystals which possess two axes of double refraction, which we owe to Dr. Brewster, is perhaps the greatest step which has been made in physical optics since the discovery of double refraction itself by Bartholin, and its reference to an axis by Huygens. It has opened new views on the structure of crystals, and will in all probability be the means of leading us to a more intimate knowledge of the nature and laws of those forces by which the ultimate particles of matter act on light, and on each other.

When we reflect on the situation of these axes in different crystallized media, we cannot fail to be struck by the variety of the angles they include, and of the positions they hold with respect to the prominent lines or axes of symmetry of the primitive molecules; and the question immediately suggests itself, what are the circumstances which determine their position in the interior of a crystal."

The solution of this and similar questions may be conducted in two ways. First, by direct observation on the deviation of the extraordinary ray: there exist, however, a multitude of doubly refracting crystals, in which the power is so feeble as to produce a deviation scarcely perceptible, or so small as to render this method quite unfit for any accurate measurement. The other method, which is that chiefly employed both by Dr. Brewster and Mr. Herschel, is of an indirect nature, and is founded upon the important discovery of Arago. That philosopher found that when light, previously polarized, was transmitted through thin plates of sulphate of lime, or mica, and then analysed by a prism of calcareous spar, it exhibited a most beautiful series of colours. Thus by first polarizing a ray, by either of the methods before mentioned, and then transmitting it through the crystal to be examined, a number of curious phenomena were exhibited. Of these phenomena we cannot at present enter upon any more minute account; it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that by means of them Dr. Brewster was enabled to arrive at several very curious and important conclusions respecting the axes of the crystals, and the nature of the polarizing power in general.

Mr. Herschel introduces the account of his own discoveries in these words; speaking of experiments, and the conclusions drawn from them respecting the polarizing property, he remarks, that,

"It seems to have been all along taken for granted, that the nature of the ray must at least be a matter of indifference: in other words, that a red and a violet ray, similarly polarized and incident in the same direction on the same point of a doubly refracting surface, will either both undergo, or both not undergo a separation into two pencils, without any distinction arising from the place of the ray in the prismatic spectrum."

If this were the case, the axes would be lines absolutely determined within the primitive form of the crystal, and depending entirely for their directions on the nature and properties of the body itself, as affecting light.

The fact, however, appears to Mr. Herschel to be otherwise, in a paper recently presented to the Royal Society he

has shewn that the axes of double refraction, in one and the same crystal, differ in their position according to the colour of the intromitted ray; a violet ray being separated into two pencils, when incident in the same direction, in which a red ray would be refracted singly. This remarkable fact, which Mr. Herschel finds to be almost universal in those crystals which possess two axes of double refraction, places the question in altogether a new and different light from that in which it has hitherto been regarded.

It appears that the nature of the ray as referred to the prismatic scale, as well as the nature of the doubly refracting medium, has its share in determining the position of the axis; and that the intensity of the action of the medium upon the ray is one of the elements involved in the problem.

From this view of the subject another curious consideration arises. "It is hardly possible," says Mr. Herschel, "to conceive the neutral axis of a crystal otherwise than as a position of equilibrium," or the direction in which a particle of light being supposed to pass, certain forces may act upon it in opposition and balance each other.

"But since forces which balance, will likewise counteract each other when increased or diminished all in the same ratio, it follows that the partial or elementary forces so held in equilibrium do not observe the law of proportionality when the colour of the incident ray varies. If we suppose then with Dr. Brewster, that these partial forces emanate from certain fixed axes coincident with remarkable lines in the primitive form of the crystal, it will follow that each separate axis has a peculiar specific law which regulates the intensity of its action on each of the differently coloured rays; and that each axis, supposing the others not to interfere with it, would exhibit separately a set of circular rings, of which the tints would manifest a more or less marked deviation from the Newtonian scale of colours, as displayed by their uncrystallized laminæ."

The colours here alluded and referred to in other parts of this paper are a curious phænomenon, first accurately described by Newton. He formed, in the first instance, by pressing two convex glasses together a plate of air, of a very small though gradually increasing thickness, round the point of actual contact of the glasses; and afterwards, by other means, produced a similar arrangement. And under such circumstances he found a set of rings formed round the central point, exhibiting in each ring a certain succession of prismatic colours; but differing from the order of those in the common prismatic spectrum. Analogous appearances were produced by reflection of light, as these had been caused by its transmission. A minute account of all these experi-

ments is given in his *Optics*, where he examines the laws of the succession of colours; and afterwards enters upon a theoretical examination of their cause. This he supposes to be that every ray, in its passage through a refracting surface, is put into a certain transient constitution or state, which in the progress of the ray returns at equal intervals, and disposes the ray at every return to be easily transmitted through the next refracting surface, (of an infinite number of which surfaces he considers the medium to consist,) and between the returns to be easily reflected by it. The returns of these dispositions he calls its *fits* of easy transmission or reflexion, and the periods of their recurrence he determines from the nature of the system of rings. In all these phenomena the light is not polarized, and it is the difference between the phenomena thus exhibited by light not polarized, when transmitted through the media which Newton employed, and those shewn by passing polarized rays through certain crystallized substances, that Mr. Herschel has investigated. To return, however, to his remarks where we left off.

“ This view of the subject,” he says, “ will be remarkably supported by the facts about to be described, by which it will appear that among crystals with one axis only there exists the greatest, I might almost say the most capricious diversity in this respect; and that probably no two crystals, either with one or two axes, have the same scale of action or polarize the differently coloured rays with an energy varying according to the same law precisely.”

He then proceeds to remark that objections may be made against this conclusion from the results of M. Biot's elaborate examination of several crystals, who has concluded, that they follow, in their action on coloured light, precisely the order and proportions given by Newton for the colours of thin plates of air. It appears that some doubt may attach to the accuracy of the facts stated by that philosopher; but even admitting them, Mr. Herschel maintains that the conclusions are not verified in the case of polarized rings. He has shewn in his former paper that the law of proportionality admits of exceptions, and he has now other more remarkable instances to adduce, which he thinks afford abundant proof, that the law does not depend on the nature of light, but on other circumstances, which are shortly to be described. Newton has established the proportion of the lengths of what he terms the *fits* of the differently coloured rays, to the refractions in different media; and since the discovery of the dispersive powers of substances, the proportions of these

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refractions will be different. Hence will arise a difference in the lengths of the fits, and consequently a deviation from the scale of colours. This then would be one cause of deviation.

Much more remarkable instances, however, have been observed by Mr. Herschel. Dr. Brewster had formerly noticed a variety of the fish-eye stone (Apophyllite) which possessed a single axis of double refraction, and exhibited a very remarkable succession of colours. And Mr. Herschel, in a paper alluded to before, shewed that this substance

“ Indicated an action on polarized light, very nearly the same for all the colours, being equal upon the red and indigo blue rays, a little greater for the yellow and green, and a little less for the violet; being the only instance yet adduced in the whole circle of optical phenomena of a maximum taking place between the extreme limits of the spectrum.”

Hence he says,

“ I was led to conceive the possible existence of bodies, in which the law of proportional action should be so far subverted as to render the periods performed by a red ray, within their substances actually shorter than those passed through by a violet one; but certainly did not expect to find my conjecture almost immediately verified in the striking manner I am now to detail, and on the very substance which first gave rise to it.”

He then proceeds to relate, that he was provided with a large and indeed splendid specimen of the fish-eye stone: with this he examined the rings exhibited by passing polarized light along one axis, as already described. The character of these rings, however, was very different from that of the rings exhibited in the ordinary variety of this substance. A detailed account of the appearances is then given. In this series Mr. Herschel observes, that the less refrangible rays evidently perform their periods with greater rapidity than those at the opposite end of the spectrum, but the number of alternations is still pretty considerable, and indicates a nearer approach to equality between the extreme red and violet than in the Newtonian scale. Struck by this circumstance, a passage occurred to his recollection, in a letter formerly received from M. Biot, in which that philosopher seems to surmise the possibility of a variation in the proportional lengths of the periods depending on the thickness of the plate of the substance employed, or the length of the path traversed within the crystal by a particle of light. To such a supposition all Mr. Herschel's previous observations inclined him to be adverse; but so singular a deviation as that just

noticed led him to suppose that there might be something in this suggestion deserving a more minute examination; and he accordingly resolved to sacrifice the specimen he possessed to the enquiry. "The result," he says, "by a most accidental coincidence actually verified the suggestion of that acute philosopher, though in a way which he certainly never contemplated."

In the specimen a flaw appeared in the direction of its *laminae*, at this part it was easily split into two portions of unequal thickness: the thickness of each was very accurately measured. On examining them separately in polarized light, he was much astonished to find the rings exhibited by the two portions, though both circular, yet differing altogether in their characters. Those formed by the thicker portion were in every respect precisely analogous in the scale of their tints; to those of that variety which he described in his former paper. On the other hand, the rings in the thinner portion exhibited a complete inversion of the Newtonian scale, the red rays being more energetically acted upon than the violet; and that to so extraordinary a degree that the whole prismatic spectrum was displayed in the very first ring. We shall not attempt to give any detailed review of the experiments performed on this specimen, but we cannot omit noticing what Mr. Herschel considered a very surprising result. He calculated from his observations, according to a method given by M. Biot, a series of numbers, which represent the polarizing energy of the crystal for each different ray in the spectrum; and he found

"The action of the crystal decrease rapidly, but regularly enough from the extreme red to the blue ray, when it sinks all on a sudden; and throughout the whole extent of the indigo and first portions of the violet is so small that I was unable to obtain a measure even of the first ring at its maximum, within the range of incidence my apparatus would admit. It then increases again more suddenly than it fell, and from the extreme violet has a value intermediate between those for the yellow and green."

He then shews a method of representing these results by a curve. He found also, that the absolute polarizing powers of the two portions into which the crystal was divided, differed no less remarkably than the characters of their tints. Thus, then, he had investigated the properties of two different varieties of this substance contained in one specimen.

"But," he goes on to observe, "the structure of the crystal under examination is yet more compounded than what I have been describing. Dr. Brewster has already, in a highly interesting

paper in the Edinburgh transactions, described the union of our first variety of apophyllite with another, possessing two axes of double refraction, forming regular columnar crystals, consisting of an interior portion of one kind surrounded by a case or border of the other, &c. The specimen I am now describing, however, presents the hitherto unique combination of no less than three distinct substances, having each but one axis of double refraction, uniting to form a single crystal, and following geometrical laws of juxtaposition."

In the previous examination of the two plates, the light had only been suffered to fall on small parts of them through a hole; but when the whole plates were exposed to a polarized beam, it became evident that they each consisted of two portions, the inner, which was the subject of the foregoing experiments, and an outer, which formed a sort of broad border to the former. A portion of this was selected, a similar set of observations made upon it to the former, and its properties were found to differ from those of the others: the tints deviating still from Newton's scale, though in a different degree. From the smallness of the specimen he possessed he considered it impossible to submit it to a satisfactory analysis; he observed, therefore, that it remains to be ascertained, whether the different action of these portions on light be owing to a difference in composition, or merely in their state of aggregation. He then institutes a calculation to find what would be the effect of an alternation of *laminæ* of two of the varieties described on light, with the view of finding whether it would be capable of producing the effect exhibited by the third variety. This he demonstrates it cannot be. We are therefore necessitated to admit each as a distinct variety, or, at least, composed of *laminæ* of not fewer than three kinds. This alternation or superposition of *laminæ* of different polarizing powers, he considers as no hypothetical case, having observed its occurrence also in other regular crystals; and Dr. Brewster has observed phenomena referable to this principle in his paper on the Apophyllite.

Our author then proceeds to describe a similar set of observations made on hyposulphate of lime, which he has also found to exhibit some remarkable deviations from the Newtonian scale.

The conclusion of this paper consists of some rather recondite remarks, of which we shall give a sufficient account by stating, that he considers these facts, which shew the different action of a single axis, according to the colour of the ray, submitted to it in producing a deviation from the scale

of Newtonian colours, can afford no argument for the explanation of that deviation by supposing two axes combining their action : which is an hypothesis maintained by some philosophers.

Mr. Herschel's second paper relates to a particular phenomenon of polarization first observed by M. Biot. That philosopher transmitted polarized light through plates of rock crystal in the direction of the axis of double refraction, and on its egress, analysed it by a doubly refracting prism : he found that when thus transmitted, the plate of rock crystal had turned the plane of polarization aside through a certain angle, proportional to the thickness of the plate, and with a velocity depending on the nature of the ray ; and this always took place in the same direction, in the same specimen, though in different specimens it was often different. The deviation of the plane then being less for each successive ray of the spectrum in a certain order, it is clear that if the prism be made to revolve in the plane of the plate of crystal, it will exhibit successively rays of each colour. In some specimens the succession was observed by turning the prism from right to left, and in others the same succession by turning it in the contrary direction. This property was found also in several other bodies, differing as to the velocity of the supposed rotation in each. This curious phenomenon was termed circular polarization. M. Biot wishes to consider it as depending on an inherent property of the ultimate particles of these bodies. On these abstruse views Mr. Herschel in this paper makes some remarks in his usual judicious manner, after having first given a short account both of M. Biot's observations and theory. In connection with some of these remarks Mr. Herschel describes a particular species of rock crystal, to which Haüy has given the name of "Plagiédre," of which we shall give an idea sufficient for our present purpose by saying, that certain of its angles arranged round the vertex, are cut off, and the small planes which are formed in their places are of an oblique form, so as to lean in a particular direction, and the crystal being of the double kind, or having two pyramidal ends, if it be inverted and the other vertex placed uppermost, the corresponding planes or facets will lean in the same direction. We shall give Mr. Herschel's account of how he was led to his discoveries in his own words.

"Now on examining with this view different crystals of the plagiédral variety, I observed that in some specimens the peculiar faces do actually lean always to the right, while in others similarly placed with respect to the observer, they as regularly tend the op-

posite way, or towards his left. In other respects, as in hardness, lustre, transparency, specific gravity, &c. no marked difference appears to exist between those of one kind and the other.

“ Here then we have a phenomenon precisely analogous to the opposite rotations produced by the same body in the planes of polarization of light, and it could not but appear probable that both originated from a common cause. To convert this probability into certainty, it only remained to ascertain whether or not the direction of rotation of a polarized ray be invariably dependant on that of the plagiedral faces in such crystals as possess them. It is true, M. Biot, in his memoir above cited, has assured us that no peculiarity in the crystalline form (among other characters) can lead us to conjecture what may prove the direction of rotation in a given specimen of rock crystal previous to trial; but as crystals of this variety are comparatively rare it seemed not unlikely that might have escaped his examination.

“ When this idea first occurred to me, the only plates of rock crystal in my possession fit for the purpose, were nine very fine ones cut from a single crystal, of which I had fortunately preserved the summit, on which were two small, but very distinct and brilliant faces of the plagiedral kind, leaning to the left when the vertex of the pyramid was uppermost (this for brevity I will call a left handed crystal.) The rotation in all these plates was to the left, to an observer looking in the direction of the ray's progressive motion, or to the right of one receiving the ray in his eye.”

Then follows an account of the method of observing the direction of rotation, of which we have already given a brief account. Mr. Herschel then proceeds to relate that he continued his observations on many other specimens, some of which were left, and others, right handed, and in all the direction of rotation corresponded. In some instances he requested a friend to observe and name to him the succession of tints, as they appeared, having first predicted to him what they would be, and in all cases he was correct.

By induction from no less than twenty-three instances without an exception, he thinks himself authorized to consider the connection between the two facts universal; and from these phenomena he endeavours to draw the theoretical conclusion, “ that these faces are produced by the same cause which determines the displacement of the plane of polarization of a ray traversing the crystal parallel to its axis.”

We shall not attempt to give any account of his speculations on this point, as they involve abstruse considerations. He found that in liquor silicum, a solution of silica in potash, and therefore containing the same ultimate particles as the crystals, no rotatory power is displayed. In this case he supposes the force which he considers acting in the particles

to produce the rotatory phenomena, to act very feebly or not at all. This explanation we confess does not appear to us very satisfactory. We think the exception completely overthrows M. Biot's hypothesis of the rotatory power being absolutely inherent in the ultimate particles of matter, and there are several observations of Dr. Brewster which certainly seem to set the question at rest; in one instance he examined a piece of melted quartz, and found that it possessed no trace whatever of circular polarization. After this we think it impossible to admit that this property can be at all considered inseparable from the particles.

He thinks that these circumstances may be interesting also in another point of view. They may lead us to pay a minuter attention to those seemingly capricious truncations on the edges and angles of crystals, which appear to be commonly regarded as the effect of accidental circumstances prevailing during their formation. He considers it not improbable that they may be owing to the operation of certain forces among the particles, of which we have at present no suspicion, and which are connected with their effects on light. In a note at the end of his paper, our author mentions one crystal which he has seen in the possession of Mr. Brooke, but was not permitted to subject it to experiment; and which has on one and the same angle of the prism, plagiedral faces perfectly distinct and in contact, but tending opposite ways round the summit. Whether this instance may be an exception or not, remains an interesting point yet to be investigated; and it is much to be hoped that the possessor will be induced to sacrifice the specimen for the good of science; and thus either refute or establish the universality of Mr. Herschel's observations. In whichever direction however, the rotatory phenomena should be found to take place, (if we rightly understand the very brief description given of this specimen,) they must coincide with one set of the facets: and therefore the established relation will only require an additional modification for the case of a double set of facets, whilst it remains equally exact for single sets as before. It will only be necessary to give a reason why the direction of rotation should accommodate itself to that of one set of facets in preference to the other.

According to the plan we proposed, we are now desirous of giving our readers a very brief abstract of the remaining part of the papers contained in this volume. Of many of them it would indeed have been impossible to give any thing approaching to a detailed examination, on account of the necessity of reference to diagrams, or the introduction of alge-

braical expressions. The following very general outline will enable our readers to judge of the nature of the information communicated in the several papers, and the tendency of the Society's labours; though we ought to mention that the papers here published are only a selection out of a much greater number which have been presented to the Society.

In the chemical department, the paper, No. IV. by Professor Clarke, on the purple precipitate of Cassius, will be found to contain a detailed account of different opinions, which have been held respecting the nature of this curious compound discovered by Dr. Cassius in the middle of the seventeenth century. The opinions of chemists concerning it have been various. Proust, in concluding a laborious set of experiments upon it, says, let us honestly confess that its nature is not yet well understood. By a set of ingenious experiments, conducted with all his well-known sagacity and perseverance, Dr. Clarke has so far succeeded in ascertaining its constitution as to be able to give the following conclusion.

“ From all the preceding observations it may be inferred that in precipitating the purple powder of Cassius from muriate of gold, by means of the muriate of tin, the two metals tin and gold are thrown down as oxides; which, however, do not chemically combine in a constant relative proportion to each other: that the quantity of tin always exceeds that of gold, and that the difference observable in the hues of the precipitate made at different times is to be ascribed to the different proportions in which the oxides of the two metals have combined together, and perhaps also to their different degrees of oxidation.”

The whole paper displays the great chemical skill of its author, as well as his caution and precision in drawing inferences.

No. XI. is a paper by the same author, giving an account of a remarkable deposit of a white salt in cavities in the interior of the tower of Stoke Church, near Hartland, in Devonshire. By a well conducted analysis he found it to be native natron, or bi-carbonite of soda; containing also the sulphate, and muriate of soda. He then proceeded to account for its formation in the situation where it occurred.

The church being near the sea, muriate of soda may be conveyed there in the spray, and if carbonate of lime exist in the building, the two salts assisted by moisture, will mutually decompose, and their elements unite again in different combinations, forming muriate of lime and carbonate of soda; but the stones are siliceous, and it is doubtful whether the mor-

tar could supply enough of carbonate of lime; also the formation being confined to the inside of the tower, appears to need further explanation.

In the geological department there is a very long communication from Professor Sedgwick, No. VII. on the physical structure of those formations which are immediately associated with the primitive ridge of Devonshire and Cornwall. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general account of the appearance and structure of that part of the island. The phenomena presented by the granitic tracts are afterwards described. All the points on the coast where granite and slate are seen in contact, are enumerated; and a minute account is given of some singular appearances exhibited at the junction of the two formations between Porthleven and Mirazion. We cannot attempt any detailed account of the numerous and accurate series of observations made by this indefatigable enquirer; but will just give our readers a short statement of one of the conclusions at which he arrived; and which throws light upon the occasional phenomena of granite appearing above other rocks. He finds that in all situations where there is a good denudation, (and therefore by analogy throughout the whole contact of the granite and the slate) many prolongations of the central granite pass into the superincumbent schist, and by their varied ramifications, which have every possible inclination and direction, produce the phenomena of granitic veins. The whole paper will afford matter of great interest to those who follow up the minutiae of geological science.

Under this head we must also first notice another interesting, though short paper.

No. IX. is a paper by Mr. Okes, on some fossil remains of the beaver, found near Chatteris, in Cambridgeshire. The first part of his paper contains some historical details, proving the beaver to have been at one time an inhabitant of Great Britain. He shews by quotations from Dugdale's *History of the Fens*, that the place where the bones were found had formerly been a considerable branch of communication between the Ouse and the Nen, though it has now been choked up for more than two centuries. After giving some anatomical details, intended to prove that the fossil bones in question belong to an animal of the same species as the beaver of Canada, the author concludes by observing, that the situation in which these bones were found, agrees with what Cuvier had previously determined, viz. "That the bones of species which are the same with those which still exist alive, are never found except in the very latest alluvial

deposits, or those which are either formed on the sides of rivers, or on the bottoms of ancient lakes or marshes."

There are several papers in the mathematical department which will afford matter of great interest to those versed in such inquiries.

No. I. On Isometrical Perspective. This paper, by Professor Farish, displays considerable ingenuity of conception, and appears capable of very useful application. It contains an account of a particular case of perspective, where the eye is supposed to be situated so as to view the lines of an object in a certain position, which is such, that the principal of them maintain in the projection, the same relative proportions which they have in reality, and they are hence termed isometrical lines. To secure this point in the representation of many classes of objects, for particular purposes, is a matter of importance, and the want of some simple and effective mode of attaining it, has been felt by many, engaged in pursuits where the application of drawing to the purposes of the arts was used. Amongst others, Professor Farish has felt the deficiency of the method commonly in use for attaining accuracy in such cases; when wanting to make representations of sufficient exactness, that his assistants might be able by them, to put together the various models of machinery used in his lectures, he tried the usual mode of giving a horizontal, or two vertical sections; but this mode he found to be liable to many inconveniences; it would be unintelligible to an inexperienced eye; and shews very imperfectly that which is most essential, the connection of the several parts with one another.

A picture on the principles of common perspective was the next expedient that suggested itself; but this method is liable to one great objection, that most of the lines in the representation cannot possibly be laid down by a scale: not to mention the indistinctness in complicated machines. The professor therefore was led to consider whether there might be any point of light in which the perspective would not confuse the representation with the evils just alluded to, and he has successfully conceived and applied the use of a particular sort of perspective, in which the principal parts of the figure may be laid down accurately by a scale, and the representation possess much greater clearness than by any other method.

From the circumstance of proportion being kept in the principal lines, he has named it Isometrical Perspective. The nature of the principle upon which it is founded we will give in his own words,

“Suppose a cube to be the object to be represented. The eye placed in the diagonal of the cube produced. The paper on which the drawing is to be made, to be perpendicular to that diagonal, between the eye and the object, at a due proportional distance from each, according to the scale required. Let the distance of the eye, and consequently that of the paper, be indefinitely increased, so that the size of the object may be inconsiderable in respect of it. It is manifest, that all the lines drawn from any points of the object to the eye, may be considered as perpendicular to the picture which becomes therefore a species of orthographic projection.

“It is manifest the projection will have for its outline an equiangular and equilateral hexagon, with two vertical sides, and an angle at the top and bottom. The other three lines will be radii drawn from the centre to the lowest angle, and to the two alternate angles; and all these lines and sides will be equal to each other both in the object and representation; and if any other lines parallel to any of the three radii should exist in the object, and to be represented in the picture, their representations will bear to one another, and to the rest of the sides of the cube, the same proportion which the lines represented bear to one another in the object.”

In models and machines most of the lines are actually in three directions, parallel to the sides of a cube properly placed with respect to the object; and hence the facility of laying them down with the greatest accuracy, by a scale. All the angles are either angles of 60° or its supplement; and this angle is the easiest of all angles to draw, being immediately described with only a pair of compasses by the intersection of two circles of equal radius. After giving a few definitions, in which for convenience, he gives names to some of the chief points and lines in a picture of this kind, he proceeds to give directions in general, for constructing a representation of any object on these principles. Lines in the three directions before spoken of, being called isometrical lines, these and any lines parallel to them may be laid down to a scale. The position of any point in the object, as referred to the drawing, may be found by measuring its three distances, viz. its perpendicular distance from the first drawn horizontal plane; and from each of the vertical planes, lines in other directions than the isometrical will not be represented on the same scale; but their extremities may be found as before, and a line drawn between them. If a curved line be required to be represented, several points in it, as many as may be necessary to guide the artist in tracing it, may be laid down in the same way; which will be sufficiently exact.

The wheels of machinery will often require the representation of a circle: and when they are in isometrical planes, as is generally the case, the circle is projected into an ellipse of one particular form, and their axis is an isometrical line always coinciding with the minor axis of the ellipse. In these ellipses the author finds by a very simple and elegant geometrical principle the ratio of the minor and major axis, and the isometrical diameter. Knowing the axis, an ellipse may be drawn by the elliptic compasses; or by having a set of concentric ellipses strongly drawn, which may be seen through the paper.

The breadth of a wheel, its cogs, the floats of a water-wheel, &c. may all be easily and accurately represented on the same principle. It is also easy to divide the circumference of the ellipse, into any number of degrees into which the circular circumference is divided. In this manner an isometrical ellipse may be formed into an isometrical circular instrument, or an isometrical compass, which may shew all the bearings, and measure angles on the picture in the same manner, as a real compass or circular instrument would do in nature.

It may be often useful to have a scale to measure distances not only in the isometrical directions, but in others also; and this the Professor observes may be done by a series of concentric similar ellipses, dividing the isometrical diameters into equal portions. The other diameters will be so divided, as to serve for a scale for all lines parallel to them respectively. Thus in the cube, distances, measured on the longer diagonal of the figure, or its parallels, would be measured by the divisions on the major axis; those depending on the shorter diagonal, by the minor.

He then shews the further application of these principles to the description of other figures, and to the representation of buildings; in which particular advantages are gained over the common mode of plans and sections. This method unites the properties of both plan and section at once, and at the same time the advantages derived from a perspective picture. So that the situation and circumstances of every part are brought clearly and accurately before the eye. He recommends it for taking the plan of a city, or even a tract of country, particularly a mountainous one. On this head we cannot help digressing a little, to observe that a principle somewhat of this kind seems to have been unconsciously perhaps adopted, in the antiquated bird's eye views of cities and buildings which are so frequently met with in

old books. The artists of those days were perhaps ignorant of the scientific principle of what they did ; but it seems to have been a natural idea to suppose the eye in an elevated situation somewhat similar to that which it occupies in isometrical perspective, for the sake of obtaining a clearer view of the parts and arrangement of a large and complicated object, and so that its parts might appear nearly on the same scale.

The old way of representing mountains and cities in maps is very similar to that recommended by the Professor, and perhaps gives a more lively idea of the objects intended, than the modern mode of projecting every object on the horizontal plane.

“ In the same way,” says the author, “ the plan of a city might be given, which would not only represent its streets and squares, as well (by the help of the scale above described) as a common plan, but also a picture of its churches and public buildings, and even its private houses, if such were the design contemplated by the artist, as they would almost all become visible, when looked down upon from the commanding height which this perspective supposes ; and such a single exhibition, if well executed, might give a better idea of a distant capital than a volume of description.”

This is one among the numerous examples, which the Professor mentions, of the application of his method to purposes required in the arts. He considers the method applicable to cases even where there are few or no isometrical lines. Some lines of this sort he says may be traced as guides to the hand of the artist in the delineation of the more irregular parts of the objects ; and he thinks there is scarcely any form so anomalous, as not to afford some remarkable points or lines which may be thus used. He then proceeds to mention instances of the application of this method, in designing vases ; naval architecture ; subjects of natural history ; fortification ; and the surface of a hilly country. The heights of the mountains being measured in isometrical lines, and their relative position by the bearings of an isometrical compass, before spoken of.

The art would also, he thinks, be advantageously employed for tracing what is below the surface of the earth as well as what is above it ; and he proposes the representation of mines, and the disposition of geological strata, by its means, as giving clearer and more accurate information than any method at present in use. The plan certainly seems to possess eminent advantages, in all cases where there may be required a correct representation of the measures of the

several parts of an object, and at the same time a view of their disposition and connection. In short, wherever a plan, a section, an elevation, or a perspective view is wanted in the ordinary mode, in order to give a sufficiently clear and accurate idea of an object, there, this method, by uniting in one all the advantages of each of those modes of representation, will fully answer the purpose and convey the information required; in a way much more intelligible, because the form and disposition of the object is seen at the same time as the details of its measurements, and much more simple, if it were only from the circumstance of one figure answering all the purposes of three or four on the old plan. The use of it, however, in representing machinery is that of which the Professor says he can speak with the greatest confidence; and he concludes, by hinting, that it may be particularly useful in illustration of the communications laid before societies, "such as that of which he has the honour to be President."

We must not omit to mention that in order to give his readers an opportunity of judging for themselves of the advantages of his method, he has subjoined several plates representing the delineation of objects in this mode, particularly a piece of machinery, of which the clearness and accuracy of representation will, we think, be obvious to any eye, at all accustomed to examining such objects, and its superiority over a series of plans and sections very evident.

The paper No. V. by Mr. Babbage, contains some very valuable matter, displaying in a high degree the talent and learning of its author. His object is to give some account of the important consequences which have followed on the adoption of improvements in algebraical notation; and he illustrates it by explaining, in many elaborate examples, the advantages to be derived from the notation of functions in its present improved state.

No. VI. is a very elaborate and ingenious paper by Mr. Herschel, in which he proposes a mode of reducing certain classes of functional equations to equations of finite differences.

In No. X. Mr. Whewell investigates the position of the apsides of orbits of great eccentricity. The case considered is when a body revolves, acted on by a central force, varying according to any simple law, and at its lower apside approaches indefinitely near the centre. Here Mr. Whewell finds a method of solution which leads him to several important conclusions.

Here then for the present we take our leave of the Cambridge Philosophical Society; hoping to continue our ac-

count of its proceedings on the appearance of the next part: and the activity and energy with which (we learn) the labours of the Society are carried on, seem to hold out a fair promise that its future volumes will not fall short of the merits of the first.

ART. IV. *A Charge delivered by the Right Rev. John Lord Bishop of Bristol, at his primary Visitation of that Diocese, in August, 1821.* 4to. pp. 18. Gatch, Bristol. 1821.

It is a very salutary custom which has made Episcopal Charges a part of the common literary stock of the public: but we should think this custom much improved, if they were presented to us in a more durable form. Every body knows the difficulty of preserving a pamphlet from dirt, and dog's-ears: and every body grudges a binding to eighteen pages. We should like to see the superfluity of the full-sized quarto, retrenched for ever from all occasional productions of the Church; and if we cannot obtain a judicious selection of past Charges, with a promise of continuation, we should recommend the convenience of octavo, and the protection of stiff boards, to all that are to come.

Be this as it may, we sincerely rejoice in possessing Bishop Kaye's Charge in any form, and under any circumstances. Few appointments, we believe, created more universal satisfaction than that which placed him on the bench; and none, we are certain, was better calculated to gratify the pride, or to stimulate the energies of the University to which he is so bright an ornament. Such distinctions as merit could win locally, had been justly gained by the Master of Christ's, and the Professor of Divinity; and the same calendar which testified his claims, was to exhibit his rewards also. But it was a most gratifying earnest, of the criterion by which the favours of the Crown were to be dispensed, when the previous sanction of Academical honours was accepted as the strongest recommendation to the Mitre.

The very nature of a Diocesan Charge precludes us from attempting more than to put our readers in possession of its contents. The subject on which the Bishop of Bristol has treated, will be recognized by all our brethren as of pa-

ramount importance, and the few extracts which we shall give will amply bear witness to the vigour, the simplicity, and the elegance of the style in which it is couched.

After expressing an assurance that his hearers entertained a just sense of the weighty obligations imposed upon them, when they enrolled themselves under the banner not of a triumphant, but of a militant Church, the Bishop proceeds to point out those circumstances in its present condition, especially in the part of it to which we belong, from which the deepest anxiety and apprehension may reasonably be entertained.

The first danger to which he adverts, is the wide dissemination of Infidelity; the distinguishing feature of whose modern growth is its progress among the vulgar. Formerly, observes the Bishop, its disciples were to be found only among the rich and luxurious, or the disputers of this world; but now the obscurest walks of life, are poisoned by the contagion: and the danger to Religion is increased on this account; for though the rich man may find it convenient to persuade himself that a creed which opposes his vicious indulgences is false, he is yet sensible of the tendency of Christianity to render men peaceable and contented with their condition; and therefore he will be desirous to retain its influence over the minds of others. In proportion as these motives are wanting in the inferior ranks of life, the lovers of confusion will suppose that the first step to the attainment of the change which they seek, must be trodden over fallen religion.

The weapons which the Bishop recommends the faithful minister to gird himself with for the combat, are of full proof. In the writings of the great luminaries of our Church, there is a solution and an answer to every doubt and cavil of sceptical ingenuity. "But," continues the Prelate, in a tone of genuine Christian humility,

"If I may, without presumption, hazard a remark on this subject in the presence of men, whose long experience in the work of the Ministry must render them much better qualified than myself to decide upon the most effectual mode of influencing the minds of their hearers, it is my persuasion, that Disquisitions on the Evidences of Christianity, however ingenious and profound, when addressed to persons in the lower stations of life, will seldom answer the end proposed. Such persons are for the most part unaccustomed to close and accurate reasoning, and are consequently incapable of following us in our argument, and of perceiving the connexion between our premises and our conclusions. Our appeals must be addressed to the heart rather than the

head. We must dwell upon the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, upon those doctrines which, proceeding as they did from him who* 'who knew what was in man,' cannot but be best calculated to command the assent, and to influence the practice of man. Speak to your Congregations of the general corruption of human nature and of their own particular transgressions, topics on which their own consciences will bear testimony to the truth of your representations; bid them review their past lives, and see how infinitely short their practice has fallen even of their own imperfect notions of duty: having thus brought them to a just sense of the need in which the whole human race must stand both of pardon for their sins and of support for their weakness, proceed to convince them how impossible it is for man by his own unassisted efforts to procure that pardon and support; then turn to the Sacred Volume, and shew them that all their wants are abundantly supplied in the gracious provisions which God has been pleased to make for the Redemption and Sanctification of his fallen Creatures. It is not by dwelling in our discourses on the nature of the evidence which is necessary to establish the truth of a Divine Revelation, that we can hope effectually to secure our less educated Brethren against the insidious attacks of Infidelity; but by making them feel the exquisite adaptation of the promises and precepts of the Gospel to the actual condition of man, and thus affording them as it were an experimental proof that it proceeded from the same Almighty Being who called man into existence and best knows what his condition requires." P. 8.

The next subject upon which the Bishop touches, is too important in itself, and managed with too much delicacy by him, to permit us to give it otherwise than in his own words.

"The point, to which I wish in the second place to call your attention, regards the relation in which you stand to those who dissent from the Established Church. In this country the State concedes to Christians of every denomination perfect liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Let it not for a moment be supposed that I entertain the most remote design of questioning the wisdom of this concession.—Independently of all considerations of natural justice, I am convinced that a liberal Toleration of Religious Opinions affords the best security to a National Establishment. Yet it must, I think, be admitted that the full Toleration enjoyed by Dissenters in these Kingdoms has given birth to very erroneous notions respecting the nature of the Sin of Schism. Men are too much in the habit of overlooking the distinction between Legal and Moral Guilt, and

* "John ii. 25."

of imagining that every act which the Law permits may be performed with a safe conscience. They see that the State attaches no penalty to a secession from the Established Church, and they persuade themselves that, where there is no legal penalty, there can be no violation of Duty. Thus by degrees it has come to pass that, by a large portion of the Community, the Church of England is regarded as standing upon precisely the same ground as the numerous sects into which Protestants are divided; and every pretext, however trivial, is deemed sufficient to justify a separation from it.

“Great circumspection, therefore, is required on the part of the Established Clergy in the present day, lest they should, either by their actions or by their language, appear to countenance these erroneous opinions, and thus add strength to the too prevalent persuasion that it is a matter of comparative indifference whether a man, who has been bred in the Church of England, shall adhere or not adhere to its Communion. I mean not to censure those who aspire to the praise of candour and liberality; but I think that a reputation for these qualities ought not to be sought at the risk of weakening the interests of that Church, which we have solemnly bound ourselves to support with our most strenuous exertions. In viewing the relative situations of the Established Church and of the various Protestant Sects in this kingdom, we must never lose sight of this important fact, that our Dissenting Brethren separated from us. This fact affords a vantage-ground which we must never abandon; since so long as we retain it, we throw upon our Adversary the task of proving that his separation was an act of absolute necessity. Until he can substantiate this point, he remains justly chargeable with the Sin of Schism. It is in vain that he has recourse to the plea which is not unfrequently urged in justification of Dissent, that men in the present day have the same right to secede from the Church of England which our Forefathers had to break off their connexion with the See of Rome. The Founders of our Church knew that it was incumbent upon them to establish, not merely the reasonableness, but the necessity of their separation; to shew that the only alternative left them was either to quit the Church of Rome, or to acquiesce in the perpetuation of those erroneous doctrines by which its Teachers had sullied the purity and impaired the integrity of the Christian Faith. This task they undertook and successfully accomplished. Before, therefore, our Dissenting Brethren try to shelter themselves under the example of our Venerable Reformers, they ought to copy it in all its parts, and begin by proving that the necessity of a Secession was in their own case equally imperious. Without wishing to call in question the right of private judgment, it is our duty frequently to remind our hearers that they are morally accountable for the exercise of that right; and that it is not every difference of opinion which will

justify a separation from the Established Church, but a conscientious difference upon points that regard the Essentials of Religion, and involve fundamental Articles, either of Faith or Practice.

“ But it is not only by the desire of obtaining a reputation for candour and liberality that we are liable to be betrayed into conduct, that may appear to countenance the erroneous notions respecting Schism on which I have now been animadverting. There exists in the minds of many men a persuasion that the advancement of the Church of Christ, as contra-distinguished to the Church of England or any other Part of the Visible Church, should be the great aim of the sincere Believer. One effect of this persuasion upon the opinions of those by whom it is adopted is, that Agreement in public Worship constitutes in their estimation a feeble principle of connexion, in comparison with that complete identity of hearts and affections by which the Members of the Mystical Church of Christ are bound together. Where that identity is conceived to exist, all difference with respect to outward Religious Profession, to points that relate only to the Administration of the Visible Church, is easily overlooked. The persons who are under the influence of the persuasion just described forget, that there are no *certain* marks by which the Members of the Mystical Church of Christ can be distinguished during their residence on earth. They forgot too that the very constitution of man's nature requires that he should unite himself to some Visible Church. It is only by such an union that he can obtain the benefits of Social Worship, or avail himself of *all* the means which God has appointed for the communication of his Grace.—With reference, therefore, to differences of Religious Profession the Minister of the Establishment will see, that his surest mode of advancing the interests of the Church of Christ is zealously to enforce the obligation, under which all men are placed, of surrendering their own opinions in matters that cannot be conscientiously deemed of essential moment, and of thus hastening, as far as in them lies, the approach of that time, when the promise of our Blessed Lord shall be accomplished, and there shall be, both in appearance and in reality, ‘one fold and one Shepherd*.’

“ In the suggestions which I have thought it my Duty to offer upon this subject, there will, I trust, be found nothing in the slightest degree at variance with that spirit of Christian Charity, which ought to influence our whole behaviour towards those who differ from us in a matter so deeply interesting as Religion. The circumspection, which I recommend to you, implies no want of respect or kindness for the persons of our Dissenting Brethren, no blind or illiberal prejudice against their opinions, no unreasonable jealousy of their designs. It implies only a predilection for the Church of England; a predilection founded upon a careful and dispassionate comparison of its rites and doctrines with those of

other Churches. So far am I from regarding the want of this predilection as a subject on which a Clergyman of the Church of England is justified in priding himself, that I am at a loss to understand how a man, who does not entertain such a preference, can conscientiously solicit admission into the Ministry." P. 8.

A punctual conformity to the ritual of the Church, and a strict observance of the ceremonies which contribute so much to the maintenance and diffusion of spiritual religion, are earnestly recommended as strong holds against the progress of innovation: on this ground, the Bishop earnestly objects to the too prevalent administration of private Baptism, to which he attributes, in great measure, the errors which many have adopted respecting the regenerating efficacy of that Sacrament.

The assignment of those limits which a minister of the Church of England ought to prescribe to himself in his intercourse with the world, forms the concluding topic of this Discourse; and it is handled as ably as all which precede it. One golden rule which the Bishop lays down, is never

"to put a harsh construction on the conduct of our Brother, nor to fancy that because his Religion does not wear precisely the same appearance as our own, he is not therefore impressed with a due sense of the paramount importance of Religion, and of the awful responsibility which attaches to the discharge of ministerial functions."

In another way, the error against which we should be most careful to guard, is excess; for our sincerity is measured, especially among the inferior classes, by the fulfilment of the promise which we made at our ordination, to apply ourselves as much as in us lies, to the office whereunto it has pleased God to call us; and actions, in themselves indifferent, may assume a character of positive good or evil, when viewed in connection with the effects produced by them on the minds of others. In order to win all men to righteousness, we ought not to be nice in weighing the reasonableness of the scruples which they object, or the sacrifices which they demand from us; but in things which the Gospel has left indifferent, we should adopt for our guidance the sound principle of St. Paul—"Let not your good be evil spoken of."

We rejoice that the Diocese of Bristol has in Dr. Kaye obtained a pastor who devotes the energies of an enlarged and well stored mind, to the spiritual wants of his flock. The "grim wolf" will have little gain from the fold, when

the watchman waketh, for it is the slumber of the keeper, as much as the rage of the enemy, which exposes the sheep to destruction.

ART. V. *Malay Annals: translated from the Malay Language, by the late Dr. John Leyden. With an Introduction, by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. 378. 10s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1821.

WHAT the value of this book might have been if Dr. Leyden had lived to complete it we are scarcely prepared to say; but we may venture to pronounce, that in its present state, it is of very little value at all. A volume of popular tales and traditions, *primâ facie* is of all others the most attractive; and we took this up with an expectation which has been by no means gratified. Such portions of it as are legendary, are devoid of the magnificence of imagery and machinery which for the most part is so lavishly scattered over Eastern lore; and for the remainder, if we are to accept it as history, however uninteresting in itself, it might not have been without importance if it had been elucidated by such light as the editor no doubt was capable of affording. In the form however in which the public has received it, it is without all collateral aid, and we find ourselves alike ignorant of the times, the places, and the persons, to which it refers. Even the common appendix of a glossary, which is now annexed to many of our modern novels, has been denied; and we are left to stumble in the dark over not a few sesquipedalian words, which, however familiar they may be in Calcutta and Leadenhall Street, are devoid of meaning to the general ear.

The Malays are represented to be a people who, from the capabilities of their national character, strongly demand our attention as lords of civilization in the East; and who, moreover, from the late occupation of Java by the British authorities, are likely to receive it. If the first of these opinions is correct, no race on the face of the globe has hitherto been more wronged than the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago; for from our earliest knowledge of the seas which they inhabit, they have been considered and treated as hordes of desperate and atrocious pirates. It is but just, therefore, in the absence of more precise information, to put

our readers in possession of the apology which Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles has pleaded in behalf of these islanders.

The policy of the Portuguese, in the first instance, and still more of the Dutch, their successors, in the Malay trade, was to transfer the whole commerce of the Indian seas to one grand emporium of their own. Batavia, not only became the grave of its colonists, but by the narrow and rigid monopoly, and the restrictive and arbitrary regulations, which the Dutch in their selfishness established in it, the native trade which it engrossed, died away in their hands; and hence arose the degeneracy of the Malay character.

“A maritime and commercial people,” says Sir Thomas Raffles, “suddenly deprived of all honest employment, or the means of respectable subsistence, either sunk into apathy and indolence, or expended their natural energies in piratical attempts to recover by force or plunder, what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud.”

The appearance of British traders revived all their energies, and awakened a new life in this oppressed and slumbering people: and we are taught to believe that henceforward they will gradually assume a high station among the Indian powers.

The hopes which Sir Thomas Raffles entertains of improving the Malays, arise from various causes; among which he enumerates their vanity and peculiar character, their contiguity to China and Japan, the number and excellence of their harbours, their freedom from inveterate prejudice, their spirit of enterprise, their taste for Indian and European manufactures, their want of the distinction of castes, their high reverence for ancestry, and their addiction to commerce.

These also are stated to be the grounds of a similar opinion held by Dr. Leyden; and though the reasons given do not *all* of them appear satisfactory to us, and *some* of them are a little contradictory to each other, we cannot venture to dispute with two persons so eminently qualified to form a judgment by experimental knowledge and absolute residence among the natives.

The work now translated consists of detached stories; containing, as the author of them informs us, “a history of all the Malaya Rajas, with an account of their institutions, for the information of posterity *who shall come after us*.” It was composed in the year of the Hegira, 1021, (A.D. 1643) “under the title of *Silla-letek-al-salatin*, in Arabic, and *Sala-silah peratoran Segala Raja Raja*.” Of its writer and its origin we obtain no further information.

The adventures of the *Rajas* are chiefly confined to the very natural imperial pastimes of war, love, and the punishment of criminals. In the first, it must be admitted, that they fight with sufficient spirit; and there are military passages which remind us at once of the march of *Xerxes*, and the conflicts before *Troy Town*. When *Raja Suran Padshah* formed the design of subjugating *China*, he assembled his armies to the number of one thousand and two lacs; a moderate force, somewhat exceeding twelve millions of men.

“With this prodigious host, he advanced against *China*, and in his course, the forests were converted into open plains; the earth shook, and the hills moved; the lofty grounds became level, and the rocks flew off in shivers, and the large rivers were dried up to the mud. Two months they marched on without delay, and the darkest night was illuminated by the light of their armour like the lustre of the full moon; and the noise of the thunder could not be heard for the loud noise of the champions and warriors, mixed with the cries of horses and elephants.” P. 8.

In another encounter,

“When the *Siamese* troops engaged with the troops of *Kling*, a dreadful noise arose, the elephants rushed against the elephants, and the horses bit the horses, and clouds of arrows flew across each other, and spears pierced spears, and lances encountered lances, and swordsmen encountered swordsmen, and the descent of weapons was like the rapid fall of rain, and the noise of the thunder would have passed unheard in the combat, from the shouts of the combatants, and the ringing of weapons. The dust ascended to the heavens, and the brightness of the day was darkened like an eclipse. The combatants were all so mingled and blended, that they could not be distinguished, amokas madly encountered amokas, many stabbed their own friends, and many were stabbed by their own partizans, till multitudes were slain on both sides, and also many elephants and horses. Much was the blood which was shed upon the earth, till at last it allayed the clouds of dust, and the field of combat was light, and the fierce amokas became visible, none of whom on either side would fly.” P. 11.

The following story brings to our memory the failure of *Aristagoras* the *Milesian*, who, when he was soliciting *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, to invade *Persia*, unwittingly admitted that the capital was three months march from the coast. It is a stratagem by which the *Raja* of *China* prevents the invasion of *Raja Suran*.

“Then, it was reported in the land of *China*, that *Raja Suran* was advancing against them with an innumerable army, and had arrived at the country of *Tamsak*. The *raja* of *China* was alarmed

at hearing this intelligence, and said to his mantris and chieftains, 'If Kling Raja approach, the country will be inevitably ruined; what method do you advise to prevent his approach?' Then, a sagacious mantri of China said, 'Lord of the world, your slave will fall on a device.' The raja of China desired him to do so. Then this mantri ordered a vessel (*pilu*, i. e. the Chinese mode of pronouncing *proa*), to be prepared, filled full of fine needles, but covered with rust; and planted in it trees of the Casamak and Bidara (Bér) plants; and he selected a party of old and toothless people, and ordered them on board, and directed them to sail to Tamsak. The proa set sail, and arrived at Tamsak in the course of a short time. The news was brought to Raja Suran, that a proa had arrived from China, who sent persons to enquire of the mariners how far it was to China. These persons accordingly went, and enquired of the Chinese, who replied 'When we set sail from the land of China, we were all young, about twelve years of age, or so, and we planted the seed of these trees; but now we have grown old and lost our teeth, and the seeds that we planted have become trees, which bore fruit before our arrival here.' Then, they took out some of the rusty needles, and showed them, saying, 'When we left the land of China, these bars of iron were thick as your arm; but now they have grown thus small by the corrosion of rust. We know not the number of years we have been on our journey; but you may judge of them from the circumstances we mention.' When the Klings heard this account, they quickly returned, and informed Raja Suran. 'If the account of these Chinese be true,' said Raja Suran, 'the land of China must be at an immense distance; when shall we ever arrive at it? If this is the case, we had better return.' All the champions assented to this idea." P. 13.

The marriage festival of the daughter of Damang Leban Dawn, is a type of the substantial joys at Camacho's wedding, and must have been equally agreeable to the guests with that well known celebration. The banquet was public, and lasted forty days and forty nights:

"There was playing and music on all kinds of instruments that ever were heard of, and what a carnage of buffaloes, kine, goats, and sheep! The heaps of half-burnt rice rejected, lay like hillocks, and the skimming of the foam of the rice-broth stood in little seas; and in these were floating the heads of buffaloes and goats like so many islands."

"O Rourke's noble feast" was but beggarly to this; and our mouths, like Sancho's, water at the bare commemoration of such delectable flesh-pots.

A slave of the name of Badang, for many days had set a snare for fish in a river, and on examining it for several morn-

ings, found nothing but scales and bones. Having hid himself in the reeds, to discover the eater of his fish, he one night detected a spectre in the very act. The eyes of this plunderer were red as fire, his hair coarse and matted as a basket, his beard hanging down to his navel, and in his hand was a whittle knife without a haft. Badang mustered courage to seize this monster, who, being horribly frightened, offered any gift which might be asked as the *price of his life*; a bargain which leads us to believe that the Malay spectres are of another nature than our own. Badang asked for strength. "Very well," said the spectre, "I will give it you, provided you can agree to lick up my vomit." "Very well," said Badang, "vomit, and I will eat it up." "Then the spectre vomited an immense vomit, and Badang swallowed it up; holding, however, the spectre by the beard." After his meal he walked home, clearing the jungle *obiter*, right and left as he passed, to the astonishment of his master, who gave him his freedom. Badang performed many marvellous feats in consequence of his gift; such as splitting a huge stone in two with his skull; launching a ship which three thousand men were unable to move; and winning wrestling matches for the Raja. He is buried under a monument of two stone pillars, still existing in the Bay of Singhapura.

All the Kalang-Kalang (*biche de Mar*) which Marah Silu, another great fisherman, caught in his weirs, were converted by boiling into gold, while the foam of the water in which they were stewed became silver. It is no wonder that Marah Silu became rich and loved boiled fish; but we are a little surprised to hear of his subsequent change of diet.

"On a certain day, Marah Silu went a hunting, and his dog, named Sipasei, gave tongue on an elevated piece of ground. When Marah Silu had ascended the eminence, he observed a huge ant which was as large as a cat; he took this ant and ate it, and this eminence he made his residence, and named it Semadra*, which signifies the great ant." P. 65.

We wish that the relative geography of Semadra and Caspatyrum could be ascertained; ants, not so big as dogs, but bigger than foxes, would approach very nearly in size to cats; and there is more than a glimmering of connexion between this Malay legend, and the gold hunting Indians of Herodotus.

* The name is certainly *Samatra*, being compounded of *semut*, an ant, and *raya*, which in the Achi dialect signifies great."

Paduca Bubanyar once asked how it came to pass that Malaca had not been conquered, when it was attacked by the Siamese. Tun Talani, the ambassador of Malaca, assigned an excellent practical reason; he called an old man out of his suite, who had the elephantiasis in both his legs, and ordered him to display his skill in the spear. The old man accordingly tossed up spears in the air, and received them on his back without the smallest wound. "That Sire," said he, "is the reason that Malaca was not conquered by the Siamese, for all the men of Malaca have backs of this description." If Lord Clive had witnessed the Pall-Mall feats of the Indian jugglers, it is probable he might have been terrified out of any attempt at conquest.

Our readers will be amused by the following tale, which we believe is not without a parallel among ourselves.

"The Raja of Majapahit died without leaving any son to inherit the throne, but he left a daughter named Radin Galah Wi Casoma, who was raised to the succession by Pati Gaja Mada. Some time after there was a toddy-maker, (Qu.) who went to amuse himself on the sea, where he found a young boy, on a plank, and took him into his prahu; perceiving that he was insensible of his state, from his having been so long on the sea without meat or drink. He was not quite dead, but just at the point of it, or as the Arabs say, the angel of death had just reached him, but not death himself. The toddy-maker dropped rice water into his mouth, and the boy opened his eyes and perceived he was in a prahu. He then carried him home, and maintained him according to his circumstances. When the boy had recovered, the toddy-maker asked him what was his name, who he was, and how he came to be floating on that board? The boy said he was the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura, the great-great-grandson of Sang Manyaya, the son of the first raja who descended from the mountain Saguntang Maha Meru, and that his name was Radin Prana Sangu; and I have, he said, two brothers and one sister. It happened one day that I went with my father and mother to divert myself on an island, and was caught on the sea by a violent storm, which wrecked the vessel. My father and mother endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, and I am ignorant of their fate. I laid hold of a plank, and was carried out by the waves into the sea, where I remained for seven days without eating or drinking, and fortunate was my falling in with you, who have treated me so kindly. If however you would add to your kindness, conduct me to my father at Tanjong Pura, when you will be gratified by an infinite reward. 'True,' said the toddy-maker, 'but what ability have I to convey you to Tanjong Pura? Stay here with me, and when your father sends hither, then you can return to him. Besides, I am pleased with your appearance, therefore let me consi-

der you in the mean time as my own child, for I have no other.' 'Very well,' said Radin Prana Sangu, 'I shall readily comply with what you desire.' He then received the name of Kyai Kimas Jiva; and was greatly beloved by both the toddy-maker and his wife; and in amusing him the toddy-maker would sometimes say, 'Master, you must become Raja of Majapahit, and marry the Princess Nai Casuma; but when you become Ratu, I must be the Pati Ari Gaja Mada.' 'Very well,' the Prince would answer, 'when I am the bitara, you must be the other.'" P. 151.

It so happens by one of these accidents so common in Eastern story, that the princess *does* fall in love with Sangaji Jaya Ningrat, and absolutely marries him.

"When Sangaji Jaya Ningrat was made bitara of Majapahit, the toddy-man presented himself to the raja and said, 'where is the agreement which Paduca Bitara made with me (could in Javanese) that if your Majesty became bitara of Majapahit, I should be the Pati Aria Gaja Mada? Then said the bitara, let our paman (father) wait, and I will certainly consider how it may be accomplished. Then the toddy-man returned home, and Sangaji Jaya considered in his own mind how he could dismiss the Pati Aria Gaja Mada, since he had not been guilty of a single fault. Besides this person was the very *factotum* of the land of Majapahit, and he perceived that it would go to ruin without him. But yet how was it possible to break his agreement with his adopted father. Reflecting on all this, he was greatly distressed, and for two or three days suffered no one to see him. When the Pati Aria Gaja Mada perceived this, he went into the bitara and enquired the cause of his shutting himself up. The bitara pretended that he was not well. The other said, I perceive you have some secret uneasiness, if you can confide it to me, perhaps, by my advice, it may be easily removed. The bitara said, 'my father is right in his conjecture. I am not the son of the toddy-man, but of the raja of Tanjong Pura, descended of the raja who came down from the mountain Saguntang, and I am named Radin Prana Langu.' He then related to him all the events which had happened to him, and among the rest, the agreement into which he had entered with the toddy-man, and that his present distress originated from his desiring to fulfil his engagement and discard his paman, addressing that name to the prime minister. Pati Aria Gaja Mada requested him not to be cast down, and was greatly delighted to learn that he was the son of the raja of Tanjong Pura, the loss of whose son was a well known circumstance in these regions. He represented that he was very ready to resign his office, being now old. The bitara said he did not wish him to resign, being conscious that the business could not be performed by his adopted father. Pati Aria Gaja Mada then advised him, that if he should again come to claim his promise,

he should tell him, 'no doubt the office of Pati Aria Gaja Mada is a very high one, but it is also extremely troublesome, so that it can never be executed by my father; but I have found another office for you of the same dignity. I will set you to preside over all the toddy-men of the country, and you shall have the same place of dignity with the Pati Aria Gaja Mada.' There is no doubt, said he, that he will cheerfully accept it, for he will comprehend the advantage of it. The bitara approved of this advice, and Pati Aria Gaja Mada requested permission to depart. The very next day the toddy-man appeared to claim his promise. The bitara proposed to him his new office, with which he was highly delighted, and all the toddy-men of Majapahit were accordingly placed under him, and he received the title of Pati Aria de Gara, and was permitted to sit with Pati Aria Gaja Mada." P. 157.

The celestial empire is not backward in exaggerations of its magnificence; but the Malay Annalist, in describing the state of the emperor of China, exceeds even the flattery of its own ministers. The Siamese ambassador was accompanied to the palace by an innumerable flock of crows, which entered together with him. The diplomatic suite was stopped at seven doors, and the crows stopped with it also, till the great gong gave the signal of admission. The hall of audience was one league in length, and though the state attendants collected in it were jammed knee to knee, there was no place left vacant. It was not roofed, but this defect was readily supplied, for the crows extending their wings, overshadowed the whole assembly. "After this was heard the roaring of thunder, with thunder claps, and lightning flashed to and fro, and then the Raja of China came forth." This Raja was a great man; he had "at his meals fifteen gantangs, each gantang five catty (we wish we knew the capacity of either) of husked rice, one hog, and a tub of hog's lard;" but great as he was, the Raja of Malaca was still greater; for when the Raja of China laboured under a particular disorder, he could only be cured by drinking the water which had washed the face and feet of the Raja of Malaca.

Sultan Mansur Shah, being highly pleased with Hang Tuah one day, "bestowed on him every article of dress which he wore." One of this Sultan's officers, Sri Nara di Raja had a son, Tun Abdal, "who was extremely fond of ornament, with a great deal of self-complacence. He would be three days in paring his nails; and if he was on horseback in the heat of the day, he would be adjusting himself by his own shadow." Another son, if he had been born at Rome, might have mounted the throne: indeed, his father

seems to have been as well skilled in soothsaying as Tanaquil herself.

“There was one of the sons one night sleeping in the veranda, and the bandahara came out, and was going to say his morning prayers, when he saw the head of Tun Mataher illuminated with a light which ascended towards heaven. He went near and examined, and the light suddenly vanished. Then said the Bandahara, if this boy live, he will be a greater man than I am, but he will not last *.”

Our classical recollections are awakened by two other passages. The Prince Samaloco, after an unsuccessful expedition, as he returned homeward took a stone and threw it into the sea, saying, “when this stone floats on the water, then will I again go pirateering against Ujung Tuna Besar, the great peninsula.” The Phocœans, when expelled by Harpagus, made a similar vow. Having sunk a mass of iron at the mouth of their harbour, they swore that they never would return till that mass appeared above the sea—the Phocœans perjured themselves; whether Samaloco had more reverence for the gods we have no means of saying. The next is a resemblance of military costume. The champion, Tun Hangah, in shame and rage begins to brandish his spear, and clash his shield, and *ring its bells*; these last are terrific ornaments which Æschylus has assigned to Tydeus.

‘ὕπ’ ἀσπίδος δ’ ἔσω
χαλκήλαται κλάζουσι ΚΩΔΩΝΕΣ φόβον.

The scene which we give below is remarkable for its patriarchal simplicity, and cannot fail to bring to mind the death-bed of Jacob. The expression which we have printed in italics is eminently beautiful, and appears, from its frequent occurrence in other parts of the volume, to be the well omened periphrasis which the Malays adopt for that change which almost all languages describe indirectly.

“In a short time the bandahara Paduca Raja fell sick, for he was now an old man, and all his family who were at the distance of one or two days’ journey assembled, and all his grand-children and great-grand-children, and he announced unto them his will. ‘Listen all of you,’ said he, ‘let none of you truck religion for the world, for this world is not perpetual, for all that live have to

* “Mox cum somno et flammam abiisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil, *Viden tu puerum hunc, inquit, quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum, præsidiumque reglæ adflicte.*”—Liv. l. xxxix.

die; but be steady in the practice of piety towards Almighty God. The learned say, that a just Prince is like a prophet of God, and is the representative of God in the world; and when you perform your duty to the raja, you are to do it faithfully, as if before God Almighty, for such is the command of God and his holy prophet; and this I desire all of you to consider as my last testament.' He then looked to Sri Maha Raja, and said, 'Mutaher, you will be a great man, but do not hope to be father of the raja's brother, or else you are sure to be slain.' Then he addressed his eldest son, Zein al Abedin, saying, 'Ha! Abedin, if you will not do the business of the raja properly, you had better take up your residence in the wood, and fill your belly with leaves.' He also said to his grandson, Tun Pawa, exhorting him 'not to take up his residence in the town, but in the country, and the plants and vegetables of the country would be gold for him.' He then said to his great-grandson Tun Yusef, 'O Yusef, haunt not the raja's court; this is my last injunction to you.' Such were the last injunctions of the bandahara Paduca Raja to all his family, addressing them all severally, according to what was proper for them. The Sultan, Mahmud, when he heard that the bandahara was very sick, came to visit him, and the bandahara saluted him, and told him, 'he fancied he was upon the eve of quitting this world, and that he was about to enter on the future world. Therefore,' says he, 'I commit my whole family over to your charge, and I request you not to listen to the words of persons who are false, or you will be sure to repent of it, if you follow your own inclinations, which are apt to be influenced by the seductions of Satan. Many are the great and powerful rajas who have ruined their affairs by following their inclinations.' After this *he departed to God's mercy*, and was buried according to the custom of bandaharas." P. 244.

We extract one specimen of the marvellous, which we think will bear us out in our assertion, that there is no luxuriance of imagination to atone for its puerility and extravagance. The king of Malacca determines to marry the princess Gunung Ledang, and sends ambassadors to demand her.

"After long journeying they reached the foot of the hill, and began to ascend it, but found no road; the hill men however showed them the road, for the way was excessively difficult, with violent gusts of wind, and a cold quite unsupportable. They advanced, however, till they reached about the middle of the mountain, when none of the people could proceed farther. Then said Tun Mamed to the laksamana and Sang Satia, 'Stop you here, gentles, and let me ascend the hill.' The others assented, and Tun Mamed, with two or three hearty men, ascended as well as he could, till he came to the bamboos, which are spontaneously melodious; and all that ascended, felt like birds flying, in the furious gusts of wind, and the clouds closed round so near, that one

might touch them; and the sound of the musical bamboos was extremely melodious; and the very birds lingered to hear their music; and the forest deer were all enchanted by their melody; and Tun Mamed was so delighted with their sound, that he could not prevail on himself to advance on his journey for some time. Again however he proceeded slowly, till at last he reached a garden of wonderful beauty, such as had never been seen. It was full of all kinds of flowers and fruits which are to be found in the whole world, arranged in plots of divers kinds. As soon as the birds of the garden observed the approach of Tun Mamed, they uttered all kinds of cries, some like a man whistling; others like a person playing on a pipe; others like a person playing on the *sir-dam*; others like a person reciting verses; others like persons *ber-saluca*, or joyous; others like persons *ber-gorindam*, or conversing, in dialogue. The large lemons made a loud noise, the grapes giggled, and the pomegranates smiled, and the *warasac* laughed aloud, while the rose repeated *pantuns*." P. 277.

In this garden was a hall, the whole materials of which were of bone, and the roof of hair, in which the ambassadors received the answer of the princess.

"Then there came to him an old woman, hunch-backed, and bent threefold, and said to him, 'Dang Raya Rani has delivered your message to the Princess Gunung Ledang, who desires me to say, that if the rajah of Malaca wishes for me, he must first make a flight of stairs of gold, and another of silver, from Malaca to Gunung Ledang; and in asking me he must present a gnat's heart seven platters broad, a moth's heart seven platters broad, a vat of human tears, and a vat of the juice of the young betel nut, one phial of the raja's blood, and one phial of the Prince Raja Ahmed's blood; and if the raja performs this, the Princess Gunung Ledang will assent to his desire.' As soon as she had spoken this she vanished, so that nobody could perceive where she had gone. According to some accounts, however, the elderly lady who conversed with Tun Mamed, was the Princess Gunung Ledang, who had assumed the appearance of an old woman. Then Tun Mamed returned and descended to the *laksamana* and Sang Satia, and informed them of what had passed; after which they all returned and related the whole of the old woman's conversation to Sultan Mahmud Shah, who said, 'all these requests may be complied with, but the taking of blood is an unpleasant business, and I have no inclination for it at all.' " P. 280.

The great excellence of one of the Malaca princes consisted in receiving a football a hundred hundred times on his foot without allowing it to fall, and occasionally kicking it so high that a man might eat his luncheon before it came down again. The beautiful Tun Tijaraan Bancal was

the most accomplished damsel of her time, and, moreover, was so excessively clever at opening pepper-pods with her teeth, that she could always separate them into two equal parts without ever tearing them awry. The sage Kazi Menawer was the most profound of philosophers. He had three spitting-pots hung up without the kisi-kisi, (Qu ?) and when rinsing his mouth he could spirt into all the three at once without scattering his spittle.

The Malays are most obedient subjects. Sri Bija di Raja once happened to be late at a levee, for which the Raja ordered him to be put to death. When the executioners came the culprit protested against the sentence as disproportioned to his crime; the Raja was informed of this, and sent him a letter, in which he explained his offences to be of four or five descriptions, whereupon he submitted to death without farther opposition.

A few notices of the arrival of the Portuguese (Frangi) are to be found towards the end of this volume. On their first visit from Goa, the people were going to be in a passion with them, but the bandahara prevented them. Soon after the great vizier, Alphonsus Albuquerque, heard how fine a country Malaca was, and began to covet it eagerly. Gon-salvo Pereira was ordered to explore it, and he fired away with his cannon, so that the people when they heard the noise, asked, "what sound is this like thunder?" and when they saw that their necks, and waists, and hands, and feet, were severed by the bullets, they furthermore asked, "what is the name of this weapon which is round? it is not sharp, but it will kill." The great vizier was very angry that his men were beat back, and did not make a second attempt till many years afterwards. This happened in the days of Sultan Ahmed, when, in spite of the valour of Tun Mea, the hairy caterpillar, the Portuguese were victorious. "The prince singly contended with a long lance, against all these Frangis—curse them—and the prince was slightly wounded in the hand." A little additional trouble on the part of the editor would have given these historical parts an interest of which at present they are devoid. And we sincerely regret the indolence (for we will not impute any other cause) which has allowed a work which cannot fail to excite curiosity, to issue from the press in so slovenly a form.

ART. VI. *Sermons on the Christian Character, with Occasional Discourses, By the Rev. C. J. Hoare, A. M. Rector of Godstone, and late Vicar of Blandford Forum Rivingtons. 1821.*

IN this volume, we have much pleasure in presenting to our readers a very faithful and able statement of all the important doctrines of the Bible and our own Church. The Author has neither neglected that degree of meditation and thought which the subject itself on which he writes demands, nor shrunk from a due share of the *limæ labor et mora*, in putting his matter into a becoming dress. And we think it but due to him to say, that he has divested the highest points in practical Theology of all unnecessary obscurity, and communicated to others in perspicuous and forcible language, that which he had first thoroughly considered and clearly understood, in all its bearings, himself.

It is much to be regretted, but cannot be unknown to any one only moderately acquainted with Divinity, that the most essential doctrines of our holy religion are sometimes advocated in a manner, not merely offensive to good taste, but more or less hostile to the interests of truth. The most sacred and indispensable principles have their correlative errors and corruptions, which some (we charitably hope piously disposed,) teachers not only do not guard against, but so heedlessly, if not wilfully, incur, as to make their statements wear the garb of falsehood and deception, rather than of Christian wisdom and soberness. It is a peculiar merit of Mr. Hoare's Sermons, that they are equally distinguished by a firm and confident character, which nothing but a conscious pursuit of revealed truth would inspire, and by a guarded and cautious one, bespeaking his deep and experienced sense of the gross adulterations which that truth has, from the times of its first promulgation, received from men of weak or perverted minds.

The plan of the Sermons, unless that of Mr. George Herbert's "Priest in the Temple" should be thought by some readers to have suggested it, appears in a great degree original. The Christian is described in all his ordinary relations and circumstances during the state of probation, and in its closing scene. The occasional Discourses, comprise the chief Fasts and Festivals of the reformed Church, and thus, as part of the same volume, strongly present to the mind of the reader the connexion between Christian principles and Christian Institutions.

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We should not do justice to this work, if we omitted to give our readers some extracts. In so doing, we feel no apprehension, that the specimens we produce will fall short of the expectations which the above remarks may have excited, still less that they will leave an impression more favourable than that which a perusal of the whole volume would be likely to afford. Its character is, indeed, maintained throughout with striking uniformity; and as every part equally merited, so it appears also to have received, the devoted attention of the Author.

In the Sermon entitled "*The Christian in his Closet,*" the retirement to which we are invited by our Religion, is thus defined:

"The privacy taught in the Scriptures, and enforced by the precepts and practice of our Saviour himself, was one consistent with the most active scenes of duty; and admitted of the freest intercourse with all classes of mankind, wherever good was to be performed. It was an occasional retirement for holy purposes. It was the secret hour of meditation on divine things, which the holy patriarch walked forth at eventide to indulge; and with which David delighted to interrupt the slumbers of the night season. It was that, to which prophets of old would for a time retreat, even in the depth of deserts; where they could 'weep in secret for the pride' of their countrymen, or 'sit alone' under 'the yoke of affliction', and where John the Baptist acquired the Lessons of holy mortification suited to his mysterious office. It was the stated solitude, in which a Daniel, a Cornelius, a Peter, each under their respective dispensations, poured forth their earnest, and approved devotions to God: or that still more favoured solitude, in which the Author of the Apocalypse, the loving and beloved St. John, was permitted to anticipate upon earth the songs of triumph, and the company of the blessed, which surround the Eternal Throne. In one word, it was the retirement described before, of our blessed Saviour himself; who oft-times 'retired apart into a mountain to pray:' who kindly reproached his sleeping disciples 'Could ye not watch with me one hour?' but enjoined in the same sentence, the solemn and edifying duty; 'Watch and pray, lest ye enter into Temptation.' Whilst the faithful Christian will expect no miraculous blessing on his retired meditations; and will consider it sufficient to be noticed by Him, 'who seeth in secret, and Himself shall reward him openly;' he still is not backward in obeying the call which summons him to so sacred an engagement. He stands in awe and sins not; he communes with his own heart, and in his 'chamber, and is still.'" P. 27.

And again,

"I have shewed you, that it is no hard, ascetic, or monastic

discipline that I here prescribe; not one, which so much binds the hands from labor, or the feet from walking in the cheerful ways of men, as one which binds the heart to God, and directs a reasonable being to that method, by which alone 'the flesh can be subdued to the Spirit.' This then, I repeat it, is a work necessary for *all*. It is a course that I must as a Christian Minister, enjoin even to the most laborious and engaged; nay, in proportion to their other avocations, I must warn them of the necessity of this. It is a Sabbath of the mind, to which I invite every son of earthly toil; and bid him in this way to prepare himself for that eternal Sabbath, for which we are taught to look. Thus may you obtain, even in this low world, a bright anticipation of that 'rest, which yet remaineth for the people of God.' And thus, often finding and cheerfully dedicating to holy purposes, the precious moments of retirement and 'stillness', may you experience in them a safe and peaceful refuge from every fear. God himself 'shall keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed in him because he trusteth in him.' " P. 44.

In the Sermon which more immediately led to the subject of outward Communion, "The Christian in his Church," the Author appears to us to have inculcated the true principles on which this important duty rests.

"In the first place" he says, "the Christian, in selecting the Church with which he will hold communion, will doubtless desire to have fellowship with the Apostles in doctrine and in act. In other words, he will profess *Apostolical doctrines—accompanied with Apostolical services—resting on Apostolical authority—and delivered by an Apostolical Ministry.*" P. 77.

And afterwards, on the fourth of these divisions he adds,

"The appointment of a standing Ministry for purposes of public instruction, Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments, is doubtless of the very essence of a Christian Communion, 'Go ye into all the world,' said Christ to his Apostles, 'and preach the gospel to every creature:' and added the promise, 'Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' None will deny, that such an injunction, with such a promise, must apply to some kind of Christian Ministers, who were to receive authority to preach the gospel to the end of time. And whence will the considerate preacher wish to derive his authority; whence will the reflecting hearer wish it to have been derived, but from a source as nearly as possible allied to that commission, which the Apostles received from the lips of Christ? And did not they impart that Commission themselves, to 'faithful men who should be able to teach others also?' And did not those 'faithful men' transmit the same authority to their successors? And is it not true to the present day, that almost all authorised teachers, of

whatever class, appeal to the admission granted them by other teachers, who had preceded them in the sacred office? I desire not to enter controversially on this point: or to divert your attention from what is plain, and may make for edification, in my remarks. It is simply my design, to render you, my brethren, satisfied with the authority, which we, as your authorized instructors, claim over you 'for your edification, and not for destruction.' We desire 'to magnify our office,' if by any means we may assist 'them which are our flesh, and might save 'some of them.' We would, above all, aim at the grand object of causing, through the thanksgiving of many for our privileges, 'glory to redound to God'. Nor can I, in this respect, forbear to mention, that the Christian, in connecting himself with such a Church, will see no reason for regret, and much for thankfulness, in its connection with the temporal power of the State. He will rejoice to see, that, according to Prophecy, 'Kings are its nursing fathers, and Queens its nursing mothers;' and he will anticipate with glowing expectation the time, when 'the glory of all lands shall flow into' the bosom of the Christian Church; when 'the kings of Tarshish and of the Isles shall bring presents; the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts: yea, all Kings shall fall down before' the Lord of life, 'and all nations do Him service.'" P. 81.

In the Discourse on Good Friday, from 1 Cor. i. 18., the Author ably sets forth *how* the preaching of the Cross is "the power of God unto us who are saved," and states this to arise, first from its exalting our conceptions of God.

"Consider the Cross of Christ in its full mysterious character, as the Scriptures most unquestionably pourtray it, and what new, impressive, and reconciling views of the highest attributes of God, will be obtained from it by the humble and penitent believer. Does *Justice* demand our respect? Faith views the Cross, as a solemn sentence pronounced in the sight of men and angels upon transgression; a sacrifice vindicating the honour of that law, which man had broken; atoning for its breach, and fulfilling its claims by the Payment of an Obedience, which none but the Son of God could ever have accomplished. We behold it, and adore the matchless purity of Divine Justice. Or does *Mercy* engage us? Regard then the sufferings of Christ as an act of sovereign mercy, exercised towards the most unworthy of creatures. View Him as God suffering for man; paying, by His stripes, the penalty of our transgression; by His death, purchasing our life: and what is there great or generous in man; what is there noble in feeling, or rapturous in gratitude, that is not almost irresistibly called forth in praise to Him, 'who loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood?' Further, do we admire the perfection of *Wisdom*? Wisdom indeed how great, how divine, was that, which first conceived a Plan for reconciling the opposite claims of infinite Justice

and infinite Mercy: and which the Psalmist beautifully exalts, when he sings, 'Mercy and truth have met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' But see also the wisdom of its execution. Recall the patriarchal types, the Mosaic sacrifices, the emblems of history, or the more sure word of prophetic records: watch them all meeting their accomplishment in that one 'despised and rejected' Person, 'the Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief:' hear Him pronounce as He hung upon the Cross, 'It is finished'; and then learn to acknowledge the truth and consistency of Divine Wisdom. Or finally, do we admire the exercise of *Power*? Then behold the strength of God made perfect in the weakness of the Cross. Strong was that Spirit of the Father which supported the Son in His appointed work: and which, through the fiercest assaults of earth and hell, brought Him safe without defect or stain. Strong was He, who, standing at the bar of Pilate, might have summoned twelve legions of Angels to His defence; whose dominion now derided, had once been publicly exercised over the powers of nature; whose hands, now nailed to the cross, had fed the multitudes by miracle; whose pierced and bloody feet once had walked upon the waves; and whose voice, which now cried out in the agonies of dissolution, had once before called Lazarus from the tomb. Shall we not deem *that*, in truth, a Divine power, which by the very surrender of its own rights, and by a voluntary descent to the lowest point of apparent weakness, brought salvation to a fallen race? Shall we not confess, 'The foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men?' Or rather, shall not all creation conspire to proclaim 'Christ, the wisdom of God, and the power of God?'

Such specimens might be multiplied from every part of the work, of which it is not too much to say, that there is no important practical doctrine which has not here received some useful illustration, nor a single error of any prevalence or importance, which has not here met with a powerful antidote. To the gloomy tenets of the Calvinist, is opposed the doctrine of universal Redemption; to the Antinomian, the *conditions* of Salvation; and to the Solifidian, the proportionate rewards in heaven, of works done in faith, are exhibited in the simple and unambiguous terms of the Gospel. To all a system of doctrine is promulgated, which the Bible and our Apostolical Church would "mark for their own," and which we, under this conviction, cordially recommend to our readers.

ART. VII. *A Voyage to Africa: including a Narrative of an Embassy to one of the Interior Kingdoms, in the Year 1820; with Remarks on the Course and Termination of the Niger, and other principal Rivers in that Country. By William Hutton, late acting Consul for Ashantee, and an Officer in the African Company's Service. Illustrated with Maps and Plates. 8vo. 502 pp. Longman and Co. 1821.*

WE left Mr. Hutchinson in September, 1817, as accredited British resident at the court of Coomassie, in consequence of Mr. Bowdich's successful mission*. Mr. Hutton's volume details the particulars of a second embassy to the same place; and supplies what was wanting to the history of our transactions with Ashantee during the last three years. We shall endeavour to put together from it such particulars as appear likely to excite any public interest.

At the close of 1818 the British government being desirous to promote the intercourse which had already been opened with the king of Ashantee, appointed Mr. Dupuis, a gentleman who had long been resident at Mogadore, and who was well acquainted with the Moorish language, to be consul at Coomassie. His allowances were liberal, and he was instructed to be the bearer of presents, amounting to five hundred pounds in value, to his sable majesty. The chief objects to which the mission was addressed were the maintenance of a friendly alliance, the establishment of a road between Cape Coast Castle and Coomassie, the selection of a spot about five and twenty miles inland, for a new settlement, and, generally, the attainment of any geographical and statistical knowledge which might be deemed serviceable to our commercial interests.

On Mr. Dupuis's arrival at Cape Coast Castle he found that circumstances had arisen since Mr. Bowdich's return, by which the objects and character of the projected embassy were materially affected. The king of Ashantee had been engaged in war with the Buntookoos, a nation situated to the north of his dominions; and when he proceeded from his capital to head his army, Mr. Hutchinson, probably in some doubt as to his personal safety during the monarch's absence, very prudently returned to Cape Coast Castle. The Ashantee arms were victorious, and the king, according to custom, sent round to the various settlements messengers

* See British Critic, April, 1812.

bearing the jaw-bones of his enemies as proofs of conquest, and requesting the presents usual on such occasions, to enhance the splendour of his triumphal entry into his capital. At Commenda, a British settlement about twenty miles from Cape Coast Castle, the natives drove the messengers from their town with the most wanton and unprovoked insolence. Complaint of this outrage was made at Cape Coast, but no redress was obtained or promised; and the king highly and, as it appears to us, not unjustly irritated, sent a threatening message both to Cape town and the castle; addressing the town as responsible for the inhabitants of Commenda, and advising the governor of the castle to build his walls higher, since in forty days the Ashantee army would march to the sea side. A spirited reply was returned to this menace. The king, in consequence, prohibited all trade with Cape Coast, and the inhabitants threw up a mud-wall, and made preparations for defence. At a subsequent stage the king demanded, by a confidential captain, and afterwards by his own nephew, prince Adoom, the payment of 1600 ounces of gold, (about 6400*l*.) from the inhabitants of Cape Coast, and the same sum from the governor of the castle, as an atonement for the infraction of existing treaties. These extortions were treated with becoming indignation, and prince Adoom expressed a wish that the concluding negotiations might be conducted by Mr. Dupuis, and his suite, at Coomassie itself.

Mr. Hutton, who it seems had previously been attached to Major Peddie's expedition, but had quitted it in consequence of some misunderstanding about the terms of his engagement, volunteered his services to accompany Mr. Dupuis; and received orders from the governor and council to place himself under the direction of that gentleman, and in case any accident should happen to him, to take charge of the embassy. A severe illness prevented Mr. Dupuis from leaving Cape Coast on the appointed day. He had already expressed great dissatisfaction at a paper of instructions, which, pursuant to the directions of the African Committee, had been presented to him by the governor; and this dissension appears to have been materially increased by his transferring to Mr. Hutton, through a formal instrument, all powers vested in himself, without communication with the authorities at the Castle. An open breach, which in the end proved materially prejudicial to the objects of the embassy, was the result of this petty squabbling. We know how difficult it is to form an accurate judgment on points of this nature without intimate acquaintance with the nu-

merous minutiae from which they must receive their colouring; and we are therefore unwilling to express any opinion on the merits of the contending parties. Still if we were called upon to decide from the documents given by Mr. Hutton, who professes, and indeed maintains, the strictest impartiality, we cannot discover in what points the governor outstepped his power; and we plainly observe in Mr. Dupuis' communications a tone of petulance unworthy of a public officer, and a jealousy of punctilio which must have rendered him very difficult to act with.

In consequence of Mr. Dupuis' illness, Mr. Hutton set forward as chief of the embassy, on the 5th of February, 1820. He was accompanied by Mr. Salmon, an assistant surgeon in the African Company's service; the presents being already one day's journey in advance, under the care of Mr. Collins, the vice-consul, and Mr. Graves, the linguist. Mr. Hutton has framed a map of his route, an assistance which is entirely wanting in Mr. Bowdich's work. The degree of reliance to be placed upon it will readily be seen from the following account of its formation.

“ It would be difficult to give the courses with perfect accuracy in travelling a narrow black's path, from the numberless turnings and windings. The distances, however, I think, may be depended upon, and the latitude and longitude of the different towns I hope will be found tolerably correct; although I regret to say the embassy was entirely unprovided with quadrants and telescopes. I had therefore no means of checking the latitude by an altitude of the sun. But I have deemed it my duty to give the latitude and longitude of the different towns by course and distance, according to the account which I kept during the journey, without regard to other accounts, which may probably be more correct.” P. 136.

The escort furnished by Prince Adoom consisted of more than three hundred men. Mr. Hutton came up with this main body at Paintrey, after a journey of nine hours; and was joined at this place, in a few days, by Mr. Dupuis, who now felt himself well enough to assume the command in person.

The mode of travelling in Africa is sufficiently unpleasant. A hammock swung from a pole, rests on the shoulders of two bearers; a slit in the bottom of it allows the feet to rest on a sort of stirrup below, and the body is balanced by grasping the pole with one hand, while the other bears an umbrella. The path from Cape Coast to Paintrey is described to be rather good than otherwise, though in many places it was not more than a foot in breadth, and had seve-

ral trees blown down across it, so that the hammock-bearers frequently fell down, to the no small discomfiture of their burdens. Paintrey appears to Mr. Hutton to be the spot on which Government should endeavour to obtain permission for the establishment of new factories, and a school for the natives. It is a neat and pleasant village, distant nineteen miles from Cape Coast, and containing seven hundred inhabitants, who, for the most part, seem well disposed to Europeans. The country is rich and fertile, a communication could readily be kept up with the castle; and it is not till this and the neighbouring village, Asoonqua, are passed, that the forests begin to offer difficulties. Fish is taken plentifully on the sea coast, and after being dried, is conveyed in large quantities into the interior. There is no want of poultry, sheep, goats, and hogs, though the last are said to feed on human flesh. Bullocks are somewhat scarce, and horses are not at all to be procured. The most delicious fruits, pine-apples, oranges, guavas, paupaus, benanas, sugar-apples, sour-soups, &c.; game of all descriptions, deer, bush-hogs, hares, partridges, wild ducks and pigeons are abundant. Monkey flesh makes an excellent soup, and another, which is described to be a choice delicacy, is extracted from the oil of the palm nut. The palm-tree, as is well known, furnishes also the common wine of the country, which is obtained by tapping the trunk. The tree, when tapped, yields wine by distillation, for twenty or thirty days, to the amount of fifteen or twenty gallons, and when completely drained, withers away and dies. It is procured in the morning, and after three o'clock in the day turns sour, and becomes unfit for use. It is a sweet, pleasant, and wholesome beverage, but extremely intoxicating if taken in large quantities. The wood of the palm-tree is used for building, and the oil of the nut, besides the soup, furnishes a kind of yeast for baking.

In addition to these advantages Paintrey has two excellent watering places; rain falls sufficiently during six months of the year, and the soil has shewn itself capable of producing the choicest vegetables. Nor do we see that any objections are likely to arise from the state of society in it. The higher orders

In cute curandâ plus æquo operata juvenus,

devote a great part of the morning to washing and greasing themselves from head to foot, an operation usually performed in public. The remainder of the day is passed in talking palavers, drinking palm-wine, and playing worree; a game which Mr. Bowdich says is also played in Syria; but of

which neither he nor Mr. Hutton can give any farther account than that a small board is used, with fourteen holes cut in it, large enough to admit pebbles about the size of a marble, and that the two persons who play toss the pebbles from one hole to the other. Truly man is the same in the great outlines of his nature all over the world. For any thing we can see to the contrary worree is as good a medium for the transfer of money as *rouge et noir*, or hazard, and the *exquisite* of St. James's-Street, if he catalogued his daily occupations, would differ in little more than colour from his equally useles brother on the banks of the Asoónecara.

The first stage from Paintrey presented a woody country, occasionally opening into beautiful vallies. The path was crooked, and so overgrown that it was necessary to cut a passage in most parts; numerous streams crossed it, and stupendous cotton-trees shot up on all sides; many were "*at least fifty feet in circumference, and one hundred and fifty feet high.*" Mr. Hutton is moderate in their admeasurement, for Bosman says, "I have seen some of these trees so high that their tops and branches were scarce to be reached by a common musket shot." This we look upon to be a random shot. The forest scenery lasted for four days, without intermission, when on reaching the Boosempira river, the country became more open and cheerful. Mr. Hutton is loud in the praises of its beauty, and compares it to the Richmond meadows.

Our readers would derive little amusement from a bare catalogue of barbarous names; and little else is to be found in the journal of the remaining route. One stream, however, we must not omit to mention, the Aganippe of the Ashantees. This people, it seems, are distinguished among their neighbours for their oratorical powers; and they are said to derive this gift from the virtue of the clear rill of Bohmen, (the water of eloquence) of which they drink annually. On approaching the Capital, the embassy halted at Dachason, (Dirt town) and were visited by some messengers, bringing presents of eatables from the king, and accompanied by a "*white negro boy.*"

"*Illa prius cretâ, mox hæc carbone notasti.*"

The poor wretch appeared to be an idiot, his features were African, his hair white and woolly, his skin sallow and unhealthy; and he was grotesquely dressed in an old coat, trowsers, and shoes which he could scarcely keep on his feet, and crowned by a tattered cocked hat and feather. These

lusus naturæ, were subsequently found to be by no means uncommon.

The public entrance to Coomassie, was made on the 28th of February, and was distinguished by precisely the same ceremonial as that of Mr. Bowdich. Several of the king's sons joined in the Ambassador's procession. They were carried on men's shoulders, and attended by slaves, who bore their stools, the *insignia* of the blood-royal. These are made of one solid piece of wood, highly carved and polished. The concourse of people was supposed to be scarcely less than fifty thousand; and the noise of drums, horns, and flutes, mixed with the shouts of the multitude, made it impossible (as we can readily believe) to hear the solitary bugleman who preceded Mr. Dupuis. On entering the palace, the embassy was escorted by a guard of honour composed of the king's household troops, all clad in British uniforms, red, with yellow facings. After a short pause, the chief executioner summoned them to the royal presence; and they moved into the splendid circle, which Mr. Bowdich has so well described. His Majesty's reception, as the Plenipotentiaries passed by him, was gracious and dignified; as he returned to pass by them, it partook more of the first than the last of these royal qualifications, for "he was evidently too intoxicated to ask any questions."

"The executioner, who carried the execution-stool, which was besmeared with human blood, and covered with a caul of fat, came quite close to us, and shock it in our faces, which probably was done to intimidate, and to caution us against the consequences of acting as spies in the country; and as a large bell was attached to it, the noise it made, added to the frightful appearance of the executioner, and the disgusting sight of the stool, did not give rise to the most pleasing sensations." P. 220.

The ceremony lasted five hours, and was intolerably fatiguing: at its close, the Ambassadors were lodged in the house of Prince Adoom, and supplied liberally from the royal kitchens.

None of the horrible spectacles which accompanied Mr. Bowdich's entree were exhibited on the present occasion, nor, indeed, during the stay of the Envoys. Mr. Hutton willingly accepts the absence of these abominations as a proof of improvement.

The first audience was one of ceremony only. When Mr. Dupuis was beginning to enumerate the presents which the king of England had sent to his brother of Ashantee, after

he had stated 100 guns, 100 kegs of powder, and 100 ankers of rum, he was stopped short by the interpreter, who requested him not to mention the other articles *before all the people*. On the following morning, they were unpacked for his majesty's inspection; the first case, unfortunately, contained part of a turning lathe, which being wholly incomprehensible to the sooty court, and seeming nothing more than two pieces of wood, excited a very significant smile: without a mechanist to work it, indeed, this article appears as useless as Punch was, till the noble purchaser contracted for his master. The remaining offerings were of a more intelligible nature. Guns, gunpowder, rum, port-wine, porter, currants, soap, sugar, annisette, brandy-fruits, crockery-ware, clothes, glass, an organ, an *Æolian* harp, harmonic glasses, drums, cymbals, a mirror, a lamp, a magic lanthorn, and a kaleidoscope. Notwithstanding an affected indifference, which it seems is a part of the Ashantee State craft, it was evident, that both the receiver and the spectators were highly gratified at this display. Bumpers of real Hollands, in large tumblers, were handed round; and his majesty, after endeavouring to learn the words *George* and *London*, closed the audience.

The negotiation proceeded favourably. The king took an oath of allegiance to the king of England, and volunteered 10,000 Ashantee troops, to march at any time to any part of Africa, which his Britannic majesty might require. The first mention, however, of the proposed establishment of a school at Paintrey, excited considerable surprise and jealousy. He rose from his couch, and taking his seat among the linguists and captains, declared that he could not consent to any grant of the kind. He expressed a strong wish for the re-establishment of the slave trade; and said, that since its abolition, there had been nothing but fighting. On opening the discussion relative to the payment from Cape Coast, it appeared, that since the arrival of the embassy, the king had been in communication with the Governor on the subject, and in consequence, he refused to allow it to form any part of the treaty to be then concluded. All claim on the Governor, however, as far as himself was concerned, was relinquished; and a treaty was eventually signed and ratified, recognizing Mr. Dupuis, and any successor he might appoint, as Consul, acknowledging allegiance to the king of England, dispensing with the former demand, putting to rest all differences and palavers, resolving to encourage mutual commerce, admitting the natives under British protection to be entitled to the protection of and amenable only to British laws; and

stipulating, that the path between Cape Coast and Coomassie, should for the future be kept in good order, half by the English, and half by the Ashantees.

Mr. Hutton's journey backwards, was attended with disagreeable adventures: within a short distance of Paintrey, having got out of his hammock to relieve the bearers, he found himself deserted in the dead of the night, and in the heart of a forest; a little black boy, bearing a torch, was his only companion; his feet were dreadfully torn; the path was rugged, and he had neither provisions nor water. Pressing forward, he arrived at some plantations of India-corn, and was in hopes of soon finishing his journey.

"But just at this moment, my boy, who was before me, lighting me along with a torch, loudly exclaimed "*Majeh! majeh!*" and danced about like a frantic person. Before I had time to enquire what was the matter, I found out the cause, by feeling a number of large black ants † crawling up my legs, which stung me dreadfully, by digging their forceps into the sores on my feet. I had some difficulty in tearing them off. My boy, from the agony he suffered, threw down the torch, and I had now the misery to be left in this dismal forest without a light! Having, with my servant, retreated from the nest of ants, we assisted each other as well as we could in the dark, in brushing them off our legs.

"Worn out with fatigue, having travelled nearly thirty miles, exposed eighteen hours in my wet clothes, from the rain, which had fallen during the day; deserted by my people, without any thing to eat, or a glass of water to allay my parching thirst; without even a bed of straw to lie down upon; without a great coat or any thing to shelter me from the heavy dews of the night; without the means of making a fire to keep off the wild beasts which every where surrounded me in the forest, I was almost without hope.

* "This is an exclamation the natives generally use when flogged. It signifies Father."

† "The ants here mentioned, are reptiles of the most surprising nature. There are different species of them; red, black, and white. They go in troops of millions and tens of millions; and the regularity and order with which they march from place to place are astonishing. In making their nests they throw up the earth to an incredible height, making hillocks at least six or eight feet high, and twenty feet, and more, in circumference; they also make their nests in trees. Bosman, speaking of these vermin, says, '*They come to our forts and chambers in such prodigious swarms, that they frequently oblige us to quit our beds in the night time; they are strangely rapacious, and no animal can stand before them. They have often, in the night, attacked one of my live sheep, which I have found a perfect skeleton in the morning, and that so nicely done, that the best master of the dismembering art could not succeed so well, it being impossible for human hands to have done it so artificially. As swift as rats are, they cannot escape them; and as soon as one of them assaults a rat he is inevitably gone.*' These ants appear to have a sort of language, calling one another to seize their prey, when they march off with it in good order, all of them moving in the same direction."

And if any thing had been wanting to fill up the measure of this night's misery, it was the circumstance of my having travelled, in the early part of the day, in my wet clothes, which were doubly wet from the profuse perspiration I had been thrown into by walking, and which now hung about me the whole night.

"To proceed on my journey, or to return, with a view of finding my people in the dark, I conceived was equally hopeless; and indeed I was too fatigued, and in too much agony to do so. I therefore sat down in the forest, (being unwilling to climb a tree,) and waited anxiously for morning.

"Having passed the night in singing* the most noisy songs I could think of, in which I was assisted by the discordant yells of my boy Quashee, (whom I was obliged to keep awake by a gentle rap occasionally on the head with my sabre,) I proceeded at day-light, and in less than half an hour, passed through Yancomtodie; so that, had I continued my journey the preceding night, only half an hour longer, I should have escaped the misery which I have just described." P. 294.

Mr. Hutton has added very little to the information which Mr. Bowdich had previously furnished, of the manners of the Ashantees; indeed, the work of the last named gentleman is frequently quoted and referred to in the present volume. Two customs, which we do not recollect to have seen mentioned before, are, that the king's weights are one-third heavier than the current weights of the country; thus furnishing a source of authorised emolument to the household: and that in passing through a territory to which they are not hostile in their march to attack an enemy, the Ashantee armies strew leaves as a token of amity. The Religion of the whole of this part of Africa, appears to be much the same: at Dixcove, the natives worship crocodiles; and the Fetish man calls them from their haunts, by offering a white fowl; an experiment, which, at some risque of his life, Mr. Hutton witnessed. At Cape Coast, the Supreme Being is named *yaung Coompon*, who they believe causes thunder, by riding in his carriage. Human sacrifices are offered "to water the graves" of persons of distinction: a sort of ordeal, by drinking *doom* water, the decoction of a poisonous bark, is generally practised. Sickness absolves the accused; but if the mixture remains on his stomach, then "the palaver catches him." Many of the Fetish men affect invulnerability; one of them offered to permit the sailors to fire ball

* "I did not sing from an impression that music would charm the savage beasts, but as I had no fire, I thought it was the best plan to prevent them from coming near me, which I have no doubt it did; for although I heard them frequently throughout the night, they did not molest either me or my companion."

at him ; but when a pistol was presented, he said, that it was not *then* his Fetish day ; but that on the next, he defied all lead and powder : some houses have an earthen pot fixed on the top of a straight pole, about six feet from the ground, containing eggs, with feathers stuck round it. This is consecrated and worshipped every morning.

The distance from Cape Coast to the Niger, by the Ashantee route, does not exceed 700 miles : 200 of these have now been twice securely travelled : the greater part beyond, is said to be equally safe, through a fertile country, and a hospitable people. The journey, including reasonable delays, is estimated as likely to occupy ten weeks ; and from the terms of the treaty recently concluded, it is probable that the king would contribute material assistance.

Mr. Hutton's narrative is not very lucidly arranged, and we are left in utter ignorance as to the ultimate effect of his embassy upon Ashantee politics. One thing only is clear, that in consequence of their quarrels with the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, both Mr. Hutton and Mr. Dupuis have returned to England. Since the date of their mission, the African Committee has ceased to exist ; and the British Government has taken the forts on the Gold Coast, under its own immediate direction. In one view, we rejoice at this occurrence ; we shall not be suspected of any undue fondness for an injudicious introduction of the Missionary system ; and we are satisfied that infinite harm has been done in many cases, by over zealous attempts to *force* a produce, which cannot ripen out of season ; but it reflects no slight disgrace on a leading commercial body, in a Christian country, that for *seventy* years, they should have had *ten* settlements under their control, in not one of which, on the abolition of their power, was a single memorial to be found of the existence of the Gospel.

ART. VIII. *Sketches of Upper Canada, domestic, local, and characteristic : to which are added particular Details for the Information of Emigrants of every Class : and some Recollections of the United States of America.*
By John Howison, Esq. Whittakers. 1821.

THE principal value of this book arises from the interior and

domestic views given in it of the life of an emigrant, when once fairly set down among the woods of Upper Canada. We see here more of the manners, the occupations, the hardships, and the comforts of that class of men than we have ever met with any where else, set forth, too, in plain agreeable language, and without any perceptible bias which could mislead the author's judgment. Birkbeck, in describing his Eldorado, situated in the Western States of the Union, had a personal object to serve ; and he seems to have cared little who should lose by speculating in land, if he were secure of realizing a comfortable profit. But Howison appears not to have had any such end in view ; and his representations, accordingly, of the things to be suffered and to be attained by an emigrant of the lower orders, when conveyed beyond the western main, are justly entitled to credit and consideration. Indeed the only obscure part of his book is his own personal interest in what he saw and describes. He wanders from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Lake St. Clair, travels by land and by water, lodges in taverns and cottages, converses with English, Americans, and French, and yet his reader cannot conjecture from any thing he says what motive stronger than mere curiosity could have carried him thither, or induced him to encounter the perils and the fatigue incident to such a route.

In giving some account of these "Sketches," we shall begin where the author ends ; under the impression that his notices of the climate, the soil, the agriculture, and produce of the upper districts of Canada, are the most interesting portion of his performance.

The *climate*, then, in the western parts of the province is not only healthful but agreeable. In winter, the cold is, no doubt, somewhat rigorous, being occasionally so great as to depress the mercurial barometer to Zero ; but, in compensation for this, the sky is bright and cloudless, producing on the human frame the most bracing and exhilarating effects. The heat in summer, which sometimes reaches, in the shade, even as high as 100° of Fahrenheit, usually averages from 82° to 90° of that scale ; giving rise, of course, to a most luxuriant vegetation and abundant crops of delicious fruit. The autumns of Upper Canada are said to resemble very much those of Britain ; October and the early part of November being remarkable for mild dry days, and for clear frosty nights. The commencement of their spring is the only season of which the Canadians have any reason to complain. In March and part of April the weather is damp, tempestuous, and cold,

which, in a country destitute of good roads must undoubtedly be felt as a serious inconvenience, and a great source of personal discomfort. This, however, is an evil which will gradually diminish, for not only will the progress of agricultural improvements meliorate the climate, it will also secure to the inhabitants more numerous resources against its severity and vicissitudes.

The *soil* of the upper province is capable of every thing. Fruit is produced in abundance, at the expence of no greater labour than that which is employed in gathering it. Wild grapes also grow in the forests in large quantities, which by proper culture would soon become equal to the garden grape in size and flavour, and even be found fit for making wine. The land is likewise extremely well suited for raising corn. Of wheat, the grain produced in the largest quantities, one bushel and a half is sufficient to sow an acre, whilst the return averages from twenty-five to thirty-five bushels. Buck wheat is also cultivated to a considerable extent, yielding about twenty bushels per acre; being however inferior to rye in amount of produce, this last generally succeeding so well, as to remunerate the grower with a crop of twenty-five bushels and upwards. It ought to be recollected, too, that the present system of farming in Canada is not only very defective but even extremely injudicious; so that were an English agriculturist to subject a portion of the best land in the province now named, to the British mode of management, making, of course, those deviations which climate, soil and other circumstances would render necessary, he would raise crops infinitely superior both in quantity and quality to the best of those which at present grace the harvests of the colony.

Government grants fifty acres of land to any British subject, free of cost; whilst a larger quantity entails the payment of fees according to the following scale:

<i>Acres.</i>	£.	s.	d.
100.....	5	14	1
200.....	16	17	6
300.....	24	11	7
400.....	32	5	8
500.....	39	19	9
600.....	47	18	10
700.....	55	17	11
800.....	63	2	0
900.....	70	16	0

N n

Acres.	£.	s.	d.
1000.....	78	10	2
1100.....	86	4	3
1200.....	93	18	4

To prevent undue speculation and forestalling in respect of land, no quantity above one hundred acres is given unless the applicant can shew that he possesses the means of bringing the whole into cultivation. All lands, indeed, are bestowed under certain regulations and restrictions. The settler must clear five acres upon every hundred granted to him, open a road in front of his lot, and build a log-house of certain dimensions. These settling duties, as they are called, if performed within eighteen months of the location-ticket has been issued, entitle him to a deed from Government, which makes the lot his for ever; and they are so far from being severe or unreasonable that the emigrant, says Mr. Howison, will find it unnecessary to perform them *in less than the time specified*, if he propose to obtain a subsistence from the cultivation of his farm.

"I shall now suppose that the emigrant has made all necessary arrangements for the occupation of his land. His first object then is to get his house built. If his cot lies in a settlement, his neighbours will assist him in doing this without being paid; but if far built in the woods he must hire people to work for him. The usual dimensions of a house are eighteen feet by sixteen. The roof is covered with bark or shingles, and the floor with rough-hewn planks, the interstices between the logs that compose the walls being filled up with pieces of wood and clay. Stones are used for the back of the fire-place, and a hollow cone of coarse basket work does the office of a chimney. The whole cost of a habitation of this kind will not exceed 12*l.* supposing the labourers had been paid for erecting it: but as almost every person can have much of the work done *gratis*, the expence will not perhaps amount to more than 5*l.* or 6*l.* Whenever the house is completed the emigrant ought to bring his family, cattle, provisions, and farming utensils upon his lot. He should, if possible, have a couple of oxen, a cow, two pigs, a harrow, and an axe. The cost of the whole will be about 28*l.* But many settlers commence their labours without any cattle or implements at all, contriving to borrow what they want from their neighbours, and returning the obligation in work. The clearing of land overgrown with timber is an operation so tedious and laborious that different plans have been devised for abridging it, and for obtaining a crop from the ground before it is completed. The easiest and most economical system is that called *Girdling*. The land is first cleared of brushwood and small timber, and then a ring of bark is cut from the lower part of every tree; and if this

be done in the autumn, the trees will be dead and destitute of foliage the ensuing spring; at which time the land is sown, without receiving any culture whatever except a little harrowing. This plan evidently possesses no advantage except that of enabling the settler to supply his immediate wants, at the expense of comparatively little time and labour. After the felling, dividing, and burning of the timber have been accomplished the stumps still remain, disfiguring the fields, and impeding the effectual operation of the plough and harrow. The immediate removal of the roots of the trees is impracticable and they are therefore always allowed to fall into decay, to which state they are generally reduced in the space of eight or nine years. Pine stumps, however, seem scarcely susceptible of decomposition as they frequently show no symptoms of it after half a century has elapsed."

Notwithstanding the great labour necessary to clear a piece of ground, the first crop, we are told, seldom fails to afford a return more than sufficient to repay all that has been expended. The clearing, fencing, sowing, harrowing, and harvesting an acre of waste land will cost about 5*l.* 5*s.*; whilst the produce, usually amounting to twenty-five bushels of wheat, is worth, at the average price, not less than 6*l.* After the land has been in crop, its cultivation becomes, of course, considerably less expensive. The cost of putting in the second crop, ploughing included, will not exceed forty shillings, while the produce will amount to thirty-five or forty bushels; affording a clear profit of from 4*l.* 15*s.* to 6*l.* 10*s.*, even after thirty shillings have been deducted for harvesting and thrashing.

To labourers or small farmers who are deprived of their usual employment in Great Britain, emigrating to Canada is recommended by Mr. Howison, as the certain means of obtaining an ample subsistence, even from the outset of their adventure, and a comfortable independence thereafter. The colonist must not indeed expect to fare sumptuously the very first year he takes possession of his territorial grant. Pork, bread, and what vegetables he may succeed in raising, will form the chief part of his diet, perhaps for two seasons. To these articles, however, he may occasionally add venison, if he has been accustomed to the use of a fowling-piece. Besides, the various kinds of grain which farmers raise in Canada enable them to enjoy a great many sorts of bread which are not known in Britain; and in the economy of the smallest establishments, their command of buck-wheat, rye, and Indian corn affords considerable scope for indulging the palate with a diversity of simple but nourishing fare. In the upper

province, our author assures us, the people live much better than they do in England; and as a proof of it he mentions that you will scarcely find a single hut, even in the back woods, which does not display many substantial comforts, such as immense loaves of beautiful bread, entire pigs hanging round the chimney, dried venison, trenches of milk, and bags of Indian corn. "My opportunities," says he, "of ascertaining the correctness of all the particulars I have advanced on this subject, have been equally various and satisfactory. I resided eight months in the most populous and extensive new settlement in the province, and daily witnessed the encreasing prosperity of thousands of people, most of whom had been forced from their native land by absolute poverty. No one who emigrates to Upper Canada with rational expectations will be disappointed. The country is becoming more agreeable every day, and only requires a large population to render it equal, in point of beauty, comfort, and convenience to any part of the earth. The delightful asylum which it affords to the poor and the unfortunate of every class is a circumstance that has been hitherto little known or appreciated, and one which is of particular importance at the present time, when agricultural and commercial embarrassments have reduced so many individuals to a state of destitution and misery."

It is only, however, to the class of persons just described that Canada presents any inducements. Society is not only extremely confined in its range, but also somewhat disagreeable in its materials; for, every man there being equal to every other man, in rank and consequence, and, at the same time, very ready to shew that he acknowledges no earthly superior, the courtesies of civilized life are not only neglected but positively contemned. The merchant and the capitalist would find no field for successful operations, in the new settlements of Upper Canada. A simple barter regulates all their exchanges of labour and produce; and as long as land is to be had *gratis*, or for a mere trifle, no man of sense will invest money in the purchase of a wilderness how boundless soever in extent. For the working class alone will emigration prove advantageous; and to agricultural labourers in particular, accustomed to ply the spade, the hoe, and the axe, the affluence which it holds out, as the certain reward of industry, is, no doubt, sufficiently tempting. Ireland could well afford a numerous and powerful accession to the inhabitants of Talbot Settlement, and of the other rising establishments which stretch along the fertile shores of Lake Erie.

The manufacturing districts of every part of the United Kingdom could, with advantage to themselves, aid the supply of settlers so necessary to reclaim that other fine country which extends to the westward of Superior; and it must unquestionably appear in the light of a powerful inducement to most of our countrymen, who find it expedient to leave their native land in search of an easier and more plentiful subsistence, that they will there still enjoy all the rights and the full protection of British subjects, and that in changing their locality they will not be called upon to renounce any of those feelings or natural ties, which in every heart not grossly depraved, bind man to those with whom he has shared the same sentiments of national pride, the same attachments, the same institutions and habits, breathed the same air, and even spoken the same language. Since the tide of emigration will flow across the Atlantic, let it be directed to the shores where the British flag waves on the fortress, and where the kindly impulse of British humanity will give a house to the stranger before he can build one for himself, and feed his family in the wilderness until he has sown and reaped his own fields. It is with these views that we recommended Mr. Howison's volume to our readers; as holding out the greatest encouragement to the emigrant to choose his new residence in the British colonies in preference to those of the United States; and as containing the best directions we have any where seen, to guide him in the first steps to be taken in selecting a proper station, securing a grant of land, conveying his family and goods into the interior, and, in short, in all those details upon which the success of an agricultural settler principally depends.

Among many other hints and directions to the emigrant our author points out the great importance of choosing a proper season for embarking; for, says he, should he not reach Quebec till the autumn, winter will be almost commencing before he arrives at York, and the badness of the roads and the inclemency of the weather will then make it difficult for him to travel to the new settlements, and securing the lands that are open for location. Even were he able to fix upon a lot and build a house before winter set in, he could not clear any land till spring, on account of the deepness of the snow and severe cold; while he would all the time be at the expense of supporting himself and his family in idleness. But if the emigrant reaches York in the month of July, he will find sufficient time to choose a good lot, erect a habitation, clear several acres of ground, and sow it with wheat or Indian

corn previous to the commencement of winter ; thus getting the start by a whole year of him who arrives late in the autumn, and who would only be preparing his land for seed when the other was reaping his first crop.

A passage to Quebec or Montreal can be had at present for about seven pounds, provisions included. Children are usually charged half price. At both the towns now mentioned, there are officers established, where persons, by paying a small fee, may obtain information about vacant lands, the expence of a grant, and the means of proceeding to the upper province. Emigrants should repair to these offices whenever they land ; and, after making the necessary enquiries, proceed immediately to York. It is highly injudicious to waste time in Quebec or Montreal, both because living is expensive, and because the people there know as little about the exact nature of the different lots of land open to settlers as we do in this country. Every man should see not only the settlement, but the farm which he proposes to occupy as his place of residence, before he come to any decision ; and therefore his interest is to hasten up the country as fast as possible, York being the centre of all transactions connected with the land business. Several steam-boats ply every day between Quebec and Montreal, the fare of which for steerage passengers is fifteen shillings. On reaching Montreal the emigrant should secure a place for himself and luggage in the *batteaux*, which are open boats that are rowed up the St. Lawrence, and usually make out the trip to Kingston in six or seven days. Those who travel in this way carry provisions for their own use. The whole expense will be about twenty-eight shillings for each person. From Kingston to York there is a steam-boat once a week, in which a passage may be procured for fifteen shillings. When arrived at the latter town the emigrant will receive information at the land-office in regard to the steps to be taken by him in order to obtain a grant ; the principal of which consists in affording evidence that he is a British subject. If he have a wife and family he should, if possible, leave them at York, whilst he himself proceeds into the country to fix upon their future residence ; a measure which Mr. Howison recommends, both because it would be expensive and inconvenient to carry them along with him from settlement to settlement, in the course of his search, and also because he must return to that place, after he has chosen his location, as it is called, in order to get it confirmed by the proper authorities.

We cannot proceed farther in these minute details. He who wishes to read for his own information, or with the benevolent intention of directing others, must have recourse to the work itself, a small portion of which we have now abstracted; we therefore conclude our remarks on the topic of emigration, by inserting a few reflections suggested to the author upon inspecting minutely the actual condition of the settlers throughout the province.

It is observable, in the first place, that they are all inclined to stop short of comfort, neatness, and even the decent and useful luxuries of life; contenting themselves with coarse abundance in food, and with a rude clownish plainness in their domestic accommodations. They are satisfied with being placed beyond the reach of want. Even the farmers of the Niagara district, many of whom have been thirty or forty years in the country, and now possess fine unincumbered farms, are, we are told, in no respects, superior to the inhabitants of the most recent settlements. They appear equally ignorant, equally unpolished; and, from their mode of life, almost equally poor. Their minds have made no advance; nor have their ideas of comfort and propriety expanded at all in proportion to their encresing wealth.

"I resided," says Mr. Howison, "many months in the Talbot Settlement, and during that time enjoyed abundant opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of its inhabitants, who form a democracy, such as, I believe, is hardly to be met with in any other part of the world. The difference in point of wealth which exists among them is yet too trifling to create any distinctions of rank, or to give one man more influence than another; therefore the utmost harmony prevails in the colony, and the intercourse of its people is characterized by politeness, respect, and even ceremony. They are hospitable, and upon the whole, extremely willing to assist each other in cases of difficulty. But the most extraordinary thing of all is, the liberality which they exercise towards emigrants, in immediately admitting them to live on an equality with themselves; for any poor starving peasant, who comes into the Settlement will meet with nearly the same respect as the wealthiest persons in it, captains of militia excepted. A deliberate inspection of a new settlement, however, cannot fail to sink mankind lower in the estimation of the observer than perhaps they ever were before. Human beings are there seen in a state of natural and inexcusable depravity, that can neither be palliated nor accounted for in any way except by referring to those evil propensities which appears to be inherent in all men, and which can be destroyed or counteracted only by the influence of reason, religion, and education. The apologists of the human race vainly tell us that men are

rendered vicious by artificial means, and that they are excited to evil by those miseries, disappointments and oppressions which are inseparable from an advanced and cultivated state of society. If we examine the wilds of North America, we will find men placed beyond the reach of want, enjoying unbounded liberty, all equal in power and property, and independent of each other. Such a combination of happy circumstances would seem well adapted to extinguish and repress evil habits and vicious propensities; but it has no effect of the kind whatever, for the inhabitants of the bountiful wilderness are as depraved in their morals, and as degraded in their ideas as the refuse population of a large city. It will be found that the lower classes are never either virtuous, happy, or respectable, unless they live in a state of subordination, and depend in some degree upon their superiors for occupation and subsistence."

The narrative of the author's progress from Montreal to the Talbot Settlement is sufficiently entertaining, and although given somewhat in the form of a journal, is altogether free from those minute and constantly recurring details which, in general, render diaries not a little tiresome. The boat navigation on the St. Lawrence and its tributary lakes, is described in a very lively manner, exhibiting to the imagination of an untraveller reader a variety of scenes not less novel than picturesque. The appearance of Indians ever and anon, with their wild costume and savage propensities, keeps alive the interest of these "Sketches," even in those parts of the delineation where nature herself becomes monotonous, and her rocks, forests, and waters cease to stimulate the fancy.

There is a phenomenon mentioned as occurring on Lake Ontario, which to us is equally wonderful and unaccountable, namely, the periodical increase and diminution of its waters. This takes place to a moderate degree every seven years, and to a very great extent every thirty or forty. In 1816, the waters of Ontario were seven feet and a half perpendicular above their ordinary height, and Lake Erie was affected in a similar way. As a proof of the great ebbs and flows witnessed on the former, the author saw the remains of a large storehouse, which had been built a few years before, in a situation that seemed quite inaccessible to the Lake, although the waters have surrounded and nearly demolished it. Now, when we consider that Lake Ontario is two hundred and thirty miles long, and in some parts sixty miles broad, the quantity of water required to increase its depth, and that of the contiguous lakes, seven feet and a half perpen-

dicular is so vast that, as Mr. Howison expresses it, it is impossible to conceive where its source can lie. The same phenomenon had likewise been observed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in the Upper Lakes, during his voyage to the north-west; the increase and decrease sometimes amounting to two or three feet.

There seems to be a similar rise and fall in the waters of the ocean itself, or at all events in those more confined portions of it which surround and wash the shores of Great Britain. From recent surveys it has been perfectly ascertained that the sea is encroaching upon the land from Caithness and Cornwall, and equally on the whole line of the eastern and western coasts. It is also placed beyond all reasonable doubt that the level of the ocean once stood considerably higher on the British shores than it does at present, and consequently that there must, in some intermediate period, have been a recession or fall in the waters, both of the Atlantic and the North sea. What length of time may be consumed in the mighty ebb and flow of oceans, it would be in vain for us to hazard even a conjecture; and we are, of course, in an equal degree of ignorance in regard to the physical causes which periodically operate such a stupendous vicissitude. It is enough, perhaps, that those facts be marked and recorded; leaving to future generations the task of registering their return, and philosophizing on their principles.

One of the finest natural objects on the line of lakes and rivers in Upper Canada is, without doubt, the celebrated cataract of Niagara. On leaving York, in his voyage upwards, "my attention," says Mr. H. "was soon roused by an interesting object; for one of the passengers approaching, asked me if I observed a faint cloud towards the west. That cloud, said he, is the spray which arises from the Falls of Niagara. A thin white vapour was all I could discover, for we were yet more than thirty miles distant from the cataract itself."

The river from which these Falls are named assumes a magnificent appearance immediately above Queenston. The channel narrows considerably, and the banks rise to the height of three hundred feet, while at the same time they become wild and rocky, and are thickly covered with trees of various kinds. Over the precipice thus formed, many of the American soldiers, we are told, at the close of the battle of Queenston heights, threw themselves to escape the pursuit of their enemies. They were so warmly pressed by our

troops and the Indians, and had so little prospect of obtaining quarter from the latter, that a great number wildly flung themselves over the steep, and tried to save their lives by catching hold of the trees that grew upon it. Many were, as might have been expected, frightfully dashed to pieces upon the rocks, and others who reached the river perished in their attempt to swim across it, whilst several who had dropped among the cliffs without receiving any injury, were afterwards transfixed and killed, by falling upon their own bayonets, when in the act of leaping from one spot to another. Our brave General Brook was killed at the same battle. He fell close to the road which leads through Queenston village, and an aged thorn marks the place where he sunk when the fatal ball entered his vitals. He is now styled the hero of Upper Canada, and had he lived, says our traveller, there is no doubt but the war would have terminated very differently from what it did. The Canadian farmers are not overburthened with sensibility; yet "I have seen several of them shed tears when an eulogium was pronounced on the immortal and generous-minded defender of their country."

We have not room for the description of Niagara Falls. Language fails the ambitious tourist in this part of his work; for, attempting to exhibit to his readers the terrific grandeur of the scene *as reflected* from his own mind, he occasionally allows himself to swell and foam without producing any natural impression. It is, however, an imposing piece of natural magnificence. The height of the great fall is about 150 feet, whilst the width of the precipice over which the river throws itself is not less than 3240 feet. Many years ago an Indian while attempting to cross the stream above the Falls in a canoe, had his paddle struck from his hands by coming in contact with the rapidity of the current. He was immediately hurried towards the cataract, and seeing that death was now inevitable, he covered his head with his cloak, and resigned himself to his fate. When, however, he approached the edge of the cataract, shuddering nature revolted so strongly, that he was seen to start up and stretch out his arms; but at this moment the canoe upset, and he was actually ingulphed amidst the fury of the boiling surge. "A dog which I have seen, was carried over the Great Fall and suffered no injury except the fracture of two of his ribs. Dead wild ducks are found in great numbers along the banks of the river near the bottom of the cataract on the mornings that succeed dark and stormy nights. Some peo-

ple suppose that these animals are carried over while asleep; but more probably they get entangled among the rapids above, and are swept away before they are aware of their danger."

Such an immense body of water acting with a force so great on the rocky channel over which it passes cannot fail in the course of time to wear it down, and thereby to alter the appearance, and ultimately to change the place of the cataract. Most of the old inhabitants of Upper Canada agree in this statement respecting the alteration which has taken place in the shape of the Great, or Horse Shoe, Cataract, within their recollection; the figure now alluded to being no longer perceptible in the margin of the huge platform over which the river plunges. Mr. Howison thinks he could trace a strong natural evidence in support of the opinion, that the Falls were once as low down as Queenston, being not less than seven miles from their present locality. The precipices which form the two sides of the river have, he observed, a close resemblance to each other in form and outline, and the elevations of their respective strata exactly correspond. The cliffs in many places bear distinct marks of the agency of water, sixty or seventy feet above the present level of the river, and are in a great measure destitute of that roughness, and those projecting points which always characterize rocks that have been disunited by a convulsion of nature. At Queenston ferry the river is at least one hundred feet deeper than any where below, and there the basin of the cataracts must have been originally, if they were ever so far below their present situation, as it is reasonable to suppose they must once have been.

There is nothing very improbable, we admit, in the supposition that the magnificent canal, from Queenston to the Falls, has been cut by the resistless hand of nature; nor even in the expectation indulged by our imaginative topographer that the process of corrosion and detrition may be so long continued as to remove the cataracts to the very mouth of Lake Erie itself. There is an agent at work fully equal to the task, stupendous as it is; and the only element necessary to complete it, even upon an assignable principle, is the all-powerful one of *time*.

For the information of such readers as may have occasion to visit this wonder of Upper Canada, we beg leave to state that "any person who has nerve enough (as I had) may plunge his hand into the water of the Great Fall, after it is projected over the precipice, merely by lying down flat, with

his face beyond the edge of the table (which at one time extended fifty feet over the cliffs that support it) and stretching out his arm to the utmost extent. The experiment is truly a horrible one, and such as I would not wish to repeat; for even to this day I feel a shuddering and recoiling sensation when I recollect having been in the posture above described."

As our acquaintance with those remote regions increases, we are more and more struck with the immense capabilities which they every where present, and the encouragement they hold out to the enterprise of the European who can carry with him the combined and irresistible powers of his art and his assiduity. Beyond the farthest bounds of the Canadas there stretches out towards the west and north, a track of country which, practically speaking, has no limits, and no owner; on which the eye of science has never yet been opened, and the hand of skilful industry has never yet exerted its transforming energies. A wilderness at present, it notwithstanding affords all the means for the population and power of a mighty empire. Lakes and navigable rivers every where supply the readiest channels for conducting internal commerce, as well as for opening an intercourse with the most distant nations of the earth; whilst the wide-spreading forests promise inexhaustible materials for a marine, to occupy hereafter the majestic waters of the Hudson and the Superior, and to ride at anchor in those numerous bays and inlets which emboss their shores, at present the resort of aquatic birds, or the occasional haunt of the wandering savage.

The "Recollections of the United States of America," which compose a part of this volume, are lively and entertaining, without having any pretensions to novelty either in the way of description or political opinion. We have, however, already reached our limits and must therefore take leave of Mr. Howison; which we do in good humour with him as a well-principled, kindly-hearted writer, free from all unseemly prejudices against men or things, and only the more attached to his own country that he has seen something of the modes and doings which prevail in others. But, before he appear again as an author let him endeavour to get rid of the provincial inaccuracy which attaches to the use of the poor auxiliaries *shall* and *will*.

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

WORKS IN THE PRESS.

The *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, which has been suspended in consequence of the Failure of its late Publisher, has fallen under the Management of new Proprietors, who will publish the fifth Part of that Work on the 1st of January, 1822; and Arrangements have at length been made, which leave no doubt whatever of its being for the future regularly continued.

The Rev. Dr. *Lloyd*, Professor of Mathematics, *Trinity College, Dublin*, will shortly publish a Volume of *Discourses, chiefly Doctrinal*.

Dr. *Wilson Philip* has just ready for Publication, in one Volume octavo, a second Edition of his *Treatise on Indigestion*, with some additional Observations.

The Rev. *Joshua Marsden* has nearly ready for Publication, *Forest Musings*, or Delineations of Christian Experience in Verse, to which are prefixed, Sketches of the early Life of the Author, in one small Volume, with a Portrait.

Cases illustrative of the Treatment of Diseases of the Ear, including the Affections of the Meatus Auditorius, also those of the Tympanum, &c. with Practical Remarks relative to the Deaf and Dumb; by *John Harrison Curtis, Esq.* Aurist to the King, &c. will soon appear.

The *Carnival of Death*, a Satirical Poem, in two Cantos, by Mr. *Bailey*, Author of *What is Life*, and other Poems, is in the Press.

Mr. *R. Bloomfield*, Author of the *Farmer's Boy*, has in the Press, *The May-Day of the Muses*.

Mr. *James Mill*, Author of a History of British India, is printing *Elements of the Science of Political Economy*.

Mr. *French*, late of the University of *Edinburgh*, has circulated a Specimen of his *Translation of Telemachus into Latin*.

Mr. *Boys* is preparing the second Part of the enlarged Edition of his *Text Book for 1822*.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR DECEMBER, 1821.

ART. I. *The Moral Tendency of Divine Revelation asserted and illustrated, in Eight Discourses preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1821, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A. Canon of Salisbury. By the Rev. John Jones, M.A. of Jesus College, Archdeacon of Merioneth, and Rector of Llanbedr.* 8vo. pp. 432. Parker, Oxford; Rivingtons, London. 1821.

THOSE who are at all acquainted with the present state of religious opinion, can scarcely doubt the expediency of that enquiry which Mr. Jones has chosen for the subject of these Lectures. The moral tendency of Divine Revelation has been more or less brought into question ever since the Reformation. The necessity of controverting one of the most unscriptural tenets of the Romish Church, the doctrine of merit, induced the advocates of the Protestant cause to use such strong language in speaking of the unworthiness of our good works, as to lay the foundation for the opposite, but equally fatal error of those, who decried them as unprofitable and unnecessary. The Church of England, indeed, never wanted divines, who were capable of preserving the middle course of truth; and their writings, as well as her own authoritative language, have altogether exempted her from the charge of verging towards either extreme. While she has strongly condemned the error of the Romanists, and maintained that the Holy Scriptures exclude all works from justification or election, she explains their language as referring only to confidence in works, or conceit of merit. She asserts, that their presence is not excluded, but necessarily

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required to our justification, as also to the making of our election sure. She follows the great Apostle in declaring their necessity as conditions of acceptance; while she strongly denies "any causal efficiency in them, for procuring these or the like blessings of God; least of all for obtaining of eternal life, unto which good works are most necessary*." Writers, however, have been found, not only without the pale of the Church, but also among those especially entrusted with the promulgation of her doctrines, who have either been incapable of drawing these accurate distinctions, or have been unwilling to submit their own private interpretations of Scripture to the correction of her collective wisdom. And, as in the earlier times of the Reformation, they were led by their zealous abhorrence of popish doctrines to the very verge of Antinomianism; so, in later years, from an excessive anxiety to magnify the grace of the Gospel, and to counteract the injurious representations of those who appeared to lessen its value, by assigning too much power to human nature, and too much weight to human virtue in the attainment of salvation, some divines have spoken so incautiously on this important point, as to make it seem doubtful whether it be indeed true, that God will not bestow eternal life on any but the righteous. Hence a notion prevails among many who esteem themselves to be Christians of no ordinary purity and strictness, that an evil life is not very dangerous, where there is a right belief: since faith in the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel is essential to salvation; but the same necessity does not lie on us to live according to the precepts of Christ, as to believe in the divinity of his character, and the truth of his mission, and to rely upon the efficacy of his atonement. To counteract the mischievous operation of such an opinion, Mr. Jones undertakes to shew, that the great object of Divine Revelation has ever been a moral one; that it was originally given to retain man in that state of uprightness, in which he was created; and that after the Fall it was renewed, as the Apostle says, at sundry times and in divers manners, for the purpose of recovering him from the disease which he had contracted. "It was never," as he says, "a mere communication of speculative science, nor an arbitrary imposition of useless precepts;" but "it was plainly the design of the Almighty, in revealing his will to man, to teach him the way of righteousness, and to direct him to walk therein, to deter him from vice, and to shew him how inconsistent it is, not only with

* Works of Thomas Jackson, Tom. iii. p. 571.

the obedience due to his Creator, but with his own nature, with the perfection for which it was designed, and of which it was capable." P. 25.

With this view he argues, that this must have been the case, because God is shewn to be essentially holy by the representations of his nature, which the Scriptures give us, and by the history of his proceedings, which they contain *. He insists that God, himself a holy Being, created man in his own image, a holy being also, after the likeness of his moral perfections, and that he intended him so to continue †: that his imperfections and his corruption are caused by sin, which he brought into the world by his wilful disobedience to the divine command ‡: and as this disobedience separated him from God, and rendered him the object of his wrath as a sinful creature, so his restoration to the divine favour must be attended by his restoration to that holiness which first recommended him to his Almighty Creator's approbation §. He then shews that, in the revelation which God has made to man, he has provided him with ample means of moral improvement, by precepts of holiness, by symbolical institutions, by moral discipline, and by the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit ||. He investigates the objections which have been taken against the moral tendency of revelation, and shews that they have originated in a misconception of some leading doctrines of the Gospel. And he enters at some length into an examination of two of these, the doctrine of salvation by faith ¶, and the doctrine of election **, for the purpose of proving that, when properly understood, they are by no means repugnant to his main position; for that the faith of the Gospel includes a belief of doctrines which contain in themselves the most powerful incentives to the performance of moral duties; and that election, in its real scriptural sense, is an obligation to morality, in as much as it distinguishes from all others, those whom God knoweth to be his by this character, that they "depart from iniquity."

This hasty sketch of the general scope and arrangement of these Lectures, may be sufficient to shew, that Mr. Jones has not entered upon a barren or unprofitable discussion. He has not employed himself in investigating abstract questions of theological science, in combating speculative errors, or in drawing subtle distinctions; but he has undertaken to defend and illustrate the moral tendency of Divine Revelation,

* Sermon II. † Sermon III. ‡ Sermon IV. § Sermon V.
 || Sermon VI. ¶ Sermon VII. ** Sermon VIII.

by shewing that the fundamental principle to which it requires our assent is this, that God will not bestow eternal life on any but the righteous : a principle which the learned Bishop Bull does not hesitate to represent as more fundamental than any article of our Creed ; in as much as upon the supposition of its truth, the necessity of all the other articles depends. From the manner in which Mr. Jones discusses this important subject, it is evident that he has carefully considered it in all its bearings ; and that he has been accustomed to draw from those pure wells of apostolic doctrine which the labours of our best theologians have opened for our use. If his statements are sometimes less forcible than they might have been rendered, their deficiency in strength must be attributed to an excessive anxiety to lay the subject under consideration fully before his readers. Skillful compression would, doubtless, on many occasions, have added vigour to his reasoning ; had the Sermons been shorter, they would have been more impressive.

It appears, indeed, from the preface, that the whole of the volume, as now published, was not delivered from the pulpit : and, in several instances, Mr. Jones seems to have since introduced collateral discussions, with a view of more fully illustrating his design, which will perhaps be considered rather as injurious impediments to the natural progress of his argument. But, that our readers may form their own judgment, we shall endeavour to let Mr. Jones speak for himself ; by bringing forward some specimens of his reasoning and his language, with a view of shewing how he has treated the more important and difficult parts of his subject ; and the judicious use which he has often made of the opportunities it afforded him of impressing upon the younger portion of his auditors those rules to which it behoves them to adhere, if they aspire after the honourable and responsible office of labourers in the vineyard of Christ, and hope for the reward of those who shall be approved of God as having rightly divided the word of truth.

In his first Sermon, Mr. Jones undertakes to prove, that Divine Revelation is the only source of religious instruction ; and that the design and tendency of that instruction has ever been the moral improvement of mankind. If man, he argues, was originally made by God, it must be no less true that he was originally taught by the same divine Being. And he who first taught man, and endowed him with the capacity of understanding what he was taught, could alone restore his knowledge, if at any time he should have lost or corrupted it. But as all man's knowledge in religion and morals must have been originally derived from

the instructions of his Creator; and as every renewed revelation of God's will has been made for the purpose of keeping up in the mind of man a belief of his existence, and a knowledge of his will; we may infer that He who first willed man to be a holy and a happy creature, can have no other object in every subsequent manifestation of his will, but to enable man to recover his lost uprightness, and thus to restore him to his lost happiness. Divine Revelation, if it be impartially examined, will be found clearly to demonstrate this truth: in it God has condescended to plead his own cause, and to repel the reproaches of the foolish, the insinuations of the crafty, and the daring blasphemies of shameless depravity, by exhibiting himself as a teacher of righteousness, and as a rewarder of those who diligently seek him in the performance of those great moral precepts, obedience to which he has distinctly declared to be the only condition of his favour.

This indeed is a truth so obvious to every impartial and unprejudiced reader of the Scriptures, that Mr. Jones seems to think that some apology may be required for presuming so far upon the patience of his hearers, as to introduce before them a view of this subject, the plainness and simplicity of which, the least exercised in theological studies must at once perceive and acknowledge. But, while the present state of religious opinion shews, that it is by no means unseasonable to insist in the way of controversy upon the moral tendency of God's word; the history of human conduct, and the strong testimony which it continually bears to the account of his fall, and to the influence of that evil principle then implanted in his nature, will ever render it necessary to appeal to his reason and his conscience in support of the duty of obedience to a moral law promulgated by divine authority.

“ Neither the flaming sword set to guard the Tree of Life, nor the burning terrors of Sinai, nor the clear though mild declarations of the Preacher on the Mount, have been able to secure the revelations of Heaven from being made subservient to the errors and the vices of men. Scarcely indeed is there any error or any vice, which has not at one time or other sought to sanction its enormity by some unhappy perversion of revealed truth. Doctrines have been taught, as contained in the Book of God, completely at variance with all moral obligation, and at once derogatory to His righteousness, and subversive of human virtue. This is attested by the whole current of that history which has informed us of the manner in which man has received the instructions of his Maker, and which in truth is frequently nothing but

an account of the various misrepresentations to which the sacred Oracles have been subjected since they were first promulgated to the world. The ingenious subtleties of philosophy, and the wild fictions of poetic fancy, were equally employed in polluting that small stream of traditionary instruction, which, had it run clear, would have given men a correct, though a faint view of their origin and their duty. But the philosophers and the poets of Paganism may perhaps be excused, from the difficulties by which they were surrounded; a greater guilt and a greater misery must assuredly fall upon those, who have corrupted even the plainest testimonies of God's written word. The scepticism of the Sadducee, and the hypocrisy of the Pharisee, the uncleanness of the Nicolaitan, the ungovernable anarchy of the early Anabaptist, and the direct encouragement to wickedness afforded by the principles of the Antinomian, together with those ever varying shades of error by which vice would fain conceal some part of its deformity, seek each of them to support itself by a pretended regard to that word, which, in its design and in its form, is most clearly opposed to them all." P. 27.

The cause of these various corruptions of the truth is properly traced to the two opposite principles which contend for the mastery in the human heart.

"Men will have a religion; it is natural to them as creatures, and relieves that feeling of dependence of which they cannot be insensible, and it is their only solace in distress; but they will not restrain their passions; these must be gratified, while they have any means of gratifying them, and nothing can be admitted which would insist upon that restraint as a necessary part of religion." P. 32.

The public teacher therefore, who wishes to adapt his instructions to the real wants of his hearers, should be guided in their course, as Mr. Jones observes, by the course of revelation itself. He should "ever make the law the schoolmaster to prepare his people for Christ." He should duly instruct them in the principles of moral duty, and endeavour thoroughly to convince them that to these principles they are bound to adhere; and then they will be prepared effectually to lay hold on the precious promises of the Gospel.

"It is thus alone that the glad tidings of the gospel can now be proclaimed without danger. Nothing is more true, than 'that Christ came to save sinners *';' and nothing is more obvious, than that this great truth is capable of the most shocking abuse. The sinner, who would really be benefited by it, must approach it with that due preparation, which a right knowledge of God and of him-

* 1 Tim. i. 15.

self can alone enable him to make. He, who knows God and himself, will acknowledge without difficulty his obligation to obey the law of God; and he will be well aware, that from such obligation no subsequent dispensation can ever release him. As the creature of God, he must be bound to obey his commands as long as he continues in existence. When therefore to such a person a prospect is opened of obtaining pardon for his manifold transgressions through Jesus Christ, he will be in no danger of perverting that pardon to unworthy purposes; he will receive it with gratitude, as a dispensation of unmerited mercy, but he will not deceive himself with an idea, that because it relieves him from fear of vengeance for his past crimes, it therefore gives him a licence for future irregularity. He knows that this is impossible; he knows that he is under an indissoluble bond to obey the law of God; and that though the Almighty may forgive him his sins, that forgiveness can never diminish his obligation to obedience. Such a man, while he heartily thanks God for his mercy, will never abuse that mercy; will never think that it lets him loose from his duty, or changes the relation in which he stands to his Creator. And if the future pastor of the Church would preach the truth in Jesus, without danger of leading his people into error, it is thus that he must prepare himself. He must be thoroughly instructed in the whole system of revelation; he must begin where that begins; he must trace it in its course, and mark the steps by which the divine dispensations have been advanced and developed; and he must not apply that last healing unction of God's goodness in Christ, till it can be done without the infringement of sound morals, and without diminishing the authority and obligation of the law of God." P. 39.

Having thus opened his subject, Mr. Jones proceeds in his second sermon, to state the arguments for the moral tendency of revelation which may be drawn from our knowledge of the nature of its author. Men, he observes, will serve God according to their ideas of his nature; for the object of all religious services being to conciliate his favour, those services will be offered to the Supreme Being in the form which may be thought most acceptable to him; and that form will obviously be thought most acceptable, which best accords with the notions men have learned to form of his attributes. But the nature of God is essentially holy, and thus it is represented to us in the Scriptures: and the history of the divine proceedings which they contain is an illustration of this great moral character of the divinity, as displayed in the government of mankind.

"Looking at the whole of the divine proceedings, from the first creation of man to his final admission to the new Jerusalem, we shall see clearly that our Almighty and Omniscient Maker has exhibited throughout in the brightest colours, the portraiture of

his own righteousness; has acted from beginning to end, as we would say, upon moral principles, and stamped every transaction with the impress of his unfailing integrity." P. 63.

If then it be true, that as we think of God, so likewise we shall think of his service, and of the necessity of serving him at all; and if he be so represented in the Scriptures as to afford no pretence for supposing that he is otherwise than most pure and most holy; how can it be imagined that he will be satisfied with any service which is not recommended by its purity, or that his will can be performed by any but the righteous.

"We profess" says Mr. Jones, "to serve a Holy God, and yet we hope to please Him without holiness. The revelation which he has made of his will, and in which he has stamped in visible characters the impress of his own integrity, is yet so far misunderstood and misrepresented, as to become to many, not what its Divine Author intended it, an instrument of making them better, but a mean of lulling the conscience asleep, of healing its wounds slightly, and speaking peace to the sinner, when there is no solid ground of peace to his mind. Though the Almighty has declared in express terms, that he is a God of righteousness, purity, and holiness; though in all his dealings with mankind he has, by his promises and threatenings, by his rewards and punishments, shown the most unequivocal hatred of vice, and the most sincere regard for virtue; yet are there those who will not see, that his revelation is designed for the moral improvement of man, but draw from it excuses for their sin, and apologies for their iniquity. But surely, under whatever disguise this error may be concealed, it can arise from nothing but a love of sin, cherished and indulged in the heart. The character of Divine Revelation is too strongly marked to admit of any but a wilful perversion of its truths in support of criminal conduct. It has some things which possibly we cannot understand; but it has nothing, which an honest man can mistake as showing any favour to vice. The God, whom it reveals, is revealed as infinitely holy, just, and true; and the religion which it teaches, partakes of the same holiness, is invested with the same mantle of justice and the same robe of purity. Coming from the fountain of goodness, and professing to lead men thither, it must, in reason, and it does in fact, carry with it no small portion of the goodness from which it emanated, and has in all its provisions a direct tendency to plant and to cherish a love of real virtue in those who duly receive and faithfully obey its instructions." P. 78.

No more convincing proof can be afforded us of what God intended that man should be, than that contained in the record of his character as originally formed by his Maker. God made man holy, for he created him in his own image: the

propensities and the capacities which he gave him, all fitted him for the object of his creation, which was the promotion of God's glory ; and for the end of his existence, which was the enjoyment of that happiness inseparable from God's favour. He fell indeed from that state of purity and happiness in which God had placed him ; but this was the consequence of disobeying the will of God, and every fresh revelation made to him of that will, as its primary object has been his restoration to the original character and privileges of his nature, must have had a moral tendency, or it would not have been calculated to answer that end for which the infinite wisdom of God vouchsafed to bestow it.

Such appears to us to be the natural scope of Mr. Jones's argument ; but the third sermon which is devoted to its illustration, is of a very desultory character ; and we have often failed in tracing the clue by which he has been guided through the several disquisitions of which it is composed.

In the fourth sermon Mr. Jones shews, that the fall of man was the consequence of his own act ; that his misery is the effect of his sin ; and that there is no appearance in Scripture of any decree which made the fall of man necessary, no pretence therefore for drawing any argument from this melancholy event which may destroy the moral motives to obedience, or annihilate the moral guilt of transgression. The cause of that change which took place in the relations between man and his Creator, the reason why he was condemned to misery by Him who formed him at first, and formed him for happiness, are assigned by revelation in the plainest and most intelligible terms : and as Mr. Jones observes, it would be well for the peace and virtue of man, if instead of presumptuously inquiring further, and employing himself in forming schemes and systems of subtle but perverse ingenuity, he would rest contented with this plain declaration of the truth, and consider with the attention it deserves, the important moral lesson it is designed to teach him.

“ And is it possible,” says he, “ to conceive any thing better calculated to impress the hearts of all men with an utter detestation of every kind and degree of sin, than this short history of its ruinous effects, in the very outset of Divine Revelation ? This plain narrative, perplexed by no sophistical difficulties, is surely entitled to our most attentive consideration. For when we reflect, what was the state of things before this root of bitterness was introduced among them : when we view the peace and happiness and blessed harmony of every thing in heaven and earth, and see the Almighty himself smiling in benevolence upon the pure enjoyments of his creatures ; and yet that all this was changed at once into gloom and wretch-

edness the moment sin was committed ; it is impossible not to discern the detestable depravity and insufferable pollution of what could thus defile and deface the works of an All-wise and Omnipotent Creator. It is stamped at once as odious in the sight of God, and ruinous to man. And it must surely be acknowledged, that the revelation, which thus commences with a detail of the sad effects of sin, in destroying the fair fabric of human happiness, does lay a strong basis of moral instruction, by showing, in an instance calculated to interest the whole race of man, that the commission of sin cannot consist with his well-being. It originally deprived the creature of his Maker's favour, and it must for ever continue to be offensive to that essential righteousness, which belongs to the immutable nature of God." P. 142.

When his subject leads him to consider the calvinistic doctrine of decrees, as it may seem to furnish an argument against the moral tendency of revelation, by destroying the free agency and consequent moral responsibility of man to whom the revelation has been given ; he speaks in becoming terms of the presumption of those, who thus affect to be wise above what is written ; and having violently severed a few passages of Scripture from their context, proceed to construct upon their own interpretation of these passages, a system a great part of which rests upon nothing but their own gratuitous assumption ; while it stands as a system in direct opposition to the manifest tenour of the whole language of those divine oracles, to the meaning of which it was designed to furnish a clue.

" Be it, that the Omniscient, foreseeing the fall of his creature, did provide a remedy for that fall even before it had taken place : what then ? Because His mercy was prompt to devise means by which the total destruction of man might be prevented, is it just or reasonable or decent to conclude, that any part of that destruction was owing to His decree ? No such decree appears in Scripture ; and we may therefore fairly aver, that it has existed only in the imaginations of those, who, upon so awful a subject, have too much indulged their own fancied infallibility. The ground upon which so audacious a charge was made ought surely to have been, not only firm, but prominently conspicuous ; which in this instance is far from being the case. Their argument rests upon this, that whatever God foresees, He must therefore have decreed : and why so ? Because the understanding of these men cannot reconcile the foresight with the contingency of future events. Where will human arrogance stop ? If these men cannot understand and reconcile all the apparent difficulties of the divine proceedings, does it follow, that the Almighty himself cannot ? Or is it too humiliating to acknowledge, that the ' judgments ' even of the Omniscient are, according to the declarations of his word, ' unsearchable, and his

ways past finding out * ?' As to all more difficulties, in reconciling one part of those 'judgments' with another, this answer ought in every case to be sufficient; that where we see but a part of God's proceedings, it does not become us to decide dogmatically upon the whole. Receiving each separately with a full assurance of faith, as God has been pleased to reveal it, we should rely upon His wisdom and justice, that at last every thing will appear consistent, and perfectly consonant to the purest benevolence and the most exact equity." P. 152.

The subject is thus placed upon safe grounds, and grounds upon which every man who professes the faith of Christianity in that humble spirit by which a Christian ought to be distinguished, will be content to leave it.

Mr. Jones however has deemed it necessary to carry his argument further: he imagines, that there is not that difficulty in conceiving the fore-knowledge of future events to be consistent with their contingency which has been generally felt. The attempt which he has made to illustrate the subject, will probably be more satisfactory to his own mind than to others. The subject ever will remain difficult; and we see not why we should be unwilling to acknowledge its difficulty. "God's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts:" we can only know in part, for the subject is far too mighty to be comprehended by the limited grasp of our intellectual faculties. Surely then, if it be not derogatory to our character as rational beings, to withhold our decision respecting any question properly within our ken, until we have it placed before us in all its bearings; it never can degrade us to acknowledge, that we cannot find out the Almighty to perfection: and that we are baffled in all our endeavours to bring his attributes, and the operations of his secret counsels, clearly within our view and comprehension. But, though we may not be able to understand fully how the divine fore-knowledge is consistent with human free agency; and though language may fail us, when we endeavour to explain even our limited conceptions of such a subject to others; and we may find that after all our labour, we have "darkened counsel by words without knowledge;" still there is no difficulty at all in believing that perfect knowledge is an attribute of the Divinity, and that he has endowed man with free agency, and rendered the latter entirely consistent with the former. These propositions we may *reasonably*, and we ought *entirely* to believe, because we receive them upon the authority of God. For it must be a strangely perverted mind which will not allow that such authority affords a far

* Rom. xiv. 33.

more rational ground for belief, than any apparent difficulties which may present themselves to us when we attempt to discuss the question can suggest for scepticism.

Another opinion has been hazarded respecting the effect of sin upon the relation subsisting between God and man, which, if it could be maintained, would effectually destroy that moral bearing of revelation for which Mr. Jones is contending.

“ It has been asserted that sin is not so displeasing to God in some persons as in others ; by which it would appear, that it is not sin which the Almighty hates, but the persons by whom it is committed : for while some fall under his heaviest displeasure for their wickedness, others, though guilty of the same wickedness, find no diminution of his favour.” P. 164.

This monstrous doctrine has been seriously defended by reference to the case of David : but, as Mr. Jones has shewn, that case when carefully considered will afford it no sanction. The message of the prophet to the offending monarch, and the grievous temporal punishments by which his sin was followed, mark in strong colours the wrath and vengeance of a most just God. And, unless we deny the efficacy of contrite confession and unfeigned repentance in restoring the sinner to the favour of his offended Creator, we surely can see nothing like an encouragement to sin in the extension of the divine mercy to David.

“ He was a sinner, but not a hardened sinner. If he was eminent in crime, he was also no less eminent in contrition. The tears which he shed, the groans which he uttered, the unqualified acknowledgment which he made of his own criminality, show, that he was far from seeking to justify his conduct, or hide from himself or others its shocking turpitude and depravity. And let it be observed, that the remission of the most awful part of the punishment was not announced to him, till he had made that acknowledgment.” P. 168.

Mr. Jones is therefore fully justified in his assertion, that

“ The Almighty took care that his treatment of David should be to no man an apology for transgression. He vindicated in the clearest manner the purity of his own attributes, and gave an eminent proof of his eternal detestation of sin, and of the consequences which are for ever annexed to it by the order of his providence.” P. 169.

It being then clear, that iniquity alone caused the separation between man and his Maker ; and the history of the Fall, by which this truth is established, proving most plainly, that

the revelation contained in the Scriptures, was intended to impress men with a conviction, that sin ever was, and ever will be odious in the sight of God : the next argument in support of the moral tendency of divine revelation, is drawn by Mr. Jones, from the mode of recovering the divine favour which it points out to man. All the different denominations of Christians who admit the authority of the Old and New Testaments, agree, that they reveal to us the plan and means of our restoration to unalloyed and uninterrupted happiness ; but, agreeing in this, they differ most widely from each other in their ideas of the nature of the plan and means which they profess to find in them. If it can be shewn, that the Scriptures hold out to us no hope of a favourable acceptance with God, independent of a restoration to holiness ; this will in itself very materially affect the moral character of revelation, and greatly “ enhance its moral bearings ” upon the conduct of those by whom it is received. To establish this position, is the main object of Mr. Jones, in his fifth sermon. As we are plainly taught, that man was deprived of his happiness in the enjoyment of God’s favour on account of his transgression ; and that “ with God there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning ; ” we might infer, even if the Scriptures had been silent on the subject, that man cannot be restored to that favour, while he persists in the very course by which it was originally forfeited.

“ This consequence,” says Mr. Jones, “ appears to follow so necessarily from the consideration of God’s unchangeable nature, and the very idea of consistency and truth, that it cannot be denied without an evident contradiction to the plainest principles of sober reasoning.” P. 180.

But we are not left to the unassisted guidance of our reason for the discovery of this important truth. The language of Holy Writ, upon the subject, is peculiarly explicit. The text which Mr. Jones has chosen for the Sermon before us, Hebrews xii. 14, clear and satisfactory as it is alone, is only one of innumerable passages bearing testimony in the fullest and the plainest manner to the same effect. And as Mr. Jones remarks, this doctrine so powerfully influential upon the entire cast and diameter of man,

“ Does not rest upon any single text, however explicit, nor even upon an accumulation of texts, nor upon the inferences deduced from them ; it forms rather the great leading idea which runs through the whole of revelation, upon which the plan itself is made to turn, and to which all its propositions and declarations directly tend, as to their ultimate object.” P. 183.

Upon this part of his subject, as might be expected, he expatiates throughout the remainder of his discourse; shewing, by a review of the whole scheme of our religion as it was gradually developed; first, by the announcement of mercy, which the Almighty, even in the moment of wrath, and when passing sentence upon the sin of our first parents, condescended to make to them; and then, by the various revelations of his gracious purposes made to patriarchs and prophets, and in the law of Moses, until that time when "life and immortality were brought to light" through the Gospel; that before man could again see that Lord, from whose presence he was banished by sin, he must regain the holiness which he had thus lost.

" 'The law of Moses,' as he observes, using the words of the learned Dr. Hammond, 'had a two-fold aspect; on one side it represented to its observers that original law and first covenant, which God made with Adam in Paradise, and which demanded unsinning obedience; and on the other it carried the mind forward to that second covenant of mercy, in which, as the terms of acceptance would be less rigid, so the means of fulfilling them would be more ample and more efficient.' But viewed in either light, it still taught the same lesson of God's hatred of sin and love of integrity. In its moral precepts, rightly understood, it deserved clearly the character given it by St. Paul of 'holy, just, and good *; and if from the weakness of man it failed to make him like itself, it must yet have impressed him with a sense, that the God, who gave so good a law, and insisted upon its being obeyed, was himself good, and could take delight in nothing but what was just. And even in its typical institutions, it was designed evidently to carry the mind beyond itself, and to impress it with higher and purer ideas. All its ablutions, and all its sacrifices; all its sacramental rites, and all the care which it prescribed before any sacred work should be entered upon, proceeded upon this plain principle, that God could not be approached without preparation; and that the preparation required was intended to remove what was displeasing to Him, and to supply what was approved in his sight. However these rites may be conceived to be merely ceremonial, and however confined in their effect, still they were calculated to instruct those who used them in this truth, that the God whom they approached was a Holy God, and required holiness of some kind or other in those who presumed to draw near to Him. Their notions of that holiness might be gross and carnal, but some notion they must have had, that the Being, who commanded them so carefully to cleanse themselves before they appeared in his presence, was in his nature essentially and peculiarly pure, that He hated sin and delighted in goodness. Every thing they heard and saw tended to

* Rom. vii. 12.

inspire them with this idea. His people were a holy people; his priesthood was a holy priesthood, set apart for his service by much and solemn preparation; his house was a holy house, and even in that house, though the whole of it was holy, yet the part which was honoured by the more immediate display of the Divine glory was distinguished by a correspondent increase of sanctity. In every step which men took towards God, they were called upon to purify themselves, and the nearer any one was permitted to approach to Him, the greater was the necessity of his being cleansed from sin, and the greater was the holiness with which it was necessary he should be invested. All this might no doubt be suffered to pass away without effect; but it cannot be denied, that one clear principle is distinctly marked throughout, that the holiness of God's nature is displayed in a striking manner, and that the lesson is again and again inculcated, that no man can come to Him acceptably without in some degree participating in his holiness." P. 198.

In the Gospel, as it completed the revelation of God's will to man, the necessity of holiness is set before us in the fullest and clearest manner; and as no motive which could bind us to its performance is passed over in silence; so no plea can be afforded for the omission of any branch of moral duty, either by any ambiguity in the terms in which the precepts of our Saviour were delivered, or by the slightest imperfection in that example of holiness which he condescended himself to afford us, in his own conduct, as a partaker of our nature.

"It would be unpardonable," says Mr. Jones, "not to remark the force of the Apostle's expression, (1 Thess. iv. 7.) we are *'called unto holiness.'* in modern language we should express the same idea by saying, that holiness was our profession. It is thus we say, that divinity is the profession of a clergyman, that medicine is the profession of a physician, and that arms are the profession of a soldier: and it is readily understood and allowed, that whatever is a man's profession, to that he is bound to devote his time and attention, and in that it is expected he has made a proficiency. And precisely in this sense does the Scripture represent holiness to be the profession of a Christian; not merely that his profession is a holy profession, but that the very object and essence of the profession itself is holiness. To this Christians are called, this is their business, this they are to cultivate continually, this is the mark to which all their endeavours should be directed. Sin they renounced at their very entrance on this profession; and having renounced sin, they were prepared to commence the practice of holiness: so well is the business of our moral improvement arranged, so clearly is the intention of the Gospel to secure that improvement set before us, if we would but attend to its plain intimations! And not only by plain intimations and the clearest inferences is this improvement required from us, but by express and positive injunctions." P. 214.

One objection to Mr. Jones's view of the subject still remains to be considered and removed. There are those who, while they allow the force of all that he has stated respecting the earnestness with which the necessity of following after holiness is urged in the Gospel, will yet evade all the moral force of the injunction, by teaching that this holiness, without which, no man shall be accepted by God, is an imputed holiness, the holiness of Christ; not a holiness which we are to improve by exercise and practice, or which consists in the conformity of our thoughts, words, and actions to the will of God; but a holiness which has been wrought out for us by our Saviour's obedience, the merits of which are imputed to us, when we, by faith, are united to him, and which, as some conceive, not only makes up for the defects of our services, but renders them altogether unprofitable, if not unnecessary.

"The doctrine of imputed righteousness," Mr. Jones candidly allows, "is supported certainly by great names, and has been adopted by good men; and as it was understood by them may perhaps be capable of a sense not inconsistent with sound morality. But it is capable also of an interpretation pernicious in itself, and most dangerous in its tendency. In the sense in which it is really to be found in Scripture, it means precisely that justification by which Almighty God is pleased, for Christ's sake, to account one, who was a sinner, a righteous man on his repentance. But when it is said, that the righteousness of Christ is wholly imputed to us, an assertion is made, for which as there is no ground in the word of God, so is it apparently inconsistent with the whole scheme of our redemption, inconsistent with the very sacrifice Christ himself made for sin upon the cross, and with the sanctifying influence of the blessed Spirit." P. 220.

In the next Sermon, the author shews that the revelation made by God to man, has amply provided for his moral improvement; as it contains precepts fully adequate to correct what may be wrong in his principles and practice, and to enforce every part of his duty; as it provides for the perpetuation of external institutions, all directed to the same important objects; as it has established a system of moral discipline; and as it enables us to seek and obtain the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. On the latter head, his statements are very short, and as it appears to us insufficient, singularly so, when compared with the great, and perhaps unnecessary length of his remarks upon the former divisions of his subject. If we are to attribute this ill-placed brevity to want of room, we have reason to lament that he did not

compress within a narrower compass, much of the former part of this discourse. For the extent and nature of the influence of the Holy Spirit, as a moral guide, is so differently understood; and the erroneous opinions which are maintained upon the subject, are so many, and their effect is so mischievous, that it was a topic to which Mr. Jones might have applied the powers of his mind with advantage to his immediate hearers; and to all who are accustomed to receive with more than ordinary attention and respect, the arguments of a divine, holding so responsible a situation, as that which he was appointed to fill. It came also peculiarly recommended to him by the circumstances of the times; for the greatest, and the most prevailing errors to which Christians are now exposed, are those which are built upon a misconception of the operations of the Holy Spirit: and, when popular writers have so far misrepresented the office of the Comforter, as to render man a mere machine, irresistibly impelled by his impulses; it seemed to fall particularly within the scope of Mr. Jones's argument, to shew the unscriptural character of a doctrine, which, at least by inference, destroys the moral tendency of revelation, as it leaves it without a subject, on which its moral influence can be exerted.

The object of the seventh Sermon is to prove, that the doctrine of Salvation by Faith, is not repugnant to the moral tendency of revelation. After some remarks upon the difference between "Justification" by Faith, and "Salvation" by Faith; the former meaning that remission of sins which takes place at baptism, and is therefore antecedent to, and wholly distinct from final Salvation; the author observes, that the word "saved" does not always mean an admission into a state of eternal happiness.

"As to be 'justified' stands for being acquitted from previous guilt, so to be 'saved' stands for being rescued from the present power and influence of those sins, in which, while men continue, they are considered as sunk in hopeless perdition." P. 290.

But without further insisting upon this meaning of the term, which yet he rightly considers as entitled to great attention, Mr. Jones proposes to take Salvation by Faith, in the sense of ultimate and final admission into Heaven at the day of judgment; and to shew that this doctrine, when properly understood, does not diminish the force of moral obligation under the Gospel. The basis of man's salvation is the satisfaction made by Jesus Christ, in our nature, to the justice of his Father, offended by our transgressions. He

P p

thus purchased redemption for us; and having obtained it, he bestows it upon us on certain conditions, which he has clearly promulgated in his Gospel; and the first of these conditions is, that we believe in the efficacy of that atonement and satisfaction thus made for us. The necessity of Faith is clearly proved, as it is the first principle by which we take any interest in religion at all; for he who cometh to God must believe that he is: and the necessity of faith in those peculiar doctrines, which are the characteristics of Christianity, stands upon the same ground; for he who calls himself a disciple of Christ, must believe what he has taught him, of his nature and offices. And this faith, when it is sincere, will have a practical efficacy; for no man can believe from his heart, that God exists, and that he will reward or punish men according to their deeds, without feeling the necessity of so regulating his conduct, as to obtain an approving sentence from his Almighty Judge. And if he also believes, that it is only through the mediation of Jesus Christ, and by virtue of his acknowledgment of him as one of those whom he died to save, that this approving sentence can be obtained; he will be powerfully induced by this belief to obey the commandments, as well as to rely on the promises of Him, through whose interference on his behalf, he looks for final acceptance. Such is the proper operation of faith upon the mind; and when it thus operates, far from being repugnant to the moral tendency of the word of God, it supplies us with the most powerful of all motives for obedience to the precepts of holiness which that word contains. But, though it is easy to shew, that a true faith, a faith founded upon and accompanied by a competent knowledge of the articles which it ought to embrace, and a competent acquaintance with the rule of life, will be productive of sound morals; nothing is more mischievous than to teach that faith, however qualified, must be attended with the same good effects.

“Ignorant men,” as Mr. Jones truly remarks, “are told by men nearly as ignorant as themselves, that faith must necessarily bring forth the fruit of holy living; and when they have once persuaded themselves that they have this faith, they are satisfied that their lives must be good, because they are possessed of the faith from which a good life is said necessarily to spring. But, unhappily, they are not taught in what the real efficacy of faith, taken by itself, consists, nor yet the necessity of knowledge to direct the operations of their faith. Having faith, they are supposed to have every thing; whereas, in fact, they have not the materials upon which a true faith can be built. Their feelings are excited, but their ignorance is not removed. The method of proceeding ought to be

quite the reverse; their ignorance should be removed, before their feelings are addressed at all." P. 304.

This is lamentably true; and the author has pointed out an excellent mode of counteracting the prevailing errors on this fundamental subject, when he recommends that the two principles of faith and knowledge should be considered separately, that its own weight and importance being assigned to each, their respective influences on the question under consideration may be precisely discerned.

It is evident, he observes, that, in order of time, a certain degree of knowledge must precede any degree of faith; we must know God before we can believe on Him: we must be informed that he sent his Son into the world, and that this Son died and suffered certain things for our sakes, before we can acknowledge him in the character of our Redeemer. Nor is this all, the knowledge which is necessary before our belief can be that true faith which will produce a good life, must inform us not only what our Saviour did, but what he taught; it must represent him to us as our instructor, giving us precepts to which we should conform; and as our king, issuing commands to which we owe obedience, as well as our great High Priest, making atonement for our sins.

"When the understanding has been thus duly enlightened, both as to the objects of belief and matters of practice, it is the office of faith to excite the will and the affections to embrace what is proposed to them, and to obey what is enjoined them. Faith, though not itself the rule of life and manners, is yet the most powerful motive from which obedience to that rule can proceed. Knowledge, though it informs us accurately what we are to do, and lays before us the reasons why we should do it, is yet but a weak motive to action. Thus it may tell us, that a life of profligacy and debauchery is displeasing to Almighty God, and that He will punish with eternal damnation all who continue in it; but if there be not some other principle to infuse a spirit into this information, and give it a hold upon our affections, no adequate effect will follow. But when by faith we really embrace this great truth as interesting to ourselves; when we do indeed believe, that God is a righteous Judge, and will execute vengeance upon the transgressors of his laws, then are our minds supplied with a motive sufficiently strong to excite our fears, and by those fears to withdraw our affections from evil. Faith places us, in a manner, in the presence of the Almighty, and being truly 'the evidence of things not seen,' brings them with so lively a representation before our mind's eye, that we feel them with an impression little short of that, which immediately strikes upon our senses. And thus we see with what truth and propriety the fruit of good living is attributed to faith. Even in this view, considered only

as the motive of obedience, it will readily be acknowledged the leading principle of virtuous conduct; and as men constantly attribute their actions to that which formed the motive whence they proceeded, faith being in effect the sole motive of a good life, is entitled to be considered as its sole parent and cause." P. 308.

To the objection which is sometimes made to this mode of reasoning, that, though it may apply to faith in a general sense, it does not apply to the faith of the Gospel; because this faith has a different object, and expressly excludes the co-operation of morality in the business of justification; Mr. Jones replies, by appealing to the chapter before him (Heb. xi.) for proof, that the faith therein spoken of in every alleged instance produced the good works of obedience; and that this faith was of the same nature as the faith of the Gospel. And, when it is further urged that the apostle St. Paul seems so decidedly to determine that Christians are saved by faith without works*, that it appears difficult after all to find any place for good morals, or any need of them in the business of salvation; a refutation is furnished to this objection also by an examination of the real meaning of the apostle's words; who speaks not of moral works as the conditions of salvation, but of the impossibility of so adhering to the terms of the law, as to claim salvation as the merited wages of obedience. He does not contend, that God does not require at our hands the works of righteousness, as the conditions of his favour; but that man cannot plead, and must not trust in his performance of them, as the meritorious cause of his salvation.

After shewing the process by which St. Paul opened the doctrines of the Gospel to his heathen auditors; first teaching them to know God, then how to serve him, and what he expected from them, that thus acquainted with their own unworthiness and lost condition, they might be led to repentance, and by repentance might be prepared for the faith of the Gospel, and for that obedience which, when thus founded upon knowledge, it is capable of producing; Mr. Jones continues thus;

"How differently do many preach the Gospel at present! Looking only at one point in that Divine Revelation, and considering the rest as of little use and importance, and requiring no preparation of previous knowledge in their hearers, they tell them at once, to 'believe in Jesus Christ and they shall be saved.†' And they tell them a great and interesting truth: but those who hear it, are not always qualified to understand it. They have not yet been

* Galat. ii. 16.

† Acts xvi. 31.

long enough the disciples of the Baptist, to make them fit for the Mightier Teacher, who succeeded him : they have not yet sufficiently understood the nature of repentance, to be capable of receiving with safety the pardon of their sins ; they have not sat long enough in the lower form of moral discipline, before they are pressed on to the higher mysteries of evangelical truth. It is astonishing to think, that when Almighty God judged it necessary to send an authorized messenger before the face of his Son, to prepare his way, and to declare that the preparation required was to consist in repentance, any man can so far mistake the nature of the Gospel as to imagine, that the remission it promises can in any case be applied without repentance. But this is not the only fault that has been committed. The faith itself is not explained ; the character of Christ is not opened ; even his own precepts, his own laws, his own threatenings are not made a part of his own Gospel. Faith confined to one article of the Christian creed is made the whole of religion ; and those, who dare to urge the injunctions of the Gospel, and the commandments and the laws of God, are condemned as the enemies of God and of Christ, defamers of the Gospel, and teachers of a morality with which the power and the purity of faith cannot consist. The unkindness of this reflection we cannot but lament, but its justice we can never allow. Its absurdity is indeed palpable enough. None certainly have a greater regard for the faith of the Gospel, and none show that regard in a more becoming manner, than they who press upon their hearers with an earnestness, answerable to their own conviction, the necessity of ‘ adorning that faith by denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and living soberly, righteously, and godly *’ in this our pilgrimage upon earth. Laying their foundation deep in the first principles of all religion, in the knowledge of God and his attributes, and the moral obligations thence arising, and applying the gracious consolations of faith to calm and encourage the awakened conscience, they take the best method to build up the man of God, and prepare him by the practice of virtue here for the enjoyment of happiness hereafter.” P. 335.

In the eighth sermon Mr. Jones proposes to shew, that the doctrine of election, as it is really taught in the Scriptures, is favourable to good morals. In examining whether the doctrine in question be a scriptural doctrine or not, he first considers it as teaching that “ some individuals or communities have been chosen out of mankind for the enjoyment of peculiar advantages, temporal or spiritual, in this world ;” and secondly, as it represents some individuals, as selected for partaking of eternal happiness in the world to come.” With regard to election, in the first of these two senses, there can be no question that it is taught in the Scriptures. The

* Titus ii. 10, 11, 12.

cases of the Jews, until the coming of our Saviour, and of the Christian Church ever since, are sufficient to establish it respecting communities; and the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles are all instances of individual election in this sense. In the second sense of the doctrine, Mr. Jones considers it to be more difficult to determine, whether any grounds are laid for it in Scripture or not. He is clearly of opinion, that its advocates have confounded the two senses; and that they have thus adduced many passages of Scripture to prove the truth of the doctrine, as applied to the eternal condition of individuals, which belong exclusively to that sense, in which all Christians are said to be God's elect. And hence he conceives it has happened, that St. Paul has been supposed by some to be so great an advocate for this point of faith.

"Possibly," he says, "this apostle may have made a few observations, which seem to apply immediately to personal election, but the general drift of his argument, when closely examined, will be found to lie in quite a different direction." (p. 358.) The passages which he brings forward to support his opinion, that the election of some individuals to eternal happiness is taught in the Scriptures, do not appear to us to prove the point. They teach indeed, in clear and explicit terms, the fore-knowledge of God: and surely it cannot be made a doubt, that he who knows all things, he to whom past and future are alike present, knows what will be the final state of all men. But to us they do not prove the election of individuals to eternal life, in the same sense in which communities are said to be elected to temporal or spiritual privileges in this life. They do not prove the arbitrary ir-respective election of the Calvinists, which is the point in debate; but they certainly leave no room to doubt that, which indeed neither Calvinists nor anticalvinists have never disputed, namely, "that if any individual of the human race be saved, he will owe his salvation to the free grace of God, electing him to a happiness to which his best qualifications are not adequate, and bestowing upon him a gift to which his best services do not entitle him." P. 375.

It seems indeed clear, that Mr. Jones disclaims election in the calvinistic sense. He tells us, that "the election of God is in every sense parallel to moral duty, and coincident with moral integrity; and that those who in Scripture are represented as elected, are those who are most eminently distinguished for religion and virtue; and though he does not state in plain terms, that their election is only rendered *sure* by *their perseverance in holiness*; or guard with sufficient

care against the error of those, who represent the righteousness of the elect to be the *consequence*, and not the *condition* of their final election to eternal happiness; yet it seems necessary to his argument that we should so understand him; since in no other sense can the doctrine of election be regarded as a *motive* to morals, or adduced as a proof that the Scriptures, in which it is stated to be found, have a moral tendency.

In the following passage Mr. Jones shews, that his opinions on the subject of election do not lead him into those errors, which the advocates of Calvinism have so assiduously propagated, with an effect deeply injurious to the moral influence of our holy religion.

“The coincidence then of God’s election and moral integrity of conduct is, I conceive, conspicuous and decided; and no man has the least shadow of ground to suppose himself an object of the former, who does not in his life prove himself under the influence of the latter. ‘The foundation of God’ indeed ‘standeth sure;’ no violence can shake it, no fraud can undermine it; and upon this foundation the faithful Christian may build a steadfast hope of acceptance with his Maker; but not unless it has the right seal, nor unless that seal has both its inscriptions. As it would be extreme folly to rest our claim to heaven upon a presumptuous estimate of our own merit, so will it little better avail us in a feigned humility to rely upon a fancied election of our persons. Election and obedience are indissolubly united by the will and word of God; and he who endeavours to ‘put them asunder,’ endeavours to do that which will inevitably terminate in his own destruction. Whatever raptures of devotion a man may be favoured with, whatever feelings he may experience, however ardent his zeal, and however strong his faith, still if he have not this mark, if he do not ‘depart from iniquity,’ he is not one of God’s elect. He has not built upon the ‘right foundation;’ the basis of his house is not ‘the rock of ages*,’ but ‘the sand’ upon the sea-shore; and when ‘storms’ arise against it, and its stability is to be tried, it will be swept away like the chaff before the wind†. He alone can hope to stand without dismay before the tribunal which must assign him his portion for eternity, who acknowledging that he has no reliance upon any thing but the free mercy of God in Christ, yet makes it his endeavour to show that he has not received the grace of the Gospel in vain, by following its directions, obeying its precepts, and conforming himself in truth and sincerity to all its holy ordinances.” P. 386.

In justice to Mr. Jones it should also be stated, that he declares irrespective election, not to be the doctrine of reve-

* Is. xxvi. 4. margin.

† Mat. vii. 26.

lation ; that he denies that the individuals elected may know their election previous to, and independent of their obedience to the precepts of the Gospel ; and that he considers the doctrine of indefectible grace to be directly contrary to the plain declarations and plain examples of Scripture. If in discussing these subjects, his language is not always so discriminating, as to leave no room for holding the errors which he condemns, his intentions are too evident for the candid reader to mistake them ; and any ambiguity which may attach itself to some of his expressions, will be perfectly harmless to those, who abide by the spirit of his concluding exhortation, and remember that “ the only way to make their calling and election sure, as inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, is to be eminently diligent, and honestly punctual in the performance of their DUTY.” P. 407.

ART. II. *An Account of a New Process in Painting. In Two Parts. Part I. Containing Remarks on its General Correspondence with the Peculiarities of the Venetian School. Part II. Supplementary Details, Explanatory of the Process: with Miscellaneous Observations on the Arts of the Sixteenth Century.* 8vo. pp. 186. 8s. Rivingtons. 1821.

IT has fallen to our lot since we commenced our labours to recommend to the attention of our readers, a great variety of what are called, important publications ; but we are very far from certain—and we wish to speak without any foolish exaggeration—whether any work has been brought before our notice for many years involving the possibility of more important results than is to be found in the small and unpretending volume which now lies before us, and which we take an early opportunity of introducing to the notice of the public.

It is not our intention to enter into any discussion relative to the present state of art in this country, and indeed in Europe generally. We are willing to believe all that the admirers of the present school of painting can urge in favour of the genius and the talents of those by whom the art is now cultivated both at home and abroad. But a person need only use his eyes to perceive at once, that the effects produced in the mechanical part of the work of a modern picture, are to-

tally different in many respects from those which are presented in any of the works of the old schools. And this is just as true and evident, if we make the comparison between a painting of Sir Joshua Reynolds and that of one of the third and fourth rate scholars of any of the great Italian masters, as it would be, were we to take, at random, a picture from among those annually exhibited at Somerset-house, and compare it with one of the Marquis of Stafford's Titians.

What we mean therefore, has nothing to do with the genius displayed in ancient or modern art, but only with the nature and use and management of the *materials* employed. The very texture of a modern picture is different in its surface from that of one of the Venetian masters; and a decisive proof that these last, at least, employed some other vehicle of colouring from that now in use, may be found in the well known fact, that many of Titian's pictures if held up between ourselves and the light, are *transparent*: a circumstance that cannot possibly be explained upon the supposition that he used opaque colouring. We need not pursue this subject, because the fact is, we believe, generally admitted; and the writer to whom we are indebted for the publication prefixed to this article, quotes from Mr. Northcote's *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, a passage strikingly illustrative of that great painter's opinion; which appears to have been much stronger and more comprehensive than any which we have ventured to express.

Mr. Northcote tells us, "that he was accidentally repeating to Sir Joshua some instructions in colouring, he had heard given by an eminent painter at the Royal Academy, when the latter replied, that this painter was undoubtedly a very sensible man, but by no means a good colourist, adding, that *there was not a man on earth who had the least notion of colouring: we all of us*, said he, *have it equally to seek and to find out, as at present it is an art totally lost.*"

We know not whether all painters of the present day would subscribe to so sweeping a sentence as this is, upon modern art; but we believe it is so far generally adopted by them, that there are very few of any eminence, but would admit, that the Venetian painters, (and the remark might be extended to other schools) had *some secret* or other which is now lost, and which affected not merely the brilliancy of their tones, but their whole theory of light and shade. Various experiments have been made to discover wherein the difference between the modern process and that of ancient art consisted, but hitherto confessedly without success. Of all,

however, that have ever come to our knowledge, none certainly are so well entitled to attention as those which are detailed in the little work before us. Whether the process here explained, be the identical process which the old masters, under various modifications, may be thought to have employed, is a question which it will probably not be easy to determine. This necessarily must remain, in some degree, a matter of opinion. But the writer states, that every anomalous peculiarity so often noted in the chemical and other properties observable in the materials of every kind, that appear to have been used by the Venetian painters, are either necessarily exhibited in pictures painted according to this new process, or are at least perfectly compatible with it. And we have been given to understand from testimony, upon which we could implicitly rely, of persons who have had opportunities of witnessing some specimens which have been produced, that the writer is fully borne out, by facts, in all the statements which the book contains. As an imitation of the style of old paintings, they were described to us, as striking resemblances of ancient art. The brilliancy and harmony of the tones exhibited in the specimens to which we allude, and above all the natural disposition into which the lights and shadows seemed almost spontaneously to fall, when managed upon the principles that are developed in the process in question, were such, we have been told, as could not fail to strike the eye of any one at all conversant with painting. In short, whether this process, be or be not, the same with that anciently in use, it seems pretty clear that the means of considerable improvement have been discovered in a very valuable and delightful art; and we cannot but express our respect for the open and unreserved manner in which it has been explained to the public. Indeed we have seldom read a work, that at once more fully conciliated the confidence of the reader. It is written with considerable elegance, and of that sort of elegance which results from qualities in the author's mind. The knowledge of the art which it displays, excites surprise when considered as proceeding from the pen of an amateur. And the philosophical eye which the writer seems to possess for the causes which produce the principal phenomena observable in a fine picture, excited in our minds something more than surprise—particularly when we were informed that we owe the work to the pen of a lady.

It is to the fortunate accident of some wax having been spilled by the authoress on a crayon drawing, which had been sketched upon the back of a book, bound in rough calf

leather, that the origin of this process is to be ascribed. On attempting to scrape off the wax, the crayons became glazed; and the authoress remarked with surprize the depth and richness and mellowness, which the colouring exhibited. She was at once struck with the resemblance between the effect produced and that which is observable in the tones of the old masters; and with that characteristical rapidity which is the surest mark of genius, instantly conceived in her mind the possibility that here was a hint given, by following which the secret of the old masters might perhaps be attained.

We extract the following account, which our authoress has given us, of the occasion that gave rise to the series of experiments, the results of which are here presented to the public, and of the perseverance with which she followed up her ideas. Our readers will not complain of the length of the extract.

“ In the year 1807 I went down into the country, unprovided with any materials for my then usual amusement—painting in oil. I soon began to feel very sensibly the want of this favourite occupation, and recollecting a set of Swiss crayons I had long thrown aside, I resorted to them; but here again I was unprovided, having no blue drawing paper, such as is used for crayon painting. I was considering what I could substitute, when casting my eyes on an old memorandum book, and observing the peculiar texture of the *rough calf leather* in which it was bound, it appeared to me admirably adapted to my purpose, and I instantly began a *coloured sketch* on the back of this book.

“ The accidental selection of this material was singularly propitious and fertile of suggestions. The rich brown shade of the ground naturally led me to sketch in the figure with *lights and middle tints only*, leaving the ground for the shadows. The effect was strikingly pleasing and harmonious, and the observations to which it gave rise laid the foundation for what I regard as one of the most important principles of this process; namely, to paint *light* upon shade and *only* light. In fact, to imitate nature as nature is made visible, and *paint like the sun*,—a system of colouring which appears to me peculiarly, if not exclusively applicable to crayon painting, being, I should imagine, almost impracticable in oil painting, where the gradations and union of the tints render blending to a certain degree indispensable.

“ The rough calf leather imbibed the colour with a degree of freedom and strength I had never before seen in crayon painting, which on the ordinary plan has a meagre chalky effect, that has long rendered it wholly unattractive to the higher rank of Artists. I therefore no longer regretted the want of drawing paper, and determined infuture to adopt some other material.

“ While meditating on these improvements, by some accident which I cannot recall to my mind, I spilt some wax on the surface of the picture. I perfectly recollect that it fell on some *red drapery*, which being, I conclude, painted with vermillion, did not lose its *body*, but was merely heightened in tone and lustre. The impression instantaneously made on my mind, and the projects to which it gave rise, I have already described.

“ Without further deliberation, and with a sort of childish eagerness, I immediately melted a quantity of bees’ wax and poured it over the face of the picture—with what success may be easily imagined. After spoiling by similar expedients all the rough calf bindings that fell in my way, I had to look out for some new material to paint upon. I tried canvass, linen, and cotton cloths. The latter I found far preferable to linen, which on account of the smoothness of its thread does not imbibe the colour so readily as cotton; and from this time I have adopted common calico, as a ground the best adapted for general purposes; its cheapness also is a recommendation for large sized pictures.

“ My next trials were upon *black calico*. The forcible effect of the lights on this ground completely confirmed me in my new system of light and shade. Instead of pouring wax fortuitously on the surface, I was now enabled to apply it at the back of the picture, and then melt it into the body of colour by holding it to the fire; but the oily quality of the wax totally extinguished all the light tints, leaving only a few patches of reds and yellows visible. I then tried various other binders, and at last settled on gum arabick, or isinglass dissolved in water, which on applying to the back of the picture fixed the crayons perfectly without disturbing or altering the colour; but finding, occasionally, much inconvenience from a sort of coarse woolliness of surface in the common calico, to give a better *grain* I stiffened it with a little gum water before I began to paint, which finally suggested the simple method I now usually practise in the first stage of the painting, of merely wetting the back of the picture with water, which dissolving the gum fixes the crayons immediately.

“ Here was one difficulty conquered, but there remained another, which for upwards of two years completely baffled every attempt to overcome, namely, the varnishing. Every picture I painted was subjected to some new trial, and invariably had the same fate. The moment I applied the varnish, the painting darkened and became nearly invisible. I however remarked that certain colours, such as vermillion, red lead, verditer, in short, all the metallic oxydes retained their full body and lustre, while the rest were either darkened or totally extinguished. I endeavoured to ascertain the cause of this difference, and at length discovered that in the composition of crayons, flake white is cautiously excluded, as it will infallibly turn black or grey on exposure to the atmosphere, if unprotected by oil or varnish; and that instead of this white, (the one invariably used in oil

painting;) the light tints are mixed up with whites prepared from calcareous earths, such as plaster of Paris, chalk, or whiting.

"The application of any oily or resinous mixture to whites of this description reduces them to a semi-transparent substance, which renders them wholly inapplicable to oil painting. The remedy was now obvious. My next *grand step* was to get some crayons prepared upon a plan better adapted to my purpose, though it was with some difficulty the colourman could be prevailed upon to substitute flake white in the mixture of the tints, he not being aware that they were intended to be varnished *.

"This change at last opened a certain prospect of success. Still however many defects remained to be remedied. The colouring, though not destroyed, was considerably lowered in tone, and reduced in body by the contractile effects of the varnish on the particles of dry colour. Being fixed with water binders only, it remained perfectly absorbent and took up too much varnish. To remedy this inconvenience, before the varnish was laid on I saturated the body of colour with wax, in the manner before described. The varnish was then better sustained, and the colouring stood out with a much stronger body. On further experience, however, I found many inconveniences in the use of wax, which determined me to substitute linseed oil. This perfectly succeeded. After the picture had been oiled, it might be retouched either with oil colour or crayons. If with the latter, this second painting stood out with far greater strength and brightness than the first; but to fix it as had hitherto been done, at the back of the picture, now became impracticable. When impregnated with oil it was no longer penetrable; and the necessity of finding out some method of fixing the crayons on the surface, obliged me to embark in further experiments.

"It would be tedious to detail the various expedients that occurred to me, except what at last led to my object. Laying the picture on the ground I frequently floated it with beer, isinglass, gum-water, &c. which always disturbed and defaced the colouring; but I remarked that isinglass dissolved in *gin*, or weak solutions of resin in *turpentine* or *spirits of wine*, did not disturb the colour in the same degree. This observation was not neglected, and at

* While retracing these circumstances an idea has occurred to me, which I think may assist to explain the mystery that yet hangs on Van Eyck's discovery. The facts we have before us in the different accounts that have been given of this matter, shew that his first object was to varnish his distemper paintings, in which he totally failed; but that afterwards he found out a method of *varnishing his pictures with oil*. It is quite clear that while he continued to employ the colours commonly used in distemper success would be impossible, the whites being similar to those used in the preparation of crayons, and for the same reasons; and when at last he effected his purpose, his remedy must necessarily have been what I have above described, namely, the substitution of metallic oxydes for the calcareous earths; this probably laid the foundation for further improvements, and was finally applied by the Venetian painters to crayon painting."

length I ascertained that all proof spirits might, by a little mechanical contrivance *, be sprinkled on the surface without the least hazard of disturbing the colour †. This discovery was most invaluable, as it enabled me to fix in any stage of the painting, either with water or varnish binders.

“ In the progress of the work it frequently happened that the surface lost that rough imbibing texture necessary to receive the touch of the crayon, owing to the interstices of the ground being choked up by colour or varnish; hence arose a necessity for some contrivance that might artificially restore this sort of touch. For this purpose I frequently sifted pounded glass on the face of the picture, or *applied a piece of black gauze* ‡ to any part I wished to retouch; but afterwards remarking the tenacious texture of flock paper, I obtained some loose flock, as it is prepared in powder for the paper manufacturers, and sifting it on the face of the picture, previously covered with a coat of oil varnish, it formed a *second ground*, that imbibed the colour with a degree of strength and richness I had never attained since my first accidental trial on the rough calf leather.” P. 54.

The process, here detailed, by no means excludes the use of oils; oil colours may be used just as freely in a picture painted upon the principles here laid down, as the artist may think fit. But our authoress remarks, that in the old masters, oils were only used in order to give effect to particular parts of the painting; buildings, foliage, the sparkling lights of metals, exhibit plainly the sharp touches of the pencil; but she seems to think, that the flesh, draperies, sky and ground, were always executed in *dry colour*. We extract the following passage as explanatory of the views entertained by her on this subject.

“ It appears that the Venetian masters employed both these modes of painting, from which resulted that nice discrimination of nature which gives so much truth to their imitations. On examining their pictures I have generally observed that the flesh, draperies, sky, and ground, appeared to be principally executed in dry colour, and that buildings, foliage, the sparkling lights of metals,

* * A particular sort of brush which I had made up for this purpose, and which enables me to fix the picture with the most perfect accuracy.”

† This peculiarity I imagine may arise from the opposite tendencies of spiritous or aqueous fluids, the one to fly off, the other to keep together or *conglobulate*. The latter, therefore, lodge too long on the surface, and consequently deface the colouring; but the fine subtle particles of spiritous fluids immediately diffuse and mingle with the loose grains of the dry colour.”

‡ Here is another analogy with Venetian painting. The late Mr. West once mentioned to me (with reference to this subject) that pieces of gauze had frequently been found interposed between the two surfaces of the first and last painting in Venetian pictures.”

gems, &c. exhibited the more sharp and distinct touch of the pencil. Oil colour is indeed so incompatible with the essential characteristics of flesh, suppleness, and transparency, that the touch of the pencil is rarely to be found in their carnations, except as it may have been employed in scumbling over the half tints, or where bold and forcible markings were requisite to the general effect.

“ The appearance of the surface corresponds with these surmises; where dry colour may be presumed, it leaves the surface quite level, (except where it is particularly charged in the embodied lights,) and without any outer coat or skin; but the oil colour, when freely impasted, *rises* from the ground, and leaves the handling distinguishable to the touch by its sharp irregular projections. The strong lights thus rising in actual relievo from a retiring ground, usually prepared of a very dark shade, contributed powerfully to the force of their clair obscure; to which also the manner of rounding in the dry colour, losing it by soft degradations in the obscurity of the ground, gave a wonderful truth and harmony. Their half tints appear to be produced by the shade of the under colour, which not being covered with an opaque superfice (as in oil painting,) gives a shadowy tinge to the diminishing colours; a transparent blueness, yet more delicate, was lastly given by the operation of scumbling wherever the lights and shades wanted union.

“ This gradual illumination of an obscure ground gives the real principle of the clair obscure, as it exists in nature. The absence of light leaves the earth like an undistinguishable plane of shade, which its returning rays softly tints, and gradually shapes out in all the varieties of form and colour. By thus imitating the simplicity of her operations, these great masters seemed to reign over nature. Each object rising from its ground by the simple irradiation of its local colour, appeared at once in perfect harmony, and with a richness and brilliancy impossible to be maintained where tints of light and shade are wrought and blended together. The opacity of oil colour, and the necessity of blending fluid painting, makes it ill adapted to such a system of light and shade; but dry colour always unites with its ground, and when lightly touched always leaves it in view.” P. 8.

After detailing some of the peculiarities attaching to pictures executed according to the process here recommended, the writer proceeds to point out their conformity with many remarkable circumstances that have been observed in the paintings of the Venetian masters; the *gritty substances* that, in some instances, seem to have been sprinkled over particular parts of their pictures; the extraordinary attention, which we learn from Vasari and other writers, it was usual with them to bestow upon the preparation of their grounds, (instead of purchasing them, as is now the case,

ready prepared and primed with oil paint by the colourman ;) these and many other facts are mentioned, and are corroborated by some anecdotes, which have been handed down, concerning Titian and Bassan, that seem quite inexplicable upon modern principles of art.

“ The account given of the Bassans is marked by a striking correspondence. Their mode of practice is described as being remarkable for expedition, facility, and cheapness : so much so, that they degraded the art into a mere trade. It was their custom to purchase old clothes of every description, table cloths, remnants of old silk, cloth, &c. upon which they painted their pictures, and in a few weeks or a few days brought them to the public market, selling them as common goods, valued by a *per-centage* on the original cost of the unwrought materials *.

“ In some memoirs relative to Titian, the author mentions being in his painting-room while he was employed in *blending with his finger* the soft carnations of one of his figures, and describes with much enthusiasm the magical effects thus produced by this great artist. This fact may now, I think, be admitted among others, as a sort of collateral evidence warranting the supposition that Titian was actually rubbing in dry colour with his finger, as is commonly practised by crayon painters. It is true this mode of softening is sometimes resorted to in oil painting, but its opacity renders the effect invariably heavy, and the rich manner in which Titian’s carnations are varied and broken—the fleshy softness, and transparency of his colouring—seems inconsistent with any such mode of practice.” P. 21.

In another part of the Volume directions are given, in detail, for those who are desirous of attempting to execute a picture according to the process before described. But we should suppose it would be, not without difficulty, that an artist would be able to accomplish this, who had not seen the process actually performed. Our readers will not derive any very distinct *practical* knowledge from the directions which we subjoin, but a perusal of them will convey some general idea of the theory of the process.

“ IMITATIONS OF CUYP, PAUL, POTTER, &c.

“ *Directions.*—The ground may be either white calico, or a white prepared ground. On this sketch the whole design, and shade in the masses with a red chalk pencil. It may be softened in with a leather stump or not, as you choose. As you proceed fix the colours alternately with varnish binders and water binders,

* “ A practical knowledge of the process is necessary to make this correspondence perfectly clear.”

so as to keep the tints *separate*. Strengthen the shadows in water colour with burnt sienna: the burnt sienna is only a deeper shade of the same tint. Then go over the whole with a bright gold or amber colour, so as to represent a glowing sun-shine*. After securing the under-colour with a varnish binder, wash in the shadows to their full strength, with umbres, vandyke brown, Cologne earth, &c. and tinge the trees and draperies with their local tints. The golden tones of the under colour will break finely through the foliage, and the whole picture when finished and varnished will be beautifully illuminated by the ground, or what is technically called the *luce di sotto*.

“ The design thus prepared, you may then crayon in the lights and local colours. Touch the trees lightly with greens and yellows, and take care to embody the light of the sky and the draperies with as much force as you can. When you have done all that can be done with the crayons, saturate the picture with the oil mixture, No. 6, and then finish with oil colour, pencilling the lights of the foreground, foliage, &c. freely; and scumbling the sky and distances, wherever the harmony of the picture requires it. When thoroughly hard, glaze with any tint you like.

“ If we consider shade, substance, and air, as the *elements* of painting, we shall find that in a picture executed on this plan, each has its proper representative. Thin impalpable water colour for shade: substance, embodied with oil colour or crayons, according to its *texture*: air, by the interposition of a diaphanous medium on the distances, in the operation of scumbling. On these principles the Flemish masters attained the truest imitation of the day-light tones of nature.

“ Claude may be imitated exactly on the same plan.” P. 125.

At the end of the volume our authoress has subjoined some miscellaneous general remarks upon the advantages which this process presents, that are well deserving the attention of artists; and she concludes with a chapter, containing many eloquent reflections upon the “ moral causes that influenced the arts in the 16th century.”

There are many passages, both in this and in other parts of the volume, which we should have been happy to extract; but we hope that we have said enough to excite in our readers a desire to possess the work itself, which will amply repay their curiosity. We have heard that the subject has already attracted the notice of some members of the Royal

* “ It is quite immaterial whether the ground is coloured in this stage, or when the picture is first begun.”

Academy; and that some specimens are executing, under the eye of the authoress, by one of our most distinguished artists. If this be so, which we are glad to believe, the circumstance does honour to the professors of the art in this country. Whether there be, or be not any truth in the views, which are taken by our authoress, of the probable value of her discoveries, is a point as to which it is impossible that we can do more than hazard an opinion. It appears, however, to be the project of a process which puts *three instruments* into the hand of the artist, instead of *one*; he can, if there be any truth whatever in the plan, make use, in the same picture, of *oils*, of *water colours*, and of *crayons*, according to the natural difference of the subjects which he wishes to delineate; and this, we have been told, without injuring the unity of effect; but, on the contrary, with great advantage to the harmony, richness and depth of the colouring. A picture painted in this manner, may also, if we may believe our authoress, be painted with infinitely greater rapidity, than upon the plan now in use; the very nature of the instruments employed, almost forces upon the artist the necessity of studying breadth and freedom of manner; and, at the same time, his picture when executed, will be found more durable in every respect, both as to the materials and the tones, than one executed with oils in the ordinary way. Now, whether all this be true or not, we shall leave to time to determine; one thing, however, is plain, that unless our artists give it a fair trial, they will certainly forfeit, in part, the reputation which they have deservedly acquired for liberality and disinterested devotion to their art, untainted by any personal and petty professional jealousies. The writer of this work is an amateur and not an artist; but she has come forward with frankness, with no reserves, no quackery or pretensions of any sort. That she has opened a road in which discoveries *may* be made, seems, judging only from the book itself, to be quite evident; and if they should lead to any substantial improvement in art, it is evident, that she will reap all the reward at which she has aimed in her publication. Both for her sake, and for the public, we cordially hope that her sanguine anticipations will be fulfilled.

ART. III. *Memoirs of the celebrated Persons composing the Kit Kat Club; with a prefatory Account of the Origin of the Association: illustrated with Forty-eight Portraits from the Paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller.* Folio, pp. 262. Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 1821.

THE *Kit Kat Club* was instituted about the year 1700, and under the pretext of good fellowship combined the heads of the great Whig families of the time. It met originally, and derived its name from the house of one Christopher Cat, a pastry-cook, in the now infamous, and till then obscure, Shire-lane. Mutton-pies were the great delicacies of this artificer; and such was their excellence, and the avidity with which they were devoured, that the substantial returns arising from them soon enabled him to transfer his guests to the Fountain tavern, in the Strand. In the summer months the Symposiasts held their convivial sittings in a room built for this especial purpose by their secretary, Jacob Tonson, at Barn Elms; and occasionally they resorted also to the Upper Flask, at Hampstead; the house in the domain of which, many years subsequently, Aurora so often mistook George Stephens for Cephalus.

It may be too much to say with Lord Orford, (though we think it furnishes a most apposite motto for this volume) that "the *Kit Kat Club*, generally mentioned as a set of wits, were, in reality, the patriots that saved Britain." But the subjoined list of its members will show how much of the rank, talent, and political influence of a very stormy and important period of our history, was united in its brotherhood. The club swelled gradually from thirty-nine to the following forty-eight members: the Dukes of Somerset, Richmond, Grafton, Devonshire, Marlborough, Montague, Kingston, Newcastle, Manchester, Dorset; Marquess of Wharton; Earls of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Dorset, Essex, Carlisle, Burlington, Berkeley, Scarborough, Godolphin, Halifax, Stanhope, Wilmington, Carberry, Orford, Bath; Viscounts Cobham, Stannon; Lords Mohun, Cornwallis, Somers of Evesham; Sirs John Vanbrugh, Samuel Garth, Richard Steele, Godfrey Kneller; Messrs. John Tidcomb, Joseph Addison, George Stepney, Abraham Stanyan, John Dormer, Edmund Dunch, William Walsh, William Congreve, Charles Dartigue, Thomas Hopkins, Edward Hopkins, Arthur Maynzaring, and Jacob Tonson. The portraits of these members were painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and presented to Tonson, who hung them up in the club-room at his own residence. With the exception of that of the artist himself

they were all uniform in size, and have bequeathed their well-known name as a generic title to three-quarter likenesses. Some few of these pictures were left unfinished; they all descended successively to old Tonson's nephews, Jacob and Richard; the last of whom built a gallery for their reception in his house at Water Oakley, near Windsor.

The volume before us presents a complete collection of engravings from these portraits, executed in a pleasing manner by Cooper. Notwithstanding the strong family likeness which the huge peruke, at that time in fashion, gives to the several individuals, the celebrity of the parties necessarily bestows a value on the prints; and the portraits from which they are taken have always ranked among the most esteemed of Kneller's works. We do not think the publishers have been as fortunate in their editor as in their artist, whose burin has improved, perhaps, upon Faber's mezzotintos. The little memoirs accompanying the heads are somewhat heavily put together; they are gleaned, for the most part, from books in every body's hands, and are not always free from mistakes, into which it would seem scarcely possible that a writer should fall who was tolerably versed in the literature of our Augustan age.

In the foregoing account of the club we have relied implicitly upon the editor's introductory dissertation. He quotes a passage, however, towards the close of his volume, from Ward's History of Clubs, which throws a doubt upon his own authenticity, in more points than one; and which might furnish, to a commentator of fitting diligence and dulness, matter for at least fifty pages of "*Excursus in Christophorum*." Ward attributes the origin of the Society entirely to Tonson, who was the friend and patron of the pastry-cook at whose shop its revels were first celebrated. The name of this *dulciarius* is somewhat briefly declared to be Christopher; but it is not from these data to be asserted without hesitation that such was his *baptismal* name. The probabilities, indeed, are strongly, on the other hand, in favour of a belief that it was his distinctive family appellative, his *nomen* rather than his *prænomen*; for this, no doubt, would as readily admit of monosyllabical reduction, and, moreover, it is credibly affirmed that the sign under which he vended his cates was the Cat and Fiddle. True it is that a high authority has annexed a far nobler animal as the adjunct of this instrument of music; but, without impugning, in the slightest degree, the antiquity of cynarctomachy, we shall show, in opposition to any fancied deduction from Hudibras, that another poetical authority, contemporary with the Club, (to which we are

convinced Sam Butler did not intend to allude, as he died twenty years before its incorporation) has entertained this hypothesis of the union of man and beast, the cook and the cat, even before ourselves.

“ Whence deathless Kit Kat took its name,
Few critics can unriddle;
Some say from pastry-cook it came,
And some from Cat and Fiddle.”

We do not feel competent, however, from any overwhelming weight of evidence on either side, to pronounce a decisive judgment on this hitherto ambiguous point; and we are, therefore, bound to leave it, precisely as we found it, among the *controversibilia* which give so much amusement to the learned and so little to their readers. Sorry are we to be compelled to add, that the topography of the Club is as much a matter of dispute as its etymology. The editor of this volume has named Shire-lane without quoting any marginal authority. Ward is directly in his teeth here also, and speaks unhesitatingly of the end of “ Bell-court, in Gray’s-inn-lane.” Seven cities have contended for the birth-place of Homer; Swift has been claimed by two kingdoms; and the abode of the illustrious Christopher (would that we dare annex Cat without apprehension) hangs suspended on the doubtful priority of a court or a lane.

But to proceed to the body of this volume, from which we shall compile such anecdotes as appear at all new or interesting to us. Lady Elizabeth Percy, the wife of the proud Duke of Somerset, as he is deservedly called *κατ’ ἐξοχην*, was thrice married and twice a widow before she was sixteen; first, while an infant, to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle; secondly, to Mr. Thynne, who was murdered by Count Koningsmark; and last of all, to the Duke, who survived her. On a quarrel with George I. the Duke threw up his appointment of Master of the Horse in a manner which sufficiently evinces the littleness of pride.

“ Having commanded his servants to strip off the royal and put on the family livery, he sent for a common dust-cart, and directed that all the badges of his office should be thrown into it; he then, followed by his retinue and the aforesaid vehicle, proceeded to the court-yard of St. James’s palace, and, after ordering the driver to *shoot the rubbish*, he stalked back indignantly to Northumberland House, accompanied by the same cavalcade in which he had left it.”
P. 10.

This petty and petulant spitefulness would have accorded far better with the spirit of some retail demagogue of the

city, than of a nobleman, the lustre of whose aristocratical honours depended solely upon the preservation of the majesty of that throne which he degraded himself by insulting. That his pride had little accordance with English humour we need not be told.

“ ‘Get out of the way,’ said one of his people to a countryman who was driving a hog along the path by which the Duke was to pass. ‘Why?’ enquired the boor: ‘because my Lord Duke is coming, and he does not like to be looked at,’ rejoined the man. The clown enraged at the imperious manner in which the mandate was urged, exclaimed, ‘but I will see him, and my pig shall see him too;’ and seizing the animal by the ears, he held it up before him till his grace and retinue were gone by.” P. 13.

Lady Charlotte Finch, his second wife, once tapped him playfully on the shoulder with her fan; he turned to her with marked displeasure, and observed, “My first wife, Madam, never took that liberty, and she was a Percy.” His two youngest daughters were accustomed to watch him, standing, while he slept in the afternoon: one of them, overcome with fatigue, sate down: the Duke awoke unexpectedly: he assured her that he should remember her disobedience, and accordingly left her 20,000*l.* less than her sister.

The Duke of Devonshire was on terms of intimate friendship with the unfortunate Mr. Thynne, to whom we have alluded above. Koningsmark shot him, thinking that when this obstacle was removed, he might himself obtain the hand of the rich heiress of Northumberland. The trial is worth reading, as a singular specimen of injustice. The accomplices, one of whom was an enthusiast, misled by a false sense of gratitude to the Count, and the other a common bravo, were executed; while the principal, through bribery and a packed jury, secured his acquittal. The Duke of Devonshire on this occurrence appealed to the last resort in cases of murder, and challenged the assassin to the “wager of battle.” So tells the editor of this volume. We believe the Duke may have challenged Count Koningsmark to single duel; but the “wager of battle” can be claimed only by the nearest kinsman of the deceased.

The Duke of Marlborough, when viewed through “the telescope of time,” looks, we are told, very like “a lofty mountain,” after the ascent of which is gained, “feelings of rapturous but chastened wonder absorb our senses.” We were not surprised at meeting with fine writing in this place; and heroics are, perhaps, excusable when the subject is a hero. But Archdeacon Coxe has left little that is new to be

said about Marlborough, and we pass on. The Earl of Dorset, the author of the celebrated ballad written at sea, was a man of colloquial wit also.

“ One or two of his bon mots are on record. On Lord Dorset's promotion, King Charles, having seen Lord Craven pay his usual tribute to him, asked the former what the latter had been saying ; the Earl gravely replied, ‘ Sir, my Lord Craven did me the honour to whisper, but I did not think it good manners to listen.’ He used to say of a very good-natured dull fellow, ‘ ’Tis a thousand pities that man is not ill-natured, that one might kick him out of company.’ ” P. 92.

Lord Dorset addressed some lines to the Hon. Edward Howard, on his poem “The British Princes.” The mention of these, of course, leads to a note on this singular poem, and the note, as much of course, leads to the usual misquotation from it. It is somewhat strange that Howard should always have the credit of the two well-known verses :

“ A painted vest Prince Voltigern had on,
Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won.”

The unfortunate bard is quite guiltless here, as any one may convince himself by reference : he *really* wrote,

“ A vest admired Voltigern had on,
Which from this island's foes his grandsire won.”

But thus it ever is. Half the business of the press consists in transcribing ; and when a single hound gives tongue, though on a false scent, there are always enough to follow in the cry.

Of Lord Essex we learn nothing but that he was easy in his address, elegant in his person, always seen with his mouth open, had a brown complexion, and was extremely well bred. Happy had it been for Lord Mohun if no more than this brief history was to be found in *his* chronicle also. This nobleman was twice tried for murder of the most unprovoked kind. His fatal duel with the Duke of Hamilton is so much *in ore omni populo*, that we scarcely expected to be told in print that “ each fell mortally wounded on the *first exchange of shots*.” The Lockhart papers are in common circulation, and detail the matter quite otherwise. When Lord Mohun's lifeless body was brought home, the only sensation which his catastrophe caused in his lady was one of extreme displeasure that the bloody corse should have been laid on her best bed.

Sir John Vanbrugh was at first an ensign in the army : he then turned playwright. The reputation which his comedies

acquired recommended him at court, and he was appointed **Clarencieux King at Arms, Surveyor of the Works at Greenwich Hospital, Comptroller General of his Majesty's Works, and Surveyor of the Gardens and Waters.** He was once confined in the **Bastile** for taking sketches of the **French** fortification, during a temporary residence in that country. In the list of his principal architectural works the editor of this volume is wrong in assigning to him **St. John's Church, Westminster.** This building (parts of which, notwithstanding the well-known comparison, have great merit, and in which the original design was magnificent) is by **Archer.**

“ Lord Bath's method of discharging bills was curious. It must be admitted that he was punctual in paying his tradesmen; but his custom was to amass a great number of Portuguese coin of all sorts, from four shillings and sixpence to three pounds twelve; all of which he was extremely expeditious in telling to an exact nicety of value. But the person who was to receive the money, not being so quick and skilful as his Lordship, was directed to dispatch, or call another time. Those tradesmen who had the civility to trust to his Lordship's reckoning, were sure to repent their confidence, for there was generally a mistake in his favour.” P. 181.

Of the celebrated epicure **Dartiquenave**, better known as **Darteneuf**, we do not remember before to have met with any memoir. He was a contributor to the **Tatler**, an excellent punster, and (as **Pope** informs us) a huge lover of ham-pie. He is supposed by some to have been a son of **Charles II.**; but it is more probable that he belonged to a refugee French family. The offices which he held were those of **Paymaster of the Board of Works, and Surveyor of the Royal Gardens and Waters.** This is all that is to be learnt of one, in comparison of whom **Apicius** is supposed, while living, to have been

“ *Et miser et frugi,*”

and who, if we trust **Lord Lyttleton**, has still the mastery of this great rival, even in the shades where eating is no more.

It remains to present our readers with a few of the convivial strains of the **Kit Kat** bards. They were engraved on their wine-glasses to commemorate the beauties whom they toasted; and we offer them much more for their curiosity than their goodness; more because they have been written than because they deserve to be read. The five first sets are by **Lord Halifax.**

“ DUCHESS OF BEAUFORT.

“ Offspring of a tuneful sire,
Blest with more than mortal fire:
Likeness of a mother’s face,
Blest with more than mortal grace:
You with double charms surprise,
With his wit, and with her eyes.”

“ LADY MARY CHURCHILL.

“ Fairest (and) latest of the beauteous race,
Blest with your parent’s wit and *her first* blooming face;
Born with our liberties in William’s reign,
Your eyes alone that liberty restrain.”

“ DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

“ Of two fair Richmonds different ages boast,
Theirs was the first, and ours the brightest toast;
The adorers offering proves who’s most divine,
They sacrificed in water, we in wine.”

“ LADY SUNDERLAND.

“ All nature’s charms in Sunderland appear,
Bright as her eyes and as her reason clear;
Yet still their force, to men not safely known,
Seems undiscovered to herself alone.”

“ MADEMOISELLE SPANHEIME.

“ Admired in Germany, adored in France,
Your charms to brighter glory here advance;
The stubborn Britons own your beauty’s claim,
And with their native toasts enroll your name.”

We scarcely think Lord Halifax *could* have written the verses on Lady Mary Churchill as they are here given. In the first line we have ventured to insert one word *euphoniæ gratiâ*; in the second, for the same reason, we should like to strike out two. This lady was youngest daughter of John, Duke of Marlborough, and afterwards Duchess of Montague. The Duchess of Beaufort was Lady Mary Sackville, daughter of the Earl of Dorset (himself a Kit Kat) and Lady Mary Compton. The lines on the Duchess of Richmond involve an ænigma which we are unable to solve.

It is but fair to Sir Samuel Garth to add his toasts also.

“ LADY CARLISLE.

“ Carlisle’s a name can every muse inspire,
To Carlisle fill the glass and tune the lyre;
With his loved bays the god of day shall crown
A wit and lustre equal to his own.”

“ THE SAME.

“ At once the Sun and Carlisle took their way
To warm the frozen North and kindle day :
The flowers to both their glad creation owed,
Their virtues he, their beauties she bestowed.”

“ LADY ESSEX.

“ The bravest hero and the brightest dame
From Belgia’s happy clime Britannia drew ;
One pregnant cloud, we find, does often frame
The awful thunder and the gentle dew.”

“ THE SAME.

“ To Essex fill the sprightly wine,
The health’s engaging and divine :
Let purest odours scent the air,
And wreaths of roses bind our hair ;
In her chaste lips these blushing lie,
And these her gentle sighs supply.”

“ LADY HYDE.

“ The God of wine grows jealous of his art ;
He only fires the head, but Hyde the heart.
The queen of love looks on, and smiles to see
A nymph more mighty than a deity.”

“ ON LADY HYDE IN CHILDREED.

“ Hyde, though in agonies, her graces keeps,
A thousand charms the nymph’s complaints adorn ;
In tears of dew so mild Aurora weeps,
And her bright offspring is the cheerful morn.”

“ LADY WHARTON.

“ When Jove to Ida did the gods invite,
And in immortal toasting passed the night ;
With more than nectar he the banquet blessed,
For Wharton was the Venus of the feast.”

If Sir Samuel had always written thus, *si sic omnia*, (for even the second set on Lady Hyde are a little too obstetrical) we should not have been surprised at the suspicion which got abroad, that

“ Garth did not write his own Dispensary.”

It is only necessary to add that Lady Essex was a Bentinck.

Some ingenuity, doubtless, was requisite to introduce Mr. Bowles into the Kit Kat Club : but we have no inclination to disturb him in his post, particularly as it might involve us in

a controversy which we have forsworn, and in which the editor has indulged for very many pages. He warmly espouses Mr. Bowles's side; and it is not a little odd that while defending a writer who has been said to have ill-used Pope, he himself falls into the most unmeasured abuse of a no less illustrious contemporary, Swift. It is not in our own times that we looked to hear the Dean of St. Patrick termed "the universal calumniator of human nature," and "an obscene rhymester;" or, to be told that he "was consistent only in falshood and malignity." But we find the same pen designating Bishop Newton as a flippant, petulant, pettily malicious, place-hunting prelate. These are hard words, and we think it is well for their author that neither the Bishop nor the Dean are alive to hear them.

ART. IV. *The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus, translated. With a Preface and Notes, by the Hon. George Lamb.* 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. Murray. 1821.

WITHOUT entertaining much respect for royal or noble literature, simply as such, we always feel pleasure in adding to the catalogue of patrician writers: and whether the Muses be kind or coy, we rejoice when a man of quality swears rather by them than by Hippona. We do not know whether an entire translation of Catullus was much wanting in our language, for he is one of those poets who, if he is not read in the original, will, we think, never be read at all. But if any gentleman, for his amusement, chooses to do him into English, we are by no means inclined to quarrel with him for taking the trouble. It is an elegant exercise, and amid what are called the tastes of high life, we know few more innocent than a leisurely amble on a classical Pegasus.

"The parentage of Catullus," says Mr. Lamb, "though probably not splendid, could not have been low, as we learn from Suetonius, that Cæsar was often his Father's guest." Does not Suetonius go a little farther than this? "*Hospitioque patris ejus, sicut consueverat (Cæsar) uti perseveravit.*" We think old Catullus let lodgings. Scaliger indeed numbers this among the oversights of the historian, and will not admit that there was time for Cæsar to visit his former host on the other side the Po, between the day on which he heard the bitter verses on Mamurra, and that of his assassination. Now it is quite clear that there must have been

ample time if he chose to pay such a visit. The day on which he dined with Cicero, when Catullus's lines were recited to him while bathing, is fixed by the account given to Atticus, as the third of the Saturnalia. The Saturnalia began on the 17th of December (Macrobius I. x.) therefore between the 20th of December, and the well known Ides (the 15th) of March, there could have been no difficulty in taking so short a journey, even if it is absolutely necessary to suppose that Catullus's father lived at Verona.

Among the entire translations of Catullus, which Mr. Lamb enumerates, is one published in French by Pezay, Marquis de Masson, in 1771; there is also one previous to this by the Abbe de Marolles; "*Telle*," says the Marquis, "*que celui meme qui en donne une autre à le droit de la mepriser et d'en dire du mal.*" A right which, in the same trade, is often exercised without so candid an avowal. In 1806, a third French version appeared by Francois Noel; this last, and Pezay's, are both in prose. An anonymous English translation was published in 1795. We are not acquainted with it; but from Mr. Lamb's account it seems to have been undertaken on very *liberal* principles, namely, "to give the whole of Catullus without reserve, and in some way to translate *all his indecencies.*" We are surprised, therefore, that this work should be so little known. Puccini has recently turned Catullus into Italian; in which language he seems to have been frequently naturalized by others.

We once heard an engraver state, that a single little finger in the Cartoons was a fit study for ten years. In a similar strain, the French Marquis asserts, that "*une traduction de Catulle et de Tibulle en vers est l'ouvrage de la vie entiere.*" On this point we are not competent to decide; but his recipe for the purpose is amusing. "*Il faut pour entendre Catulle, connoître un peu l'ivresse du vin de Tokay, et les caprices de jolies femmes . . . Pour avoir une excellente version de ces poemes, il faudroit qu'un homme bien amoureux les expliquât à sa maitresse, que la maitresse les traduisit, et que l'amant ne se chargeat de corriger que les fautes d'orthographe: car la femme qui n'en feroit point, ne seroit pas celle dont je prefererois la traduction.*" If the lady can make no more than her mark, the translation, we imagine, will be perfect.

Mr. Lamb commences with some spirited original lines, as "Reflections before Publication."

"The pleasing task, which oft a calm has lent
To lull disease and soften discontent;
Has still made busy life's vacations gay,
And saved from idleness the leisure day:

In many a musing walk and lone retreat,
That task is done ;—I may not say, complete.

Now, have I heart to see the flames devour
The work of many a pleasurable hour ?
Deep in some chest must I my offspring thrust,
To know no resurrection from the dust ;
Or shall I, printing in this age of paper,
Add to th' unnumber'd stars another taper,
Waves to the ocean, sands to ocean's shore,
To countless hosts one living rhymers more ?
Yet, ere these bands their new recruit entice,
I'll ask, what poets never take, advice.

Friends, if e'er friendship free from envy's blight
Loves not to ridicule the friends who write ;
Foes, if your skill has learnt to barb the tooth
Of clinging slander with a little truth ;
All ye, who read ; and ye, who in its stead
Condemn all works to make us think you've read ;
Ye bold, when learning seeks the meanest cot,
Who never read, and own that you do not ;
Ye crowds, who think of others' acts alone ;
Ye selfish few, who think about your own ;
Come, pour at once all sneers, gibes, friendly hints,
Cares, losses, ills, that wait the man who prints." P. ix.

After combating the several arguments which might be adduced against his work, he sums up thus :

" Yet forth, nor fear the sternness nor the jest
Of honest critics public and profest ;
Who with the author have a common aim,
And toil like him for profit and for fame.
But only pray from their award your due,
Not the flat praises of some friend's review ;
Who all his subtle candour will devote
Not to describe the work, but him who wrote.
Pray for a judge to whom you're quite unknown,
To tell your verse's faults and not your own. P. xxi.

It is no slight praise to say, that Mr. Lamb has succeeded best in the most difficult portion of his author. If the general tone of his version in the minor pieces is languid, he has amply redeemed this in the *Atys* ; the most powerful and impressive piece which flowed from the pen of Catullus. In his selection of metre, Mr. Lamb has been peculiarly happy, and he has managed his subject with the greatest delicacy without compromising its energy.

We extract the concluding lines of this composition.

“ ‘ And must I ever now a maniac votaress rave,
 Heaven's devoted handmaid, to Cybele a slave,
 Her frantic orgies ply, disgraced in nature's plan,
 A part of what I was, a maim'd, a barren man ;
 And dwell in Ida's caves which snow for ever chills ;
 And pass my savage life on Phrygia's rugged hills,
 Placed with the sylvan stag, the forest-ranging boar ?
 Oh ! now how soon I rue the deed, how bitterly deplore ! ”

‘ As from her rosy lips these wandering murmurs broke,
 They rose to heaven and bore th' unwonted words she spoke :
 Indignantly unyoking her lions on the plain,
 And rousing the grim beast that bore the left-hand rein,
 Great Cybele, enraged, her dread injunction told ;
 And thus to fury waked the tyrant of the fold.

‘ Haste, fierce one, haste away ! rush on with glaring ire ;
 With inspiration's rage, with frenzy's goad of fire,
 Drive the too-daring youth who would my service fly
 Again to seek the gloom of yonder forest high.
 Haste : lash thyself to rage till all thy flank be sore :
 Let all around re-echo to thine appalling roar :
 Toss with thy sinewy neck on high thy glossy mane.’
 So spake terrific Cybele, and loosed her lion's rein.
 Gladly the beast awakes his ruthlessness of mind,
 Bounds, rages, reckless leaves the thicket crush'd behind,
 Then swiftly gain'd the beach, wash'd by the foamy flood,
 Where Atys in despair amid the breakers stood,
 And springing fiercely forth—the wretch, no longer brave,
 Into the forest plunged, and in a living grave
 There pass'd her long devoted life, a priestess and a slave.”

Vol. II. P. 17.

In the translation of the piece, “ *De phaselo quo in patriam revectus est,* ” we find in the text

“ *Bright Rhodes,* ”

And this version is illustrated by the following note, “ Solinus says, that in this island there is no day so cloudy that the sun is not seen. This is also alluded to by Ovid in *Met. VII.* ” All this may be very true ; but what has it to do with “ *Rhodumve nobilem* ” of Catullus ? We notice this as a solitary inadvertence, for the notes in general tend to shew that Mr. Lamb has diligently and successfully studied his author.

ART. V. *Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan : including the Cities of Geraza and Gamala, in the Decapolis. By J. S. Buckingham, Member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta : and of the Literary Societies of Madras and Bombay.* 4to. Plates. pp. 582, 3l. 13s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1821.

To write travels in Palestine, if we may trust our right worthy and very excellent good friend Thomas Fuller, one time of Sidney College, in Cambridge, is a matter of no slight risk to veracity "Of thirty maps and descriptions," says he, "of the Holy Land, which I have perused, I never met with two in all considerables alike. Some sink vallies where others raise mountains, yea, end rivers where others begin them; and sometimes with a wanton dash of their pen create a stream in land, and a creek in sea, more than nature ever owned." Mr. Buckingham has successfully avoided this charge by laying down his route from a series of observations; and he has taken equal care to escape that other imputation of too great credulity, which the historian of the Holy War advanced even before Chateaubriand had written his tour. If we may judge from the general tone of itinerant scepticism which pervades the volume before us, it is not likely to give countenance to any of the "stark lies, without a ragge of probabilitie to hide their shame, where the believer is as foolish as the inventer impudent."

Mr. Buckingham, as we learn from his preface, has been a great traveller from his youth upwards; at nine years of age he entered the naval service, and within twelve months was made prisoner by the Spaniards. Since his liberation he has visited America, the Bahamas, the West Indies, Sicily, Malta, the continent of Greece, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the gulf of Smyrna. He ascended the Nile, somewhat as the Admirable Crichton mounted on horseback, "with the Odyssey and Telemaque in either hand." Returning from Nubia, he attempted to cross the desert; but was stripped naked amid the mountains, plundered of every thing, and abandoned to his fate. In this condition, barefoot and without clothes, in the depth of an Egyptian winter, he made his way to Kosseir, having been two days wholly destitute of food or water. Disguised as an Egyptian Fellar, he next penetrated the desert of Suez. After this, in the dress of a Mamlouk, he accompanied a caravan of fifty thousand pilgrims to Mecca; but he was wrecked and con-

veyed to India, where illness obliged him to abandon his project. India and Egypt were now his alternate residences; and it being thought advisable to transmit to our seat of government in the East, a treaty concluded with the Pasha of Egypt by the British Consul, Mr. Buckingham was commissioned to bear it by the route of Syria and Mesopotamia.

“It was from this period, that the Travels announced in the present volume commenced; and the object of this introductory narrative has been to show, that I set out on them with some very ordinary qualifications it is true, but yet with some very essential advantages. I possessed an ardour in the pursuit of enquiry and research, which all my previous sufferings had not in the least abated. I enjoyed a sound constitution, and great physical strength, with a capacity of conforming to foreign manners, from having been the greater part of my life out of England; and an intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom I was about to associate; as well as a sufficient knowledge of their language for all the ordinary purposes of life; or such at did not include a critical acquaintance with their science or their literature.” P. xiv.

Palestine has been often visited, and the discoveries of numberless travellers in it are already before the public; but hitherto the Jordan has formed the Eastern boundary of their researches. Dr. Seetzen and Mr. Burckhardt both penetrated into this part of Judea, but their papers have not been printed; and it is from the untrodden region of the Decapolis, that the chief interest of Mr. Buckingham's work arises.

After a voyage scarcely paralleled in danger from the state of the weather, and the ignorance of his crew, Mr. Buckingham landed at Soor, the ancient Tyre, on the 7th of January, 1816. On the road to Acre, he found the inhabitants every where familiar with the history of the struggle between the French and English; and the latter were always spoken of with great respect, even when the travellers passed themselves as belonging to any other nation. The well known Djezzar Pasha, on his death bed in 1804, ordered twenty-three prisoners, who were lying in his dungeons, to be thrown into the sea together. They were most of them governors, whom he had deprived of their posts; and his reasoning was that it would do them no good to be turned loose and naked on the world; and that as they must commit plunder, if they sought to replace the wealth which they had lost, it would be better, both for the sake of themselves and others, that they should be put out of the way at once! A few minutes

before he expired, he summoned Ismael, another of his captives, from prison. The unhappy victim entreated a short space to prepare himself for execution, but he was hurried to Djezzar's presence. "There," said the dying tyrant, "I leave you plenty of troops, plenty of money to pay them, and good fortifications to fight in; if you are a man, you will keep them, and my enemies will then have no reason to exult in my death." The astonished successor profited little by this advice; after a few years of turbulent opposition to the Porte, he was cut off by its treachery, and the reins of government passed into the hands of Suliman, whose administration is stated to have been happy and tranquil.

Near the village of Shusammer, Mr. Buckingham saw a cricket match, and the game was played also as he entered other places. At Nazareth, he took up his quarters in the Franciscan monastery; and from a survey of the neighbourhood most strenuously disputes Dr. Clarke's assertion, that the valley in which this town stands has any opening whatever to the East; so that D'Anville, after all, is right in the position which he has assigned to it. On entering Jaffa, the English consul, Signor Damiani, entertained the travellers. His residence was dark and dirty, but his personal costume, by its mixture of European and Asiatic magnificence, atoned for any scantiness which might be objected to his household furniture. He wore the long robes of the East, surmounted by a powdered bag-wig, a cocked hat, with anchor buttons and black cockade, and a gold-headed cane. The stores of his mind were equally displayed, whether in asking or communicating intelligence. He stated, that a British fleet of *eighty sail of the line* was cruising off Egypt! and he inquired whether Mr. Buckingham was a Milord? Whether Protestants were Jews? Whether the English were idolaters, heretics, or unbelievers? and, Whether Bonaparte's resting place in St. Helena was not five thousand miles to the North of Great Britain in the Frozen Sea?

Jaffa is the reputed scene of the adventures of Perseus and Andromeda; and as it is the port from which Jonah embarked for Tarsus, an analogy has been supposed to exist between the Sacred History and the mythological fable. The event by which it is best known in modern annals was related to Mr. Buckingham in the following terms:

"On returning from our excursion around the town and port, we sat down to a dinner of as meagre a kind as could well be prepared in an European manner, and had to drink large potions of the

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weakest and sourest wines that ever I had yet tasted, even in this country. Here we were unexpectedly joined by a Greek doctor whom I had met at Jedda, on my last voyage from India to Egypt by the Red Sea. This man, rushing suddenly into the room, clasped me round the neck, and after a profusion of kisses in the fashion of the East, told me that he had just arrived with some pilgrims from Damietta, and begged that we would detain ourselves for him, that he might have the honour of entering Jerusalem with a 'Milord Inglese.'

"I was glad to evade this ill-timed flattery by pressing a subject on which I had determined to make minute enquiry. The fact of Bonaparte's having murdered his prisoners here in cold blood had been doubted, from the mere circumstance of the consul having omitted to mention it, though he had not been once questioned as to the point. This, however, I was resolved to do; and in reply we were assured by this same consul's son, Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place; and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

"It was related to us, that Bonaparte had issued a decree, ordering that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature; but publishing at the same time an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children. They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arranged in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire on them, and only a few escaped their destructive volleys. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot, or driven to perish in the sea." P. 159.

The Latin convent of Terra Santa is the general receptacle of foreigners at Jerusalem, and here Mr. Buckingham fell in with Mr. Banks. The interior of this monastery did not offer any favourable specimen of the happiness of recluses. The establishment of the Inquisition, and the piety of King Ferdinand, with the hopes, through his means, of a revival of the crusades, formed the chief subject of exultation; all else was suffering, complaint, and difficulty.

"One complained, 'I came here for three years only, and have been kept seven; God grant that I may be able to return home at the coming spring.' Another said, 'What can we do? we are poor; the voyage is long; and unless we have permission, and some provision made for our way, how can we think of going?'

A third added, ' In Christendom we can amuse ourselves by occasional visits to friends ; and, during long fasts, good fish, excellent fruit, and exquisite wines are to be had.' While a fourth continued, ' And if one should be taken sick here, either of the plague or any other disease, we have no doctor but an old frate of the convent, no aid but from a few spurious medicines, and nothing, in short to preserve one's life, dearer than all beside ; so that we must end our days unpitied, and quit the world before our time.' " P. 180.

This picture differs widely from the one which Chateaubriand has sketched ; but we fear it is much more in accordance with the general principles of human nature.

An Abyssinian Prince, who was quartered at the Coptic convent, during his pilgrimage, could tell nothing of Bruce. He had seen Mr. Salt, who passed at Antalow for a son of the King of England. Messrs. Coffin and Pearce also, as he stated, were still in Abyssinia, and high in the confidence of the Ras, who looked up to them as prodigies of intellect. The one, it should be remembered, was from the lowest walks of life ; the other a common sailor, who could scarcely read.

The convent Della Terra Santa is a large irregular building, capable of containing at least a hundred persons commodiously. The Superior and Procurator have each a conveniently furnished suite of apartments, and there is a public room for the reception of strangers. The Superior is immediately dependent on the Pope, but the remaining members are sent indiscriminately from Naples, Sicily, and the South of Spain. Rome principally supplies the funds ; but the legacies of the devout, and the donations of the European monarchs assist in its support. The present King of Spain has been unboundedly liberal ; and during the year before Mr. Buckingham's arrival, the English ambassador had sent fifteen hundred pounds as a present from his sovereign to the guardian of the Holy Sepulchre. Eighty-eight persons at present are in the convent. They feed at the same table on a regulated allowance. The time of service is fixed at three, five, or seven years ; when these are expired, the Superior cannot detain them, but he is not bound to furnish them with the means of getting home. Their life is a series of petty occupation and strenuous idleness. Eight is their resting hour, and they rise again at half past eleven for midnight mass ; at five they get up to morning service ; coffee is then made for them ; at ten they take an early dinner, and after this sleep till past noon. Almost during every hour of the day, religious services are attended by stated portions of them ; and on

feasts and public processions, illness only justifies absence. Books are never opened, and not a map, even of the Holy Land, is to be found within their walls. They love to sun themselves in some corner of the court or terrace; or, as we remember was the practice of a well known Academic of our own times, to lean over the galleries, and regard what is going on in the courts below.

We purposely avoid all detail of Mr. Buckingham's "impertinent curiosities." He presents us with a miniature portrait as his frontispiece, which, although in the costume of a dancing dog, we doubt not will plead an apology with his female readers for the uncereimonious advances of the "handsome dark-complexioned Abyssinian," or the more regulated *amourette* of "Sitte Tereza;" but these are by no means within our province.

A great portion of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by fire in 1807, and it has been restored in a style very inferior, it is said, to the original edifice. Instead of Corinthian columns of fine marble, the dome is now supported by tall and slender square pillars of masonry, rudely plastered. Mr. Bankes compared the painted decorations to a poor French theatre, and Mr. Buckingham thought them like the Turkish summer houses at Constantinople. We should remark, however, that the vignette prefixed to this description presents a range of magnificent columns; we suspect that it has been taken ready made from the work of some former traveller, and that the artist has forgot to adapt it to the MS. before him.

We do not quite understand the following passage, and therefore, although the tone of it, taken in any, way displeases us, we shall abstain from comment upon it.

"As the last and most important monument within these walls, and that to which every other is made subservient, we entered the Holy Sepulchre itself, the venerated tomb of the Living God; an excavation originally made by human hands, though destined to contain, for a given period, the lifeless corpse of the great Creator and Director of the Universe!

"To enter here, and kneel before the shrine, and kiss the marble that encases it with absolute indifference, I should hold to be impossible; but if I were asked what were the sentiments that possessed me at the moment of bowing before the altar, I should say, with Chateaubriand, that it would be impossible for me to describe them, and that such a train of ideas presented themselves at once to my mind, that none remained for a moment fixed there. My feelings, however, though equally indescribable as his own, were, I believe, of a very different kind. P. 250.

The crowds hurrying inwards, were noisy and troublesome. Some were searching for their shoes left at the door, as all went in barefoot: some were struggling to get near the marble, that they might press it with their lips; while others were pulling off the turbans of such as had forgotten to uncover their heads.

The night of Mr. Buckingham's visit to the sepulchre, was a night of flagellation in the Latin convent. Each monk flogged himself with cords, rods, or small chains, in proportion to the strength of his body, or his devotion. The *cuisinier* alone was excused; he said it was penance enough to cook for 88 people, and teach the boys of the convent to make shoes. Every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, the forty days of Lent, and all other great Fasts, brought with them this return of discipline.

The service of the Jewish synagogue, appears to be celebrated much in the same manner in Jerusalem as elsewhere. The Hebrew population within the walls of the city, is estimated at not more than 1000 males, and at least thrice as many females. The reason for this disproportion is plain.

“ No male Jews came hither but such as were contented to live poorly, or had money to let out at interest for their subsistence; as there was no commerce practised in the place, and all were therefore rabbis, or dwellers in the courts of the Lord, or students, or devout persons. Widows, however, from all countries, if they could get to Jerusalem, were sure of being maintained by the community of their own religion; and, accordingly, as many as could get together the means of doing so, flocked here for that purpose.”
P. 257.

The grand consummation of a Jew's existence, is to die at Jerusalem, and to be buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Great prices are paid for this privilege; for the Rabbies have interpreted a prophetic declaration (Joel iii. 1, 2.) in a mystical sense; and believe that the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment will take place on this spot. From the same hope the Mahomedans have left a stone jutting out of the eastern wall of Jerusalem, for the accommodation of their prophet, who is to sit upon it, and call mankind to their final sentence. The Turkish law, previous to Buonaparte's invasion of Syria, prohibited more than 2000 Jews from inhabiting Jerusalem, on pain of death. The Jews, on the advance of the French conqueror, were shut up in their quarters, and the Christians, in like manner, in their convents: and it was intended, if Jerusalem had been attacked, to massacre all who were not Mahomedans indiscriminately.

The description of Tasso (c. iii. s. 55.) has always been

admitted as presenting an accurate picture of the site of Jerusalem; and Mr. Buckingham adds his testimony to its general correctness. He estimates the number of fixed residents at 8000, half of whom are Mahommedans; but the continual flux and reflux of strangers, brings the moveable population up to little less than 15,000 at certain seasons of the year. No account which could be depended on as to the proportion of numbers in the different sects, was collected. The only trade consists in crucifixes, relics and chaplets; large cargoes of which are regularly shipped to Italy, Spain, and Portugal. The military force consists of about 1000 soldiers, Turks, Arabs, and Albanians, mixed together; the walls, with the natural position of the city, are enough to defend it against tumultuary attack; but it must easily fall before European approaches.

We are convinced, from Mr. Buckingham's reasoning, of the identity of Mount Calvary; at least we see no reason for violently impugning the tradition of ages concerning it. He has, in our minds, satisfactorily answered the leading objections against this hypothesis; and we can only wish that he had done so without being uncivil to Dr. Clarke.

At the close of January, Mr. Buckingham, in company with Mr. Bankes, commenced his journey to the east of Jordan; the first seeking Tiberias on the way to Damascus and Aleppo, the last intending to reach Nazareth; and both anxious to investigate the ruins of Jerash and Gamala. Two Arab guides, of the tribe of Zalians, and an Albanian interpreter, completed the party. All were dressed in the costume of the country; the Albanian and the Arabs in their own habits, Mr. Buckingham as a Syrian Arab, and Mr. Bankes as a Turkish soldier. Each carried his own baggage, a small portion of bread, dates, tobacco and coffee, a supply of corn for their horses, and a leathern bottle of water suspended from the saddle-bow. They were armed but scantily; for they were cautioned, and as it appears wisely, to trust rather to their poverty than their power for a safe conduct. The route from Jerusalem to the Jordan, is amid desolate and dangerous mountains. "The city of Palms" has not at present a single tree to mark its site; and its precious balsams are utterly destroyed. We remember indeed that Munster has referred this failure to the period of the crucifixion; and his reasons have been quaintly given in an English dress, "whether because the type was to cease when the truth was come, or because that land was unworthy to have so sovereigne bodily physick grow in her, where the Physician of the soul was put to death." At the modern village, near the supposed ruins of

Jericho, the scriptural history of Joshua with certain Mahomedan amplifications annexed to it, were the topics of conversation during Mr. Buckingham's night's lodging. The guides asserted, that the remains of a place, called Merthah, still existed about a day's journey to the southward of Jericho. Tradition declared it to be a city of the giants; and its visitors added, that they had themselves seen and handled among its sepulchres human skulls and bones at least three times the size of those of present men.

The Jordan, at the ford by which Mr. Buckingham passed it, scarcely exceeded five and twenty yards in breadth; the waters were clear, shallow, and pleasant to the taste; the current extremely rapid, and the banks thickly lined with shrubs. Mr. Buckingham believes himself to have crossed nearly at the same spot which the Israelites reached on their first entrance to the promised land. The second night was passed in a camp of Bedouins, who proffered the most friendly attentions; although an unlucky incident, most characteristic of national manners, had very nearly occasioned a scene of discord.

“ We were on the point of rising with the rest to retire each to his own length and breadth of earth to repose, for there were no other beds to recline on, when all at once some one of the party recognized Abou Farah, the eldest of our guides, as one on whose head rested the blood of a son of their tribe. The accusation was hastily made, a momentary confusion ensued, but at length, after some explanation, all was calm again. This, it seemed, was an affair of four years' standing; but it having been clearly demonstrated by one of the party that it was simply a wound that was received, from which the sufferer had recovered, and that this was accidentally given, matters were adjusted; and a general reconciliation following, we lay down to repose under the assurance of being in perfect safety beneath their tent.” P. 320.

The country of Gilead, through which they now advanced eastward, was distinguished for its grandeur and its beauty; but any deviation from the straight path, was strenuously resisted by the guides, as being most hazardous. The following day brought them at an early hour, to the first object of their search the ruins of Jerash, the ancient Geraza. After passing hastily through the main street, and tantalizing themselves with a glimpse only of its magnificence, they dexterously framed an excuse which enabled them to visit it a second time, and at more length, without exciting suspicion at the moment. The few hours which they spent amid its remains, in spite of a continued rain and repeated interruption, were so diligently employed, that Mr. Buckingham has pre-

sented us with drawings, ground plans, admeasurements, inscriptions, and fifty good quarto pages to boot, as the reward of his labours; yet from the village of Soof, at which he slept, to the site of Jerash, is a distance of an hour and a half; he started from this resting place at day-break, and quitted Jerash just after noon.

Our readers would be little interested by an abridgment of this description. Avenues, triumphal arches, baths, temples, aqueducts, columns, theatres, and naumachiæ, cannot have justice done to them in brief; and we must be content to generalize on their magnificence. But little is known of the history of this city; and, with all the splendour which surrounds it even in its decay and desolation, it is clear that it was but a colonial town in a foreign country, far removed from the chief seat of empire.

The fatigue, attendant on this expedition, very naturally produced a sleep of many hours on the return to Soof. The dormitory was a public room, occupied by many other persons; and Mr. Bankes, on awaking, learnt that his horse had died suddenly in the stable. A Moslem of the party, who already suspected his companions to be Christians, Jews, or magicians, all animals equally odious to him, declared that this event was a signal proof of God's displeasure; and his assertion was hailed with very general assent. To add to the suspicion thus aroused, Mr. Bankes, unfortunately, besides his ignorance of the language of the country, had not yet acquired a facility in conforming himself to Mahomedan attitudes; and what was worse than all, his shirt and drawers, as they were dried by his servant at the fire, were discovered to be framed of a most unusual material, fine calico.

“The whole of the company were unanimously of opinion, that immense treasures were buried beneath the ruins of Jerash; and they were as firmly persuaded that the excavation of them was the sole object of our visit, of whatsoever religion we might be. They assured us, however, that a guardian genius, or demon, under the form of an immense bird, held the whole in too great security for it to be taken away by mortals, unless some magic arts were used to charm him into consent. This bird, they said, appeared among the ruins on every eighth day; and there were even some of the party who positively insisted on having seen him there with their own eyes; gravely adding, that its form was different from that of all other known animals, and its size enormous beyond description.”
P. 405.

With day-break the travellers very wisely determined to outrun the alarm which their demeanour had occasioned, and

they set off in a North Westerly course. The tract, upon which they now entered, was richly wooded, and brought to mind the finest districts of Portugal. Oom Kais, on the site of Gamala, was the point to which they verged.

Gamala, though abounding in interest, is less magnificent than Jerash. It is thick set with sepulchral grottoes and sarcophagi; most of them similar in design, and presenting the stone doors which are thought to be the workmanship of the Chaldæan age. The construction is eminently curious.

“ The door, which was seven spans high, was pannelled by a double moulding, in four oblong squares, and divided by a perpendicular line, left in relief upon its centre, and resembling exactly a bar of iron, with five studs, like the heads of iron bolts. The greatest peculiarity was, perhaps, the small stone knocker, in the centre of one of the pannels, cut like the seeming iron bars and bolts, all of it of one solid stone, and of a piece with the door itself, so as to give it the appearance of a well-secured dwelling on approaching it.

“ The door was fixed like those in the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, by a long circular spindle, running up into a cell in the thick and solid architrave above, and a short lower pivot bedded in a shallower socket in the threshold below; these pivots being both of a piece with the door itself. By clearing away the rubbish, we found the door to traverse easily on its hinges, and we could see that the manner of hanging it must have been to insert first the upper spindle into the circular hole in the architrave, and then to bring the lower pivot immediately over its socket, suffering it to fall into it; as the space between the upper part of the door and the foot of the architrave, was just equal to the end of the pivot below. A small overlapping piece was left to descend like a moulding, at the foot of the architrave in front, so that, though the vacant space was visible when the door was open, this stone ledge completely covered it when the door was closed.” P. 415.

We part from Mr. Buckingham at Nazareth, where we find him once more, in consequence of having missed the Damascus caravan. His travels end abruptly, and we shall be glad to hear more of him; for though his style is somewhat laboured and dry, and we are not always satisfied with the tone which he assumes, he has given ample proof in the course of this volume of his activity, resolution, energy, and observation.

ART. VI. *Journal des Operations de l'Armée de Catalogne en 1808 et 1809. Par le Maréchal Gouvion Saint Cyr. Anselim et Pochard à Paris. Treuttel et Wurtz à Londres.*

THE glory which the Peninsular war has reflected upon our country, has often induced us to revert to it. But we have hitherto abstained from noticing that part of it, in which the British were not engaged, from a conviction that the turgid bombast of the one party, and the gross exaggerations of the other, alike distorted the truth; and that such broken and imperfect fragments of history, were unworthy attention. This work, however, is of a very different description. Its tone and manner, its good sense and gentlemanly feeling, at once inspire confidence, and are sufficient reasons for inducing us to present some account of it to our readers.

It was at the close of the battle of Jena, and while Bonaparte was yet encamped on the field, that he received the proclamation of the Prince of Peace, stigmatizing him "the common enemy of mankind." This, unquestionably, was a sufficient ground for a rupture; and had he immediately declared war against Spain, "une guerre franche et loyale," he would only have acted on the principles of a severe retribution, and been, perhaps, justified in the eyes of the world. But his sinister and unmanly design to possess himself of the family and fortresses of Spain, at once threw disgrace upon the enterprize; and, at the same time, while it aroused all Europe to a just sense of his boundless ambition, it converted every inhabitant of the Peninsula into a personal foe. It was the fate of that unhappy man, that after a time, every scheme planned for his own aggrandisement, or that of his family, should tend to his ruin. His marriage with the house of Austria, lulled him into a security which led him into Russia. While his attempt to place his brother on the throne of Spain, terminated in the most universal and fatal opposition to his power, recorded in history. He appears to have been himself struck with its possible consequences, and to have viewed them with singular apprehension and dismay; for he ever received the reports of Murat, on the disturbed state of the Peninsula, with marked disapprobation. He was irritated with every body about him; and on hearing of the general insurrection of the Spaniards at Aranjua, he was so overcome, so remarkably depressed, as in the language of Marshal Saint Cyr, to be "presque abattu." This was his first reverse. His greatest disasters since were scarcely ever able to excite in him an equal sensibility.

It is out of this general spirit of indignation, which the Spanish war produced, that the greatest interest of it arises; for we can hardly consider the almost bloodless triumphs of the French in the plains of Castille, in the light of victories. The French invasion was indeed so little foreseen, that the Spanish armies were not only numerically incomplete, but in a state of almost absolute destitution; the infantry being badly clothed, and worse armed—the cavalry without horses, and the whole without discipline. These were sufficient causes of defeat; but they were unwisely broken into three masses and scattered over the Peninsula. We cannot wonder then, that under all these disadvantages, they fell an easy and unresisting conquest. Bonaparte styles them, and perhaps justly, nothing but “*Canaille*.” While then Napoleon was subduing the open country, Marshal Saint Cyr, was directed to penetrate into Catalonia. His command was unfettered by any restriction. The Emperor presented him with a *carte-blanche*, impressing one object alone on his attention, namely, to make every exertion to relieve Barcelona, then besieged by the Spaniards; for had he once lost it, 80,000 men would not have been sufficient to retake it.

From the natural strength of Catalonia, we might have expected, not indeed a more generous opposition to the French; but certainly a more efficient and military defence of that province. For Catalonia is the Wales of Spain; being mountainous, and the country more or less elevated in proportion to its proximity to the Pyrenees, while its vast chains are broken into isolated positions of extraordinary strength and difficulty, commanding every road, every pass, and every valley. It has few plains on which an army can act, and those of small extent, rocky and uneven. To these advantages, this province joins that, of being the only one in Spain, completely fortified. It is replete with fortifications, (of which, at that time, two only, Barcelona and Figuières, were in possession of the French,) many of them of the first order, and all of them in admirably chosen positions, either for obstructing the advance of an enemy, or for covering the operations of the defending army; while, from the nature of the country, the difficulty of procuring provisions was almost insurmountable to an enemy.

Against this great natural and artificial bulwark, defended by more than 80,000 men, of different descriptions, where every road was broken up, every valley and every mountain guarded by the militia of the country, Marshal Saint Cyr began his advance, after the fall of Rosas, with only 15,000 infantry, and 1500 cavalry. This little band marched with only four

days provision on their backs, with not more than fifty cartridges a man, and with a further small supply carried on the backs of mules. Their artillery, baggage-waggon, as well as every means of transporting their wounded, were left behind; the state of the roads being impracticable for carriages of any description. These were, unquestionably, most untoward circumstances, and had the Spanish force been collected at any advanced point of this formidable barrier, towards the frontiers of France, it would have been scarcely possible for the French to have advanced in so small a force. "For many were the positions, had they been judiciously defended," says Marshal St. Cyr, "against which I should have been obliged to have fired away my last cartridge." But while the main body of the Spanish troops were uselessly employed in blockading Barcelona, (which would have been better observed by a few battalions, merely sufficient to prevent the enemy from foraging the country,) the advanced guard alone was adventured on the banks of the Ter, an hundred miles in advance of its main battalion, to oppose the progress of the French. The first operation of the French was to manœuvre, so as to cut off this advanced body. This they effected, after a fatiguing march of many hours, which brought them to the heights overlooking the fortress of Hortalrich. Here a new difficulty, which presented itself to the further progress of the French, shews the impregnable nature of the country, and the ease with which it might have been defended. From Hortalrich, two roads only lead to Barcelona. One along the coast, so completely guarded by the English gun-boats, that General Duhesme, taking this route, on his retreat from Gerona, had been obliged to burn all his baggage-waggon, to throw all his artillery into the sea, and to take to the mountains in the greatest disorder. The other road was commanded by the guns of Hortalrich. Neither route being passable, it became necessary to find some track across the mountains, which might lead in the direction of Barcelona. But the smugglers had all affirmed that no such path existed, and one shepherd alone had been found, (and this man was not with the army,) to declare the contrary. In this dilemma, the whole staff of the army was fruitlessly employed during an entire day in endeavouring to find the route. Night approached, the Marshal fell into an ambuscade, and the greatest disquietude began to prevail among the troops, when the path was at length discovered, and the army extricated from a situation, in which a few battalions would have stopped its progress. The French now continued their march, harassed by the Miquelets, over a road

in which they had many torrents to pass, and many difficulties peculiar to mountainous countries to encounter. The last great obstacle was a defile of more than two leagues in length, wooded on every side, full of coupures, of abatis, and difficulties of every kind; and where a handful of resolute men might have destroyed them. But this was also passed, with little opposition, in spite of the murmurs of the troops, worn down with fatigue, and they at length debouched into the open country, a league in the rear of Llinas, and in the face of the Spanish army, in position between Cardedeu and Vilalba.

The smallest good conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would, even at this moment, have ensured success to their cause. For the French had, by this time, consumed all their provisions, and expended almost all their ammunition, so that had the Spanish generals avoided a battle, the French must have surrendered in a few hours from absolute want: but the errors of the Spaniards were never fortunate. Unable, in consequence of their bad dispositions, to assemble out of their immense force, a greater number of troops than the enemy, they nevertheless hastily quitted their vantage ground, marched to the attack, and lost the battle. We cannot better illustrate the "*fortune de la guerre*," than by a short account of the action.

Early on the following morning, the French had scarcely begun their march in single column, when a large division of the Spanish army, quitting their strong position, attacked the head of the column. The country was so wooded and confined, that it was impossible to reconnoitre the Spanish force. Thus circumstanced, the Marshal ordered the army to continue its march in the order it was formed, and to break through the enemy—" *Je defends qu'on déploie une seule bataillon. C'est la seule et unique chance de succès.*" But the brigade of Mazuchelli, which was the leading division of the army, thinking it necessary, we apprehend, to fight in the old fashion, had already deployed into line, hazarding, in the opinion of the Marshal, the necessity of defending themselves with musketry, of which they had but very few rounds left, instead of taking the more decisive measure of rushing to the attack, and deciding at once the fortune of the day. It will be in the memory of our readers, that this mode of attack was shewn to be a very dangerous manœuvre, when tried against the British, and at a very early period of the Peninsular war, was, in consequence, laid aside. But the Marshal, perhaps, speaks thus confidently of the success of the manœuvre, from his knowledge of the Spanish character. The contre-temps, however, was fortunate, for it enabled the

Marshal to file troops by two roads, and to cut through the wood in such a manner, as to fall on either flank of the enemy. In an instant they were routed, the rest of the army fled. "*Sa ligne de bataille enfoncée, coupée de toutes parts, sabrée, mise en deroute complete et s'enfuit de toutes jambes et en toutes directions.*" This happy termination to an affair, which, including the disposition preparatory to attack, did not in all last an hour, drew the French corps out of the most critical situation in which it was placed during the whole campaign. They were now enabled to continue their march uninterruptedly on Barcelona. The siege was raised; they obtained provisions, and became masters of the country on which they encamped. After this defeat of the Spaniards, three other armies were raised, three other generals were appointed, and three other battles were fought. We can, hardly, however, hope to interest our readers in the fate of troops, whose confidence in themselves, had been destroyed, if it had even ever existed; and who, on every charge of the enemy fled "*à toutes jambes.*" Marshal Saint Cyr, seems to think, that the Spaniards are particularly gifted with powers in this way; they ever always dispersed with such *extraordinary rapidity*. We shall, therefore, turn from a subject so little inviting; and at once taking for granted all that relates to the want of military science in the Spaniards, give a few instances of their patient and persevering endurance, of their generous and devoted patriotism, and of the general spirit and system of the Peninsular war.

In this point of view, the exertions of the province of Catalonia, in this last struggle, are beyond all belief. It alone raised and paid a regular army of 40,000 men, besides arming an irregular force of upwards of 46,000 men. The élite of this general mass, called Miquelets, encamped with the troops of the line, and took a part in every operation. Marshal Saint Cyr remarks, that there is no class of men more proper for the defence of such a country; he terms them "*terrible auxiliaries,*" and the best light troops in the world. The remainder of this formidable body, the Somatènes, assembled at the sound of the tocsin, taking with them provisions for many days; their duty was to guard the mountains, the roads, and defiles, to cover all the movements, and protect the retreat of their own army; to hang on the front and flanks of the enemy's columns during their march, to close in on their rear, and render all their communications impracticable. The inhabitants of the towns likewise, and among them, not unfrequently the women, assisted in the defence of their own ramparts, and thus left a larger proportion of troops

disposable for the field; and in this manner, the population contributed even more than the troops of the line, to the defence of the country. It may, perhaps, excite a smile to learn, that the chosen leader of this formidable array was—Saint Narcissus, the tutelary Saint of Gerona. He was invoked by prayers and vows to take upon himself that great office; and being propitiated, a formidable procession descended into his tomb, and laid the splendid insignia of his command, a sword, a sash, and a bâton, on his coffin; all the people shed tears of joy at this sight.

Innumerable are the proofs in the present volume, of the services of these troops. "Three times only," says the Marshal, "in five months, although so short a distance from the frontiers, did we communicate with France, and that by sea. Every other despatch was intercepted." He calculates, likewise, that if two battalions, for instance, were *sufficient* to escort a letter from Figuières to Bellegard, (about 20 miles,) three were necessary to convey it to Gerona, and eight to Barcelona.

Another duty of these troops was, on the advance of the enemy, to destroy the crops on the mountains, to lay waste the valleys, and to compel the inhabitants to abandon the towns. These either removed into another part of the country, or bivouacked with their families in the mountains, till after the departure of the French. If any remained, they were generally shot without remorse or distinction, whenever they fell into the hands of their countrymen: a custom which prevailed, indeed, very generally throughout the Peninsula. On occupying Rosas, the second city in Catalonia, but which the inhabitants had not abandoned, at the express desire of the Spanish General, he observes, *c'est pour nous une événement extraordinaire que de trouver des habitants dans une ville de Catalogne*. Many weeks manœuvring were necessary to enable him to surprize Vich, a small village near Gerona, which offered some scanty supply of provisions for the army. He succeeded, but the inhabitants had fled, leaving behind them only *les malades, cinq a six vieillards et l'évêque*. In his variety of marches, the Marshal frequently complains, that he was not able to find a single peasant to guide his march, *malgré les recherches et les courses les plus fatigantes*. But nothing can speak more strongly to the general opposition and enthusiasm that prevailed, than the following anecdote. Barcelona, then in the possession of the French, had nevertheless its two battalions of Miquelets; and the individuals of that body, out of uniform indeed, daily entered the town to

receive their pay and allowances, and even recruits to keep up their complement, without General Duhesme, the French Commandment, being able to arrest a single individual; so well was the secret kept by the unanimity and patriotism of the inhabitants.

But the strongest evidence of the utility of this desultory mode of warfare, is that no less than four marshals, St. Cyr, Augereau, Macdonald, Suchet, besides General Decaen, were employed at different times in the reduction of Catalonia alone. St. Cyr retired from fatigue and disgust. The brilliant affairs of Santa Perpetua, and of Villa Franca, so discouraged the French army, that Napoleon recalled Augereau; when Marshal Macdonald, accompanied by strong reinforcements, took the command. This augmentation of force, though it prevented the Spaniards from facing the enemy in the field, did not prevent them from being ever on the watch for a *coup de main*. While the enemy were employed in the sieges in Lower Catalonia, they escalated the fortress of Figuières, in Upper Catalonia, and situated not far from the frontiers of France. Thus an handful of peasants, under the command of Doctor Rovisa, inferior in number to the garrison, surprised the French, and took from them one of the most formidable fortresses in Europe.

The capture of Figuières, was only just preceded by an affair at Bisbal, where O'Donnel, in open fight, and in the plains, took the whole brigade under the command of General Schwartz prisoners, notwithstanding it was stationed close to Gerona, then in possession of the French, and held by a large garrison*.

The Spanish Guerillas attempted still more. Towards the end of October, 1810, they penetrated at different times into France, and burnt and plundered many villages. Napoleon became enraged, and General Decaen succeeded Marshal Macdonald. But in the middle of February, 1812, the Spaniards again invaded France, and excited the greatest consternation in the departments of Aude and Arriege. Bonaparte, full of discontent, ordered General Decaen, to sacrifice all other operations to the defence of the French territory. General Decaen proposed to Bonaparte, to cross the Pyrenees with his whole force, as the only effectual

* In these affairs, the unarmed population were made use of as well as the armed. When numerous, they were placed in the rear, giving the appearance of a strong reinforcement coming up, or in some strong position, threatening the retreat of the enemy. When they were few, they were placed in situations where, by their shouting, they could impress the enemy with an apprehension of large numbers being in the neighbourhood.

means of defending France; but the proposition was not approved, and the Guerilla war continued with considerable, but various, success.

The experience of the war in Spain must make a deep impression on the mind of every man; for though it is easy to estimate the advantages which an army defending its own country must possess over an invading enemy, yet the value of an *armed population* has been demonstrated for the first time in Spain. This value has perhaps been estimated equally too high and too low: it has been considered as every thing in this war, and as nothing—as having saved the Peninsula, and as having contributed nothing to its emancipation. But although from the incapacity of her generals, all the advantages were not derived to Spain from her armed population, of which such a force is capable; yet, nevertheless, it must be admitted that it was the only means by which the war was kept alive till succoured by the English, and ultimately, though indirectly, by all the great powers of Europe. It is the opinion of Marshal Saint Cyr, and his sentiments are confirmed by the experience of our own officers, that an armed population is of little use in the field: and he even hints that there is a degree of inhumanity in exposing raw and inexperienced troops to the attack of an enemy familiar to all the manœuvres, discipline, and accidents of war. Yet it breaks the spirit of an invading army when they find that the war is to be carried on so far beyond the point of mere subjugation as to end only with the extermination of one party. The Marshal even believes that his army would have dispersed on many occasions but from the apprehension of being put to death by the Spaniards. An armed population then can act with little effect while the enemy is unbroken, unless his line should be too extended or his communications too remote. In these cases, masses of irregular troops may act with prodigious effect on the flanks and rear of an enemy. But without exposing it to destruction, the only decisive moment for bringing it into action on the day of battle, is in that of victory: for a beaten army, surrounded by an armed population, whose courage has not been broken, must be inevitably destroyed in its retreat; but it is in the defence of towns, and behind walls that it can render the most efficient service.

The finest defences made by troops of the line, will bear no comparison with those that have been made by the inhabitants themselves. Let us only take the defence of Monjuich: the fortress which defends the town of Gerona, and the de-

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fence of Gerona itself. The one defended by troops of the line, and the other by troops of the line conjointly with the inhabitants. In the former case the Marshal allows the defence to have been good; the moment the breach was practicable and the success of the assault probable, the garrison evacuated it; and more than thirty other great fortresses in Europe have surrendered on the same terms in the course of the late wars.—Whilst Gerona, in spite of four breaches judged practicable by all the superior officers of the French army, as early as the 19th of September, held out till the 11th of December following; nor was the garrison at all shaken when assaulted on the 19th of September, although it was attempted in open day, by a vigorous and simultaneous attack in four columns. Gerona could not have been taken even at last, in the opinion of Marshal Saint Cyr, had the Spanish army shewn the least good conduct.

Before we conclude our remarks upon this work, we cannot help noticing some critical strictures of the Marshal, upon the military tactics of his master, which it is difficult to approve. Bonaparte is asserted to have said, that when he was dead it would be seen how little he had been indebted to others for his successes. It certainly is not a little singular, that two of his most able generals, Ney and Saint Cyr, in criticizing his campaigns, should both be of opinion that the minor attacks with which they were entrusted, ought to have been the principal ones. If Napoleon, says Marshal Saint Cyr, had wished for the absolute subjugation and conquest of Spain, he ought to have employed the greater part of his forces in Catalonia, instead of marching on Madrid and making himself master of the plain and open country. We believe it was one of Bonaparte's maxims, "make yourself master of the valleys, and the troops in the mountains must surrender or starve,"—and we know no exception to this rule—(for during the war in Portugal the British received their supplies by sea) Catalonia, we have seen, is mountainous, abounding in impregnable positions, commanding every road and every mountain path. It is replete with fortresses of the first order, each of which would have sustained a siege of many weeks or months. Supposing it was possible then to have conveyed a long train of artillery over the mountains, after every road had been broken up, yet how was it possible to subsist an army of 100 or 150,000 men, while the enemy were in possession of the more fertile provinces, and bringing up the whole mass of the population to replace losses or to prosecute success. This exploded system, which gives the enemy time to discipline every man capable of bearing arms, cannot surely be

compared in efficiency to that which Bonaparte introduced and perfected. Neither can we join in the censure which Marshal Saint Cyr passes on the orders which Bonaparte sent him to neglect Rosas, and at once to commence his march for Barcelona. Bonaparte had tried the temper of the Spanish troops, and knew they were not to be feared; or if they were to be considered as formidable in Catalonia, surely every hour's delay, by giving the Spaniards confidence, courage, and discipline, rendered them still more so: while the loss sustained before Rosas, small as it was, diminished in some degree the physical force of the French. In fact, what could be the inconvenience of leaving a fortress defended only by a few hundred men in the rear, when the Marshal was obliged to pass the greater ones of Gerona and Hortalrich without firing a gun. The Marshal seems to have forgotten that he was engaged in an undertaking in which he must succeed or be destroyed; and that his safety was to be assured by victories and not by having a place of small importance in his rear, and which he could never have reached had he been defeated. With all our abhorrence of Bonaparte's principles, no continental officer has ever equalled him in his just conception of the true objects of a campaign; and we are satisfied that the more they are studied the more they will be admired.

With the exception of one or two passages of this nature, we cannot speak too highly of this work: in style and manner it is plain, easy, and unassuming: it is full of entertainment and authentic anecdote, and its maps and plans are splendid, and infinitely beyond any thing that has been done in this country of the same description. We trust it will receive, at the hands of the public, that patronage it deserves; and that the Marshal will prosecute his design of giving to the world the rest of his Campaigns.

ART. VII. *Twelve Essays on the Proximate Causes of the Material Phenomena of the Universe; with illustrative Notes.* By Sir Richard Phillips. 8vo. 458 pp. London, 1821.

ONCE or twice in a Century it is quite as well that the opinions of mankind should be thoroughly overhauled; lest by long repose they should grow stiff, cumbersome, unwieldy,

and immoveable, like superannuated carp in a fish-pond. To prevent that intellectual obesity which results from a fat and easy adherence to system and principles, is doubtless the true business of a Philosopher: but as his object is more to pull down than to build up, to destroy than to create, an unusual combination of negative qualities will best fit him for his task. He should learn to mistrust all knowledge obtained by his own senses, and to deny all reflected from those of others: he should consider theories as wantoning in generalization, and experiments as narrowed by detail; resolving every thing into nothing, and again compounding nothing out of every thing, he should so dandle cause and effect from side to side that he may forget in the end which originates the other; and when, by processes of this kind, he has sufficiently mystified his conceptions, he should be prepared to clothe them in language which shall prove that as he himself understands nobody, so he is resolved, in common justice, that nobody shall understand him.

Such we imagine to be the mental discipline of a staunch Reformer, be his path religion, politics, metaphysics, or natural philosophy; and such a discipline, *mutatis mutandis*, will enable him to treat with equal sagacity on each or all of these subjects. The silent meditations of the Academy may become windy harangues in the rostrum, or verbose dissertations in the press; and he who has been used to puzzle himself by thinking, will find little difficulty in puzzling others when he begins to speak or to write.

The course to be trodden will naturally vary with temper and disposition. Kings and Priests are sometimes dangerous game to fly at, and therefore the more bold and daring will mark them as their quarry. The gentler spirit, meantime, (though not unwilling to see the Monarch unthroned and the Bishop unfrocked) will direct itself to the regions of mind or matter; content with the safer glory of giving new laws to Thought, or reorganizing the system of the Universe.

To this latter class the adventurous Knight before us must clearly be referred. We give him full credit for that supererogatory optimism which wishes to make every thing about him better than he finds it to be, or from the nature of things, it is possible it ever can be; and we think he would be well pleased to throw all existing institutions into confusion, as the first and readiest mode of reducing them to order. But in his present ingenious publication he has levelled his artillery at subjects more connected with reasoning than with action. He has plunged into a vast profound of speculative argument; and in his own words has endeavoured

to develop a "theory of motion and general causation,—in opposition to that jargon of mere words and that complication of gratuitous and superstitious machinery by which the simple and sublime operations of nature have been obscured for many centuries."

The means by which this great purpose is to be effected, must be told in the Philosophic Knight's own peculiar words, for one or two very essential reasons; first in justice to himself, because no other terms could adequately convey his meaning, whenever he approaches one; secondly, for our own sakes, as we find paraphrase and abridgment equally impossible; thirdly, out of regard to the public, which might otherwise become imperfectly acquainted with those doctrines which are to do no less than to substitute Sir Richard Phillips in the place of Sir Isaac Newton.

No consciousness of labour or difficulty has deterred Sir Richard from this lofty essay of power. He is well aware that "all men have not the courage to oppose established errors;" that "the combinations against Truth are more systematic and compact at present than at any former period;" and patiently anticipating the persecutions of "pretended orthodoxy," he is content "like a martyr to wait for his reward in a crown of glory in some distant age, though he may then be insensible of the distinction."

"Standing, therefore, almost alone, he ventures to appeal, in behalf of Truth, first to his immediate contemporaries, and next to the rising generation;—from them, to the lovers of truth who may flourish in the year 1900;—and, if he still fail, to the more remote posterity of the years 2000 and 3000,—when, these universal and eternal topics, will still engage the attention of enlightened Universities, in well-peopled districts around the great Lakes of North America, and on the banks of the Ohio, Missouri, Mississippi, and La Plata.

"But he does not despair of success even in his own age. Already he has many intelligent disciples, and some in seats of authority, who have not the courage to avow their heresies: his system, therefore, is making the same circuitous march towards ultimate success which the cause of truth is obliged to make on every occasion." Preface, p. 10.

It is indeed impossible but that in the end, a system like this must make its way; for we are told that it "recommends itself by sublime simplicity in accordance with all the characteristics of nature; by universal correctness of analogy in its applications to phenomena, and by exact correspondence 'with the demonstrable truths of Geometry.'"

The doctrine of gravitation is the first great point of attack. This is exploded as inadmissible, because its supporters do not attempt to assign a cause to it as a law of Nature; and Motion is enthroned in its stead, because Motion is the mother of Phenomena; or because it may be defined (and as our readers well know a clear definition is invaluable),

“to consist in accumulation of POWER in a body, the diffusion of which, to other bodies, occasions phenomena; or it may be said to be POWER concentrated in a particular body, which it imparts, with various phenomena, to circumjacent bodies; or it may be called an impulse of force, communicated in a particular direction to a body, which impulse it obeys till the force is diffused among other bodies.” P. 35.

In a word, we obtain a master-key to Nature if we will but believe that in all her operations “the whole is the effect of the intense motion of atoms variously circumstanced in relation to each other.”—Heat, light, evaporation and sound, are different species of atomic motion; and all the processes of animal and vegetable life depend on the conversion of one species of motion into another. Gas comes next in order as the fulcrum for impulses. Hence the revolutions of the Solar System, and the planetary and cometary phenomena. Hence the action of the sun on the earth and moon, which is plainly illustrated by a pretty print of a tambourine moving from A to B. Hence the tides and the changes on the Earth’s surface.—Gas, as every body knows, “is formed by the circular motions of all, or at least of some kinds of the specific atoms of which it is composed:” therefore Gas and Motion are sworn brothers, and agree cordially together in the same theory. The Scriptural account of the Creation, by a very slight correction in the first Chapter of Genesis (so slight that we are surprised Mr. Bellamy has not printed it as his own off-hand) may be made to tally with Sir Richard Phillips’s Creed. “If for light we put motion, and read the Chaldaic passage, ‘*Let there be motion and there was light,*’ and considering light as including its adjuncts, then the passage becomes a system of philosophy.” No one can doubt Sir Richard Phillips’s affirmation, that Moses *ought* thus to have written: and hereafter it is thus that he must be read: for of all canons of criticism, those are in most general acceptance which permit a commentator to alter any passage which he does not understand; or to interpret his author in such a manner as will make him mean directly contrary to that which he says.

Light, it seems, does not exist *per se*, and Sir Richard's book, it must be confessed, very strongly confirms this position. Light, in plain terms, is only "such an affection of the rarest gases as affect the rarest atoms of space." Odours, tastes, and sounds also are "regular chemical decompositions and relative actions of the gases." Electricity, galvanism, and magnetism, each and all are gas or motion; we are not quite sure which, and perhaps it makes little difference in the end.

The fixation of oxygen is heat; the transfer of its motions to hydrogen is light; in the lungs it is animal heat; combined with the blood it is vital energy; by turns it becomes *red* colours, *acute* sounds, and *acid* tastes; and it is in fact an elementary principle throughout all nature, "affecting different bodies and senses in peculiar, distinct, and intelligible (Qu.) modes."

The XIth Essay "On Animated and Vegetative Nature," presents some interesting physical problems; for example, "If a sheep eat a quantity of grass every three months, the effect of which is expressed by *a*, and perspire or evacuate two thirds of what it eats, retaining within its system an effect equal to one third of what it eats during the preceding three months; what is its law of aggregation?" Again, "If an animal eats *a**, and evacuates two thirds *a*, so that one third, the totals of the series may be constantly added, what are the results?" We will not deprive our readers of the pleasure of working out these ingenious questions for themselves by annexing their answers which Sir Richard has obligingly given.

All our perceptions consist of a "homogeneous capacity of receiving excitation," from which it is quite evident that "in fact we have really but one general sense."—Irritability is "an effect of curious and dependant reticulation;" and prussic acid kills immediately, because "the form of its atoms *are* (is) unfavourable to motion, cubes, parallelopipedons or trapeziums." Sir Richard, as we expected to find him, in his inquiries into Mind, is a steady materialist. We do not question his originality, but surely we have met with some such reasoning as the following in the mouth of Pantagruel.

"All things which do exist, owe their existence to their compatibility with other existences; to the necessary fitness of all existing things; and to the harmony which is essential to the existence of any thing in the form and mode in which it does exist.

* Qu. *hay?* Cockney dialect. *Printer's Devil*.

For, without reciprocal compatibility, without individual fitness, and without universal harmony, nothing could continue to exist which does exist; and, therefore, what does exist, is for the time necessarily compatible with other existences, fit or not incompatible, and in harmony with the whole of co-existent being. Every organized existence affords, therefore, indubitable evidence of compatibility with other existences; and of harmony, in regard to the whole." P. 303.

With "Fate and Necessity" we by no means wish to involve ourselves, and the very title warns us to bring our task to a conclusion. Sir Richard Phillips has our best thanks for his volume, which has afforded us no slight amusement; and which we cordially hope will be adopted as the class-book of that crude and mysterious $\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ to whom it is dedicated, "Professor ———, of the University of ———."

ART. VIII. *A Review of the Banking System of Britain; with Observations on the Injurious Effects of the Bank of England Charter, and the general benefits of unrestricted Banking Companies.* Longman and Co.

THE author of this thin octavo seems grievously afflicted with the *cacoëthes scribendi*. Before venturing on the patience of the public, he made trial of that christian grace in the persons of Lord Liverpool and the Marquess of Londonderry; to both of whom he was pleased to address letters on the impolicy of restricting the partners in banking companies to so small a number as six. It appears not whether the secretary for foreign affairs deigned to give any answer to this patriotic writer; but Lord Liverpool, engaged at the period in question, in investigating the effects of legislative restrictions on trade, replied, that the consideration of banking matters did not come within the range of his enquiries. No resource now remained but that of addressing the nation at large, through the medium of the press; and we are accordingly furnished at a very moderate expense with all the information, hints and warnings, which were originally intended for the exclusive benefit of his majesty's principal servants and advisers. The subject is certainly an interesting one, and deserves more attention than it seems to have hitherto received, at least in this part of the country;

where banking speculations have been usually regarded with some degree of suspicion, as only a more legitimate species of gambling, or as the means of encreasing unduly the power of a tory administration. The author of this "Review of the Banking System of Britain," who appears to be a money-changer in some such establishment north of the Tweed, marvels greatly at our shortsightedness in the concerns of lucre, and still more at our perverseness in clinging so closely to our old modes and manners in the management of our wealth. In his remonstrances he is partly right and partly wrong; and for this reason, though we profess not to be so deeply conversant in all the mysteries of the Mammon of unrighteousness as some of our more evangelical brethren, who in a great variety of ways, study to tame and render friendly to themselves that *Megatherium* of bankers and canters, we proceed forthwith to lay before our readers the main points, in regard to which his counsel savours of wisdom and practical knowledge.

It is known to every Englishman who has ever perambulated Threadneedle Street, or received a broker's receipt for stock transferred, that the famous Bank which bears the name of his country, was first established in the year 1694. Like the Waterloo Bridge; it was founded by a native of North Britain, called William Paterson; and it is remarkable and even somewhat mysterious, no reason being any where assigned for the fact, that "no other Scotsman has since been allowed to hold the office of director," in that mighty magazine of national riches. However that arrangement is to be explained, it is worthy of remark that the infant establishment under the direction, it is probable of her zealous nursing-father, obtained, in her favour, the enactment of a law, by which it was provided in the first place, that no other banking company should be allowed to *issue notes* in the metropolis, and secondly, that no other banking company in any part of England should be allowed to consist of more than *six partners*. The object of this legislative patronage was obviously to prevent the possibility of a rival establishment, either in London or out of it, and thereby to secure all the advantages arising from the occupation and management of nearly all the spare capital thereafter to be realized in the kingdom at large—an object it will be granted, which has been completely gained.

As to the expediency of the measure now detailed, at the moment it was originally adopted, we presume not to pronounce any opinion; but as to the impolicy of perpetuating it, in national circumstances so completely different, and in a

state of society so much better informed with respect to the principles of trade and mercantile intercourse, there can be no difficulty in arriving at the most decided conclusion. The chief disadvantage, attending the privilege at present enjoyed by the Bank of England, is the comparative weakness and insecurity of all country banks, necessarily arising from the limitation of partners. Six persons may no doubt possess property sufficient to guarantee the banking operations of a populous district; and in point of fact several of the most respectable banks both in England and Scotland comprise a still smaller number of individuals as responsible partners. It is notwithstanding very obvious, that, supposing equal wealth, the greater the number of partners in a banking concern, the greater is the security thereby afforded to the public; for, as every such partner is jointly and severally answerable for the issues of his establishment, the whole property belonging to all the partners collectively, is thus pledged to make good their obligations to the holder of their notes. In a concern of this kind, for example, where the capital subscribed is 300,000*l.* the lender or depositor would find his security incalculably greater, were the said stock held by three hundred persons, at 1000*l.* each, than if it were confined to six partners at 50,000*l.* each, because the three hundred persons are bound to the whole amount of all their property, which may be supposed, at the average, to equal ten times the value of their bank-investment, whereas in the case of the six partners the security to the public is likewise limited by the amount of their whole property, which, however, at the ordinary rate of things cannot be supposed to exceed very greatly the sum subscribed in name of stock. But let us assume for the sake of illustration, that the six partners have property to the amount of 100,000*l.* each, the security to the depositor in this case does not exceed 600,000*l.*; whilst, in the other case, if we suppose that the three hundred partners are individually worth 10,000*l.*—a much more natural supposition than the one just made—the security to the merchant and annuitant is not less than 3,000,000*l.*

Facts on this subject, however, will go much farther than reasoning; and it will be allowed that the system of our country banks cannot be good when we mention that, in the course of two years after the peace, no fewer than two hundred of them, or nearly one third of the whole number in existence, stopped payment, and involved large districts of the most active and industrious parts of the kingdom in confusion, distrust, and misery. The same was the case in Ireland, where a similar limitation as to the number of partners precluded that strength

and security in the formation of companies without which banking operations cannot fail to produce occasional and very severe distress, both to the money-holder and to the merchant. In Scotland, during the same period, where the people are noted for a speculative disposition and for the rashest adventure in the pursuits of commerce, not one bank either failed or stopped payment. Not a farthing was lost on account of a bank, from Berwick to Caithness. Even in Glasgow, where so many individuals *play* at commerce and hazard their last shilling on the stake, and where there are several banks which issue notes to a large amount, all payable in gold or Bank of England paper, no fears were entertained of the stability of any one of these establishments. Indeed, we are assured by the author of this Tract that only one issuing-bank of any consequence ever stopped payment in Scotland; and as the property of the partners was worth many times the amount of its debts, no ultimate loss could be sustained by the public. The concern alluded to is, we believe, the celebrated Ayr bank, instituted about fifty years ago by a number of public spirited individuals who set out with the view of improving the natural capabilities of their country and extending its trade; but who, from an excessive issue of notes to mere speculative projectors, soon fell into embarrassments, and, in the course of two years, sunk under a load of obligations amounting to not less than 800,000*l*. The estates of the partners however were valued at several millions, affording, of course, a most ample security to the holders of their paper. The reader who wishes to know more of the history of this bank will find his curiosity amply gratified by turning to the first volume of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, where the principles, the management and the catastrophe of that ill-fated establishment are set forth at some length. It will be more useful however to trace the causes of the following fact, somewhat proudly stated by the anonymous writer now before us, namely, that the "Scottish issuing banks have stood so firm that, in addition to the preceding, I have been unable to learn of more than four instances of stoppages amongst them, since the first introduction of bank notes."

It cannot escape notice that the sole ground of security and confidence reposed in the banking establishments of the North may be identified with the ample vouchers for their credit afforded by the united property of a numerous body of partners or stockholders. In the three chartered banks of Scotland, known by the names of the *Bank of Scotland*, the *Royal Bank of Scotland*, and the *British Linen Company*, the several partners are responsible for the engagements of

their respective houses to the amount only of their shares ; but in all the other banks whether in the capital or in provincial towns, the partners are responsible for the transactions of their representatives to the full extent of their whole fortunes both personal and heritable. Edinburgh alone has twelve banks ; six of which issue notes, and in one of which the number of partners amounts to six hundred and six. In another, there are eighty-five partners ; and it is stated that in forming these companies the principle upon which the original movers proceed is limitation in the amount of the individual subscription, and a considerable extension in the number of subscribers.

A second advantage resulting from a large joint stock company when compared with a small copartnery of three or four individuals, is the steady adherence to *general rules* which must be observed by the former, in the management and conduct of their affairs. In such a case the business of the bank is carried on by persons appointed by the directors, to whom they are in the first instance responsible, whilst these last are themselves accountable to the court, or public meeting of proprietors, for any exercise of discretionary power on which they may have ventured. The whole apparatus of the establishment will therefore move according to the impulse of the general mind ; and as every individual proprietor has his all at stake, the proceedings of such a body will be uniformly characterized by caution if not by wisdom. A banking-company, on the other hand, composed of only three or four persons, is necessarily exposed to all the uncertainty and risk which attend a common mercantile firm. A temptation to speculate in the national funds for example, may compromise the credit and even ruin the affairs of so small a body ; when, as it frequently happens, one mind presides and directs for all the others, and who, as is not less frequently the case, will fearlessly put to the hazard of an irretrievable loss, the savings of a thousand industrious workmen, on the bare chance of realizing for his house the sudden splendour of a princely fortune. Besides, many of our country-banks are engaged in trade, in mining or in manufactures in addition to the business peculiar to such an establishment ; and the interests of the one is not only rendered subservient to those of the other, but, in many instances, they are so involved and connected together that the banker stops payment under the designation of the trader, and thus prepares a common ruin for every class of his creditors. In short, the insecurity of a provincial bank, in many parts of England, has become almost proverbial. Industrious persons

in the working class and those in the class immediately above them, have felt their exertions paralyzed by the uncertainty and risk under which they make their small deposits; and the misery, the disappointment, the grief, and indignation excited by the failure of nearly two hundred banking-houses in 1814, 1815, and 1816, justify but too strongly, the suspicion which continues to be entertained in regard to these establishments.

The main source of this national evil arises from the limitation already so often mentioned, of the number of partners in banking-companies; an enactment, which, whilst it gives a predominating influence to the Bank of England, condemns all similar establishments throughout the kingdom to weakness and distrust. The same indirect privilege conferred upon the Bank of Ireland has, from a general conviction of its bad effects, been recently withdrawn; and accordingly over all the sister island, with the exception we believe of the city of Dublin itself, unrestricted banks may now be established on the same footing as in Scotland. When recommending the abolition of the privilege now stated, Lord Liverpool is reported to have assigned as a principal reason for discontinuing it, the similarity supposed to exist between the present circumstances of Ireland, in regard to capital, and those of Scotland under the same point of view, at the time her national bank was instituted by act of parliament. The reasoning of his Lordship on this head seems to import, that the average wealth of individuals in Scotland and Ireland was not such as to enable any six of them in general, to conduct banking business with safety to the public, whilst the greater individual wealth existing in England rendered more than six partners altogether superfluous. "But in this argument, observes our author, he appears to forget that if individuals are richer on the average in England than in the sister kingdoms, its banking operations are proportionably more extensive; or in other words, that one hundred banking-companies, with an average capital of 50,000*l.*, and no more than six partners in each, might conduct the money transactions of Scotland, as safely as four hundred banks, with an average capital of 100,000*l.* each, and the same number of partners, could manage those of England. His Lordship seems also to have forgotten the appalling fact that in 1814, 15, 16, no less than 200 of the English banks stopped payment; a recent and unanswerable refutation of all theories on the blessings of bank monopolies or restrictions in England, whether adopted from the interested views or mistaken ingenuity of their supporters."

His Lordship upon recurring to the subject, (and no man carries a clearer head than he does to all questions of trade and political economy) will perceive that the plenty or the scarceness of capital in any country ought not alone to determine the rule for limiting the number of partners, in a banking concern : for it is obvious, the safety and welfare of the public depend much more upon the stability of such an establishment and its continued powers to discharge its obligations, than upon the positive amount of its stock or the extent of its issues. The bank which will prove most advantageous to a rural district, or trading town, is one of which the stock shall be held by a number of individuals resident in the neighbourhood, every one of whom will take an interest in its operations, and by their counsel and information assist the managers, in a safe disbursement of loans and issues. A banking-company consisting of two hundred partners or share-holders, or even one third of that number, men themselves engaged in business or possessing independent property, and acquainted, 'of course, with the state of the country around them, and with the individuals in it best entitled to credit and accommodation, will find itself placed upon a foundation so stable, as to resist successfully, all the agitations and concussions of a mercantile society. This, as we have already observed, is the principle upon which most of the Scottish banks are founded ; and their continued solvency in the worst of times affords a powerful confirmation of the practical good sense, which in that country regulates this important branch of business. Amidst all the fluctuations incidental to a comparatively poor but extremely enterprising population, attempting to rival within the last forty years the trade and manufactures of the more favoured portion of the island, this steadiness and security of the Scottish banks, present such an auspicious contrast to the defective system of our country banks, that we cannot help participating in the amazement expressed by our author, " at the infatuation or perversity by which it has been perpetuated." Even in times, he adds, when every other thing, however trifling or minute, is more or less the object of legislation, the almost simultaneous stoppage of one-third of all the English banks produced no regulation to prevent a recurrence of such evils ; and by an unaccountable indifference or fatality, Government has allowed a similar calamity to spread misery and distrust, still more recently, over the best part of Ireland, in disregard of all remonstrances by individuals, against the injurious effects attending the restriction of banking-partnerships. The source of the evil, as we have already

stated, is now removed, no doubt, by the repeal of the law which condemned to imbecility and suspicion every bank out of Dublin; and it is to be hoped that the period is not far distant, when the Legislature will extend the same benefit to England; allowing money transactions, like every other branch of industry, to be conducted by joint-stock companies, without limitation of number, either in their shares or their shareholders.

The fluctuation in the number of our country banks from time to time, as set forth in a table at the end of the volume, furnishes at once a proof of their instability, and a measure of the disturbance thereby introduced into the movements of commerce. In 1812 there were seven hundred and sixty-one banks licensed; and, in 1817, only five hundred and seventy-six. In 1814, Lincolnshire possessed thirty-three banks, which in 1816, were reduced to nine. In Leicestershire there were, in 1814, no fewer than thirteen such establishments, whereas, the following year, the number was reduced to eight; and similar variations occur in most of the other counties. During the same period, that is from 1811 to 1818, the fluctuation in Scotland is hardly perceptible, and seems to have been confined to what are called agencies or branches of the principal banks established, occasionally and for temporary purposes, in remote country towns. From a table appended to the work before us, it is shewn that, in 1811, the number of banks licensed to issue notes was one hundred and thirty-seven, which number, in 1818—19, was only reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight: and the number of partners (exclusive of the three chartered banks,) was, in the former year, 1,374, and, in the latter year, 1,478. The partners in the three chartered banks are said to be very numerous, but independently of them, these tables shew that the unchartered companies in Scotland have nearly as many partners, as the whole provincial banks in England put together; and it is somewhat remarkable, that, when six partners are legally allowed, the average number in the English banks does not appear to exceed three in each: but this, as the author remarks, may probably arise from their *agencies* being included in the table as banks, no notice being taken of the former.

The insecurity and repeated failures of our country banks have produced on the public mind the effect which was naturally to be expected—a strong prejudice against every description of banks and a paper currency in general. For instance, in the county of Lancaster, containing near a million of inhabitants, there is no issuing bank at all, and the

people there seem so determined against the establishment of such firms, that there is no immediate prospect of overcoming their reluctance and reconciling them to local notes. The failure of a large banking-house in Manchester put the finishing blow to the little confidence formerly reposed in country paper. That populous province has accordingly been long supplied with Bank of England notes exclusively; and a short time ago when that establishment ceased to issue one pound notes, great quantities of sovereigns were sent down to fill up the circulation; but at length, the Bank refusing to send any more, much inconvenience was felt in consequence. Some persons then suggested the establishment of local banks, a suggestion which created so much alarm, that, in October last, a public meeting was held at Manchester, at which, after urging strongly the danger and pernicious effects of country paper-money, resolutions were unanimously agreed to, against receiving or circulating any local notes that might be issued: and a committee was appointed, to obtain the co-operation of the people at large. In a word, so deeply rooted are their dislike and fear of country bank-notes, that the traders of Lancashire willingly submit to the expence of bringing Bank of England paper from London to Manchester, at which last town that paper has frequently been sold at a premium of ten or fifteen shillings *per centum*.

The same degree of alarm appears to prevail in Ireland, even now when there is no cause for fear; for, it is said, the capitalists of that country have not availed themselves to any extent, of the recent permission to establish unrestricted banks. We are told that the great commercial city of Limerick, containing about 70,000 inhabitants, has been actually without any bank whatever, since the failures about ten or twelve months ago, and that its merchants are, at this moment, under the necessity of sending their bills for discount to Dublin, a distance of eighty-five miles, and receiving at considerable risk and expence, Bank of Ireland notes for the proceeds. Indeed, in the south and southwest of Ireland there appears to have been a total want of local banks ever since the desolation which overspread that rich, but ill-managed country, owing to the almost universal failure of its banking establishments.

It is not without justice, therefore, that our author exposes the futility of the arguments, sometimes found in the mouths of those, who advocate the propriety of restriction in regard to the number of partners in banking associations, on the ground that such restriction leads to the increase of

these bodies, and induces each of them to exercise a keener rivalry with the others, and thereby to afford a readier accommodation to the public than they would otherwise be disposed to give. These effects, at least, have not hitherto been produced in Lancashire or Limerick. But we maintain, that no good has ever resulted from the multiplication of small banks, either to the merchant or to the industrious mechanic. Have we not had frequent opportunities of observing that, when two or three inferior houses of this kind started up in a small country town, so far from studying to oblige the public they thought of nothing but to depreciate one another's credit; and by picking up the notes of an opponent and creating a *run* upon his firm, they often brought a run upon all, and so involved themselves and the surrounding neighbourhood in a general embarrassment or sweeping bankruptcy. Besides, if there be any real advantages attending limited partnerships, no bar will be opposed to their formation by the repeal of the law, which at present prevents more extended associations. Such companies, to use the words before us, will not be *suppressed*, but, on the contrary, will be left in the enjoyment of the most unbounded liberty to employ their utmost intelligence, wealth, and credit, in competition with the more extended establishments likely, in such circumstances, to spring up around them.

In the mean time, more than one plan, it should seem, is in contemplation to evade the operation of the restrictive law: and among others it was proposed to establish a bank at Berwick, with only the legal number of partners actively and nominally concerned in it, but backed by the security of a chartered bank of great wealth or by pledges of landed property belonging to holders of stock, and committed so as to guarantee the transactions of the company to the full extent of their issues and obligations. This proposal has, we are led to believe, been relinquished for the present; and, indeed, to us it does not appear necessary to substitute any new scheme whatever for their old method of agencies or branches, and by means of which, we are told, some of the Scottish banking companies have contrived to push their business, and the circulation of their notes, over a large portion of the north of England, particularly around Carlisle, Newcastle, Berwick, Appleby, and Alnwick, and even into some parts of Ireland, where the local banks are not in good repute.

Being mere theoretical persons, we pretend not to know all the reasons for which it seems good to the Legislature

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of the country to continue the restriction already so often mentioned in this article. The Bank of England, so powerful and so rich, no longer needs—if she ever needed—to be recommended to public confidence by a privilege which, whatever may have been its operation in her favour, has proved excessively prejudicial to all the inferior establishments throughout the kingdom. As an instrument of financial operations in the hands of Government, it is, no doubt, expedient that the great copartnery now alluded to should enjoy suitable protection against undue competition in the metropolis of the Empire; and for this reason we would deprecate all interference with the Bank of England in the city of London, and even in the immediate neighbourhood. Her notes should alone be issued and circulated in this great mart of commerce and centre of trade. But in the country generally, and particularly in the large manufacturing and shipping towns of the northern counties, as the Bank of England cannot conveniently minister to the wants of the merchant, and suit herself to the varying exigencies of trade, so her privileges should cease, and give way to arrangements suggested by local necessities, and which would soon be effected by individual enterprize. In short, let the restriction expire in every quarter where it exists only to do mischief; but to prevent any sudden recoil, let the relaxation be confined, if thought necessary in the first instance, to the counties north of the Humber and Mersey, and westward of a line drawn from Portsmouth to Chester. The example of Scotland has completely proved that banks may be instituted on principles which will render them as steady and secure as the Bank of England itself; and why should the manifold advantages attending such establishment be denied to the richest, the most commercial, and, in every respect, the most important part of the United Kingdom! At all events, an attempt will probably be made to evade the law, if it shall not be annulled, for, says the author,

“ A gentleman in the north of England, with whom I have corresponded on this subject, was so impressed with this method of counteracting the injurious effects of the Bank of England charter, as to have seriously intended the formation of a banking-company with not more than six partners, but permanently guaranteed by respectable individuals, to a fixed extent each; and as little or no interest is allowed by many English banks on the current accounts of their customers, I recommended to him that he should propose an allowance of three, four, or five per cent. interest on all sums under a certain amount deposited with the bank by its guarantees as an inducement to their becoming such, which could

not render them *partners*. It is probable, therefore, if not instantly abolished, that the restriction will be so evaded, in a short time, as to render the remaining twelve years of the Bank's charter less remarkable for provincial bank failures than any similar period of the last forty years, &c. &c."

We cannot, however, accede to the principle on which the author recommends the proposal of an indemnity to the Bank of England to induce that body to relinquish their charter at the present moment, and consequently to permit the instant establishment of unrestricted banks; not only in all the counties and towns of the kingdom, but in the metropolis itself. Making all allowances, and desiring us to recollect that the abandonment of the charter will not prevent the carrying on of a great business, he thinks 150,000*l.* or at the most 200,000*l.* a year, "a fair indemnity for the remaining currency of its charter, were the Bank now to give it up." But, it is needless to observe, this is a point which will not, and which ought not, to be brought under discussion. No modification of the charter should exclude the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street, as she is jocularly called, from the privilege and advantage of supplying London and its vicinity with all the necessary paper the inhabitants may require for the wholesome purposes of a free circulation.

As an inducement to form unrestricted banks in country towns, we have to mention, on the authority of the banker now before us, that the largest as well as the smallest of these copartneries north of the Tweed allow from three to four per cent. interest on every sum exceeding 5*l.* or 10*l.* which is deposited with them; that they repay, *whenever required*, the whole or part of such deposits, free of all charges of commission, and in many cases in sums so low as one, two, or three pounds to the humbler class of depositors—these sums being generally lodged in what are called *Interest Receipts*; that the interest is paid as often as is required, but this is not usually more than once or twice in a year, unless the deposits are very large; and yet that with all this liberality and accommodation the original stock of those banks, in most instances, is selling at an advance of 50, 100, 200, 300, or 500 per cent, and some even so high as 1200 per cent. It is farther stated, that the deposits in all the Scottish banks collectively, are supposed to amount to twenty millions sterling. As an instance of their skill and success in managing money matters in the north, the author gives us the history of a bank commenced in a Scottish town, "a considerable number of years ago," with a

nominal capital of two hundred shares of 500*l.* of which only 150*l.* per share, or 20,000*l.* in all, was then paid up; and no subsequent calls were ever found necessary. Their *average* dividend has been eight per cent. besides occasional *bonuses*; and for some late years, successively, they divided 60*l.* per share, besides placing 50,000*l.* to their account of undivided profits, from which account they have laid aside 850*l.* per share, or 170,000*l.*, to form an addition to their original (paid up) capital of 30,000*l.* They had lately above 550,000*l.* lodged with them at 3 per cent. interest, which, with an extensive circulation, enabled them to advance 160,000*l.* on credit accounts—150,000*l.* on current bills—an equal sum on Exchequer bills—and to hold 60,000*l.* in Bank of England stock, besides large investments in the funds. Their shares, although opposed by three other respectable banks and bank branches, were lately selling at 1,400*l.*, being 1,250*l.* more than they originally cost. Many similar examples, it is added, could be given of banking prosperity among the unrestricted companies of Scotland: and it has been already remarked again and again, that a failure, or even a stoppage amongst them is almost unknown. Only four instances are on record since bank notes were first put in circulation. Let our political readers mark and learn, and submit to draw profit from the experience of their neighbours.

This “Review of the Banking System” contains a great deal of miscellaneous matter not at all connected, so far as we can see, with the main subject of the book. It may possibly be of incalculable use to the bill-dealer and money-changer; but being ill-written and incoherently set down, we fairly lost patience in attempting to force our way through it, and therefore we adventure not to analyse its contents.

Legat judæus lucro inhians.

ART. IX. *A Geographical and Commercial View of Northern Central Africa: containing a particular Account of the Course and Termination of the Great River Niger in the Atlantic Ocean: with Maps.* By James M'Queen. 8vo. 288 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.* Blackwood, Edinburgh.

ART. X. *Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, made during an Excursion in that Colony in the Year 1820.* 8vo. 208 pp. 7*s.* 6*d.* Murray, 1821.

MR. M'QUEEN'S book is purely hypothetical, and therefore may be dismissed in a few words. It is but just, however,

to premise, that his hypothesis, whether ultimately it shall be proved correct or not, is powerfully supported by a mass of facts, collected with great labour and diligence, from a variety of sources. Mr. M'Queen is a fire-side traveller (and this is no disparagement to him, for Dean Vincent and Major Rennell were so also) who it seems has read every thing that has been written about the Niger; and being warmed by the subject, has presented the public with his own theory of the course of this ænigmatical River; and, moreover, has submitted to Ministers a very comfortable project for annexing the continent of Africa as a snug province to Great Britain.

According to this gentleman's belief, the outlet of the Niger is to be found in the Bights of Biafra and Benin; bearing in it all the waters of Central Africa, from 10° West Longitude to 28° East Longitude. The length of the stream in its windings is about 2600 British miles, the greater part of which is navigable. These points being once ascertained, the consequences will flow naturally from them.

“To explore Central Africa to its deepest recesses—to acquire the command and control over the whole of its trade, we require only two great stations: first, an insular one near the grand estuary of the Niger; second, as the river has several navigable estuaries, another station in the interior is necessary, either where the stream divides or unites, as may be found most eligible or most healthy. With these we command the whole trade of Northern Africa, from the source of the Senegal to Darfur, and from Bornou to Benin. A third station, at the Rio Lagos, would give us the command of the trade into the deepest recesses of the Kong mountains. If ships cannot navigate to all these more distant parts, we know that boats, and vessels of a magnitude sufficient to render the conveyance of goods cheap, expeditious, and easy, can and do. Steamboats could navigate to the most distant parts—to Balia, to Bornou, and Dar Saley. Ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty days, would serve to reach Timbuctoo, and the most distant parts from our interior settlement. Steam would impel them upwards; the current would bring them down without any expense of fuel. Coals could be carried out cheap; wood can be had in abundance. Who can calculate the advantages that would result from such an intercourse?” P. 173.

The island of Fernando Po is the insular situation which Mr. M'Queen selects; and this, it is thought, holds out a prospect of advantageous settlement to the British; having been successively abandoned by the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spaniards. Boussa, the spot at which Mungo Park's last expedition, unhappily, terminated, is equally well fitted for the inland depôt. Rocks and rapids, it is true, interrupt the

navigation at this place ; but it is on this very account the key of the whole river. A trifling land carriage only would be requisite ; and little more can be necessary for complete success than the unfurling of the British flag.

“ Under the mighty shade thereof, the nations would seek security, comfort, and repose. Allies Great Britain would find in abundance. They would flock to her settlement, if it had the power and the means to protect them. The resources of Africa, and the energies of Africa, under a wise and vigorous policy, may be made to subdue and controul Africa. Let Britain only form such a settlement, and give it that countenance, support, and protection, which the wisdom and energy of British Councils can give, and which the power and resources of the British empire can so well maintain, and Central Africa to future ages will remain a grateful and obedient dependency of this empire. The latter will become the centre of all the wealth, and the focus of all the industry of the former. Then the Niger, like the Ganges, would acknowledge Great Britain as its protector—our King as its Lord.”
P. 178.

It is quite provoking to think that his Majesty's ministers and the commercial world should be so besotted and benighted, so deaf to the calls both of humanity and policy, as to prefer the sacrifice of lives and the failure of expeditions in the search after a dry matter of fact, to the smooth and easy course which lies before them, by a placid self-surrender to Mr. M'Queen's golden dreams.

THE writer on the Cape of Good Hope, is an absolute visitant of that Colony, and he has put together, in a lively and pleasant manner, a variety of information on its statistics, manners, and habits, with which, for the benefit of our readers, we shall proceed to make free.

The roads up the country from Cape Town, are in general good and hard, but as tortuous and meandering as if queen Nitocris herself had laid them down. Through the mountains which bound the peninsula, only two passes are practicable, French Kloof, and Hottentot Holland Kloof ; and even these would be ill adapted to an English chaise and pair. The wind rushes down their channels in terrific gusts ; the waggons which cross them oscillate seconds, and the oxen which draw these waggons, far from observing the monotonous dulness of their European brethren, are compelled to jump from rock to rock. The country immediately beyond is mountainous and thinly peopled. Here and there are scattered a few settlers ; and among them are to be found more than one unhappy Englishman who has been allured by

the promise of a "beautiful and romantic retirement," held out in the Cape Gazette. One hundred miles easterly, are many good substantial boors, who seem to have every thing before them but a market for their produce. Though jealous of the English system of farming, they are sufficiently hospitable to man and beast: mutton and potatoes swimming in sheep's-tail fat, rice-milk, and sour bread form the rapid supper which they hurry over almost on the threshold of bed. Fleas all night, coffee and a pipe in the morning, and a hearty kiss from the women at parting, complete the bill of fare. For all this entertainment no money is asked. Their own countrymen never pay at all, and a rix dollar, which by the exchange is less than two shillings English, more than covers the whole expence liberally from a foreigner.

The boors are for the most part tall, large, and corpulent; the last quality is the result of their gross feeding and grosser indolence. Instances of longevity among them are extremely rare; their manners are neither coarse nor offensive; they wear Wellington trowsers made of sheep-skin, and they floor their houses with cow-dung.

In their agriculture, the Dutch are but a few degrees removed from primitive barbarism.—Their waggons, which carry about a ton weight, are drawn by sixteen and sometimes by twenty oxen. The greatest part of their land consists of sheep walks, and the arable is allowed to exhaust itself by an unassisted succession of the same crops—one field was shewn the Writer which had borne wheat seventeen years running without manure. The corn is *tramped out* by the whole stock of horses belonging to the farm; they relieve each other generally by five and twenty at a time; and requiring the attendance of fourteen men, to perform, uncleanly and imperfectly, that which the threshing machine will execute thoroughly in the same time with no more than eight hands.

The straw, by this process, is reduced to powder, and the grain is plentifully mixed with sand and dirt. Oats, vegetables, and fruit are inferior to our own; the natural grasses are either sour from too much rain, or scanty and burnt up by too much sun. Potatoes are watery, and turnips run immediately to seed.

The native cattle are bony, long-legged, and bad milkers: but a dairy never forms part of the Cape establishment. The price of a good ox is thirty rix dollars; but a stall-fed beast in Cape Town, will fetch a shilling or eighteen pence per pound. The sheep are wretched beasts, with frizzly hair; and, as is well known, like the Hottentot women, from their

youth up, with a tendency to run to fat in tail. This unnatural appendage, which drains the rest of the carcase, has been known, after a drive of two hundred miles from the interior, to weigh 25 pounds; and it commonly averages from six to twelve. The horse is not an indigenous animal, but the breed is a mixture of Spanish and Arabian, introduced from Java; small, active, spirited, and capable of enduring great fatigue. Their prices in the interior, are 100 rix dollars, and upwards. At Cape Town, they fetch twice that sum.

As to fruits, we are somewhat at a loss to determine, whether the Colony possesses any or none. We are told, that "almost all the European and tropical fruits are to be found here, and in abundance;" and in the same breath, that "the pine-apple has been brought here from the Mauritius, but does not thrive in the open air. The English currant and gooseberry have been tried, but without much success, and the climate is too warm for the cherry and the plum. The common hazel and filbert, and the raspberry *tree* (bush) are seen in only one garden in the colony." These deductions appear to us somewhat fearfully to diminish the sum of "all the European fruits."

The Nazaritic vow would be no mortification to us, if the Cape of Good Hope were the only Mother of Wines. We utterly abhor and abjure her uninspiring and ungenerous draughts; and we can scarcely write or whisper their names, without tasting the smack of their adulterous twang upon our lips. The reason is sufficiently clear. "The grapes, ripe and unripe, sound and unsound, with stalks and filth of all kinds, are pressed together." But even without this, we are told there is some latent defect which hitherto has baffled inquiry. It is a singular fact, that the grape of Constantia loses its superior quality at half a mile distance from one particular farm.

The Dutch magistrates possess a discretionary power, which, however it may oppose John Bull's *disrespect* of persons, we have no doubt is eminently useful in practice.

"A gentleman had occasion to complain before the chief magistrate of Cape Town of the conduct of an English farrier, in what he conceived to be the unwarrantable detention of his horse. The man was clamorous in his defence, and offered immediately to make an affidavit in support of it. 'Silence, sir!' said the magistrate; 'this gentleman's word is worth more than all your affidavits.' He was an impudent rascal, and the magistrate knew it." P. 78.

The police also exceeds our own in activity.

"The police are allowed fire-arms and cutlasses, which they use at their own discretion. Not long ago, one of the police was sent to

apprehend the carpenter of an English brig, then lying in the bay, who had refused to obey orders. The man offered some resistance, and the officer immediately shot him dead through the neck. This was conceived a proper execution of his duty." P. 85.

Primogeniture confers no privileges. Divorces may be obtained on the grounds of domestic unhappiness. But the state of conjugal morals is at the lowest ebb of degradation. The husbands keep slave girls, and the wives cherish cicis-bèos; all is taken in good part; and as the hope of posterity forms the chief inducement to marriage, parties frequently meet on experiment; and, unless there is a reasonable prospect of realizing the chief object of their wishes after a season, they enter into a mutual release, and try their fortunes elsewhere.

The settlers from this country arrived in Algoa Bay at the commencement of the rainy season last year (1820.) Such stores as could be spared were furnished by the governor for their immediate accommodation; but many of them, though luckily the season was unusually dry, suffered not a little in their encampment. The prevalent opinion at the Cape is, that the new settlement will fail; but the writer before us, who reasons with acuteness, augurs more favourably of its success.

"An emigrant may be supposed to embark upon an expedition of this sort from one or other of the following motives. Either he is anxious to emancipate himself from the troubles which an increasing family, the difficulties of the times, or other causes, may be fast entailing upon him. He may for this purpose collect a small capital from the sale of his effects, and expect, with resolution and industry, to procure a comfortable and independent subsistence, and to leave his children what he could not at home,—a good tract of land, which will secure them at least from want. Or he may look upon the Cape as a rising colony, where a grand field is open for enterprizing exertion, where a man may grow rich, and retire in a few years to his own country, to enjoy the fruits of his industry.

"Or, in fine, he may, as I suspect to be generally the case, entertain a sort of compound expectation, partaking of both the former.

"Surely a man leaving England from the first of these motives, cannot be ultimately disappointed. If his party be well selected, and he possess a few hundred pounds, to defray the first expences, his land will procure him the means of subsisting, and this is nearly all he can look forward to. It must be confessed, he has to combat the discontent of his people, the inefficiency and tardiness of the laws to remedy this evil, which I have elsewhere noticed, and

the disadvantages of a climate, where the rains * sometimes cease to fall for a whole season, and the scanty supply of water is dried up. With the exception of the last calamity, which is more peculiarly the curse of Africa, these or similar difficulties are to be encountered to all new settlements, and have been a thousand times overcome; and it is to be observed, that no attempts have hitherto been made to remedy this natural deficiency of water, by sinking wells, or other artificial means. Experience only can decide how far this difficulty can be got over.

“ But to the settler, whose hopes are not bounded within such reasonable limits, whose object is the attainment of wealth, and the retiring after a few years of labour with the fruit of his industry, more serious obstacles will present themselves. In a new country like the present, where all will be landed proprietors and growers, he cannot look forward to any internal trade, till the mechanic arts and manufactures are introduced, which must be the work of a long lapse of years.” P. 127.

“ The resolute and persevering efforts of the intelligent farmer, possessed of a little capital, whose party has been well selected, will hardly fail of obtaining for himself and family a comfortable, though not a luxurious subsistence, and a comparative affluence, with freedom from solicitude, to what that class of the community are now enjoying at home. He will probably have opportunities of gradually extending his possessions, and his children will inherit a fair portion of mother earth, which will pour out its fruits in abundance. As population increases, and a gradual approximation to refinement and luxury takes place; as the artificial wants of society demand a supply; an internal commerce will be slowly set on foot, and may open to succeeding generations the avenues to opulence.” P. 134.

These remarks are to be understood however as applying to agriculturists principally, and these in fact formed but a small part of the new colony. The emigrants consisted chiefly of half-pay officers, tradesmen, clerks under government, and journeymen manufacturers. One gentleman brought with him a printing press; the wife of another was followed by a sedan chair. Two professors of music were among the party; which was not likely to be “ urged unwept in long night,” for a poet was numbered in its ranks, bearing a letter of introduction from the Laureate of England to the Governor of Hottentot and Kaffer-land.

A single passage more deserves attention; it is one proof, among many others, of the restless proselytism which animates our sectarians.

* “ It has been observed, that the rains fall about once in seven years; but in some parts of the colony once in five years.”

“ His majesty's ministers were particularly anxious that clergymen should accompany the expedition ; conceiving, no doubt, that the encouragement of religion was the best method of insuring habits of industry and sobriety. Whether by design or accident it is difficult to say, but in addition to the regular clergymen provided, there was a most copious sprinkling of preachers, to grace the new settlement with their eloquence, and disperse the light of God. How far the efforts of these gentlemen are likely to be beneficial, may be collected from their practice on shipboard, where these religious parties, as they were termed, were embarked. There was constant discussion, with dissensions and divisions innumerable—‘satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum’—an incessant ranting about virtues, with no endeavour at the attainment of any. Such ignorant pretenders are not likely to diffuse the mild lessons of Christianity, or to benefit the cause of social order.” P. 138.

A few useful hints to emigrants, and a chapter on St. Helena, which contains nothing new, conclude this little volume. The writer of it is a man of sense, cultivation, and reflection ; who evidently observes with keenness, and digests his observations with good taste. He may furnish an useful lesson of modesty and moderation to the immense vulgar of quarto tourists.

ART. XI. *Essai Géologique sur l'Ecosse. Par A. Boué, Docteur en Medecin, Membre de la Société Wernerienne, &c. &c. Paris.*

IT is a somewhat remarkable occurrence in the history of modern science, to review in this part of the kingdom a geological work on Scotland, written at Paris by a native of France. The northern of Great Britain, no doubt, and particularly that portion of it which extends from the river Forth to the Shetland isles and the Hebrides, presents one of the finest fields for geological research to which the attention of the European philosopher can any where be attracted ; and it is therefore, not at all surprising that an ingenious foreigner should avail himself of an advantage known and highly valued abroad, though hitherto not sufficiently appreciated by the native student. The mountains of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, and Aberdeen afford specimens of the oldest rocks and the most primitive arrangements recognized by the system builders on either side of the question ; whilst the vallies

which separate those Alpine ranges, and the plains which are nourished by the unceasing waste of their mineral stores, exhibit also the most recent forms of alluvial deposition. The disciples of Werner and the followers of Hutton are alike attracted to the naked and savage regions of the granitic and porphyry formations of the highlands; and either class of theorists find their tenets confirmed and their speculations fortified by contemplating the gigantic masses and the perpendicular cliffs of Ben Nevis and Caerngorm. But the late investigations of Macculloch and Boué supply ample proof that the interesting country now specified is not yet half explored, and, moreover, that many of those who preceded them, as geological travellers have examined nature as partizans of an established school rather than as lovers of knowledge.

Mr. Jameson of Edinburgh, to whom Dr. Boué has dedicated his Essay, set the first example of a geological tour in the northern parts of this island. We are perfectly aware that Mr. Williams, the author of the "*Mineral Kingdom*," had visited many parts of Scotland before the Professor of Natural History just named, appeared as a scientific tourist; but every body knows that Williams was a mere practical miner, and though a man of great ability and operative skill, entirely ignorant of mineralogy, viewed at least as a branch of geognostic enquiry. In truth, systematic mineralogy has been but a very short time cultivated in any part of this kingdom; and the study of the earth's surface, as founded on an accurate knowledge of its principal ingredients, has been cultivated during a period still shorter. The "*Geological Travels*" of Jameson produced, indeed, much valuable information theretofore altogether unknown, and opened up a path of investigation which has since been pursued with much zeal, by several distinguished writers; and yet it cannot be concealed that his attachment to the school of Freyberg influenced considerably the result of his enquiries, and gave a decided bias to his reasoning on all the facts which passed before him. Since that period, geologists have gradually relinquished theory and gained ground in real knowledge. Discovery, has, in a great measure, banished the intrusive spirit of hypothesis from our class-rooms, our memoirs, our transactions, and essays; and Dr. Boué tells his patron, as a compliment to his good sense and modesty, that the regard to geological investigations, "*leur obscurité seule vous a engagé à renvoyer d'année en année la publication de vos observations, pour examiner de nouveau les faits, et pour pouvoir les exposer à la fin avec toute l'impartialité et l'exactitude qui caractérisent vos écrits.*"

Before we proceed to an analysis of this "Essai Géologique," we think it incumbent upon us, in these evil days, to state distinctly to what extent and under what points of view, we regard such enquiries as not only perfectly safe, but even legitimate subjects of philosophical curiosity, and calculated so far as they go, to answer those general ends for the attainment of which men may laudably devote their time and talents. We require not to be told that certain suspicions, not altogether perhaps without foundation, have been entertained against modern geologists as persons, who, to say the least, indulge freely in loose and unguarded language, and bring forward speculations which are supposed to have a tendency to shake the faith of the young and the weak in the inspired writings, particularly when considered as a record of the divine procedure relative to our globe. The charge implied in this statement, is not, however, if properly weighed, to be confined to Geology. Every branch of natural science is open to the same abuse; and the writer or teacher, accordingly, who is injudicious enough to question the Mosaic Chronology on the ground of supposed geological phenomena, will derive as little respect for his Bible from the sublime contemplations of astronomy, from the study of optics, or even from the wonders revealed by comparative anatomy. The fault is in the man, not in the subject.

Every person will acknowledge that the study of minerals, like that of plants, of flowers, or of shells, is perfectly innocent in itself. Even the next step, which leads the student to trace the connection of simple minerals in forming rocks, and beds, and strata, as constituent parts of the earth's surface will not be pronounced more dangerous to religious belief than an enquiry into the physiological principles which explain the growth, the propagation, and the uninterrupted succession of the several members of the vegetable kingdom. The arrangement, the distribution, the affinities and the relations of rocky bodies assuredly involve in their study nothing more profane or atheistical than the heaths and the mosses which blossom on the mountain whose composition they determine, and to whose stormy summit they afford at once an ornament and a protection. It has no doubt been insinuated, that the changes to which the crust of the earth has been subjected, cannot all have taken place within the limited period which in the Bible is assigned to its existence. But have not infidel astronomers likewise insinuated, that there are facts recorded in the annals of their science which could carry back not only the era of our globe, but even the history of man, to a much more distant beginning than can be measured by

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5825 years? Have we not had laid before the public eye, calculations of eclipses, and inferences drawn from the precession of the equinoctial points, which if boldly announced would stagger all our chronology sacred and profane, and give man a duration as the tenant of this globe, totally inconsistent with the best authenticated records? Geology, we admit, has been employed by similar hands to similar purposes; notwithstanding we are perfectly satisfied that where there is no predisposition to sceptical sentiments, the study of the earth and the study of the stars will inflame rather than cool the feeling of devotion natural to any pure heart. If an undevout astronomer be justly accounted mad, an infidel geologist may as justly be suspected of the same moral derangement.

Whatever may be thought of the age of our earth, regarded simply as an unorganized mass of mineral substances, it is abundantly clear that, *as the habitation of man*, its history is not more ancient than that given in the books of Moses. The beginning of society, the origin of all human institutions, the rise of families and nations, the invention of arts and the progress of science, the laws, the manners, the dress, and the dwellings even of the first men are still before us, and can be traced back to a period considerably *within* the limits of scriptural chronology. Even the appearance of the earth itself, as has been well shown by Cuvier, demonstrates that the lapse of time intervening between our own days and the epoch of the great Flood is by no means greater than the Pentateuch defines it; and thus the faith of the Christian is to a certain extent illustrated by the conclusions of geology.

Upon examining into the various parts of the outer coat of the earth, it is, no doubt, manifest, that some portions of it are older than others; that the granitic and schistose formations, for example, have greater antiquity than those of the shell, limestone, and alluvial rocks. This is a fact that no one can deny who has paid even the slightest attention to the most common appearances. But age in this respect is entirely relative. We say that one mountain-rock must have existed before some other rock occupied its present place; but no geologist takes upon himself to pronounce that the former must have existed 10,000 years, and the latter only 6,000, or pretends to expound a chronology, which shall set forth to his reader the dates and periods at which the several processes of nature, directed by Infinite Wisdom, arrived at their completion. Viewed in reference to such questions and conjectures, Geology gives no more encouragement to sceptical fancies than is given by Botany; which sees amidst the *debris* of the temperate zones the petrified remains of tropical

plants ; or by Anatomy, which is even now busy tracing the vestiges of an animal kingdom long extinct, by comparing its relics with the structure of modern zoology. The facts now alluded to, place beyond all doubt the existence of a great catastrophe, which at a remote period involved in a common ruin the animal and vegetable reigns, and which seems also to have impressed deep marks of its fury on the more impassible frames of the highest mountains, and on the mineral deposits which lie hid in the bosom of the earth. The astronomer, the botanist, the anatomist, and the geologist proceed upon the same grounds in their several attempts to trace the operation and the effects of those stupendous physical causes which the Almighty employed to punish the wickedness of man ; an enquiry, it will be confessed, which has no natural tendency to alienate the mind from the recognition of divine power, or to blunt its perceptions of divine justice.

We have already adverted to the distinction which has been sometimes claimed by geologists, between considering our globe as an aggregation of mineral substances, in the chaotic state, and reviewing its history as the abode of man ; and our readers cannot fail to be perfectly aware that this distinction has been allowed by several learned and pious divines of our own church. These theological writers conceive, that after the materials of the earth were created, which event took place " in the beginning," an indefinite period revolved, during which the earth was still " without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep ;" and that it was not until it pleased the omnipotent Creator to make man, that a habitation was fitted up for his reception, illumined by the sun, and covered with plants and flowers. This is, no doubt, a mere hypothesis, and which will, of course, be received or refused, according to the particular principles of biblical interpretation by which it shall be tried. Still, there is certainly no impiety in the supposition. A man may accede to it, and yet make no sacrifice of that reverence which he owes to revealed truth ; and a man may reject it without any suspicion of a heterodox tendency, or sceptical object. But, after all, the geologist has no need to solicit any such concession, for he has no concern with the *absolute* age of the earth, and even very little with the comparative antiquity of its several portions, as they now present themselves on its surface. The main object of his investigations is simply to ascertain the composition of rocks, their distribution and association as parts of the terrestrial shell ; and all this can be done as satisfactorily upon the basis

of the Mosaic cosmogony, of which the date is unquestioned; as upon the infinite series of ages, and countless millions of years, in which the Hindoc chronologer allows his imagination to run riot.

So much in the name of defence for the much abused and calumniated study of geology. It is, we repeat, entirely harmless in itself; and we will add, the student who finds in it food for the depraved appetite of infidelity, will be seen to rove, a heartless sceptic, over every other field of natural science.

As to its utility, the test of every modern pursuit, we have the usual claim to urge in its behalf, that it expands and liberalizes the mind, gives grand views of God's power, and opens up an additional channel through which to approach that mighty working which so closely identifies nature with her Divine Author. In regard to practical knowledge, and the command of the physical qualities of matter as subservient to the uses and ornament of life, geology bears nearly the same relation to the various arts of mining, metallurgy, and even agriculture, that alchymy bore of old to the arts which depend upon chemistry. The mineralogist has made discoveries extremely valuable to the artist and manufacturer; and the geognost in his researches into the affinities of beds and strata, has accidentally thrown great light on the fossil riches with which they are diversified, and thereby added to the available wealth of extensive provinces. But, in a word, suffice it to observe, that wherever the hand of God can be traced, the mind of man may be profitably employed; and that in proportion as the secondary causes employed by the adorable Creator are revealed to human knowledge, the power of man and his dignity will receive a corresponding increase.

We now proceed to Dr. Boué's performance; a work of very considerable value, both as a record of facts, and as an ingenious effort to place geological principles on a rational and intelligible footing. The author professes to follow the dogmas of Werner as the foundation of his system, and, in various parts of his book, fails not to express his amazement at the absurdities of Hutton; and yet it somehow happens that his views have a nearer affinity to the doctrines of the Edinburgh physician, than to those of the Freyberg miner. On the main points of controversy, indeed, the origin of granite, of porphyry, and of all the denominations of trap, he holds with neither school; for whilst he claims an igneous origin for most of the unstratified rocks, he strenuously opposes the notion of a central fire, and the whole process of

injecting liquid greenstone and melted granite among the more ancient deposits. These considerations, however, would be premature at present, though we may observe, in passing, that a review of them will constitute the chief part of our article. In the mean time let us take the information which the Doctor is pleased to give us in regard to his means of knowing fully the subject on which he writes; there being a sort of prejudice or misgiving in most minds, when a foreigner undertakes to communicate instruction, relative to the things of one's own country.

“Amené par des circonstances accidentelles en Ecosse, J'ai profité de mon séjour dans ce pays, pour tacher d'y saisir les traits caractéristiques des ses habitans, pour admirer ses beaux sites, et pour apprendre à connoître ses productions végétales et minérales. Guidé par les leçons des savans d'Edinbourg, et muni des instructions qu'ils donnent avec tant d'affabilité aux étrangers, j'ai fait, pendant plusieurs années, des voyages à pied dans différentes provinces de ce royaume, et j'ai trouvé partout des alimens à ma curiosité; ici c'étoient les habitudes antiques des bergers Caledoniens, qui m'offraient un contraste frappant avec celles des habitans des côtes, affrontant chaque jour la mort pour appaiser leur faim, ou avec celles de ces bruyantes villes manufacturières du midi de l'Ecosse; là je ne pouvais cesser d'admirer la majesté des formes des montagnes, et les bords enchanteurs de ces lacs et baies septentrionales ornées de ruines qui rappellent tant de souvenirs, &c. &c.—C'est après ainsi parcourir une grande partie de la Caledonie, et après n'avoir été guère arrêté dans ces excursions que par les pluies et les vents, seule intempérie du climat doux et humide de ce pays, que je crus avoir recueilli assez de faits pour pouvoir me hasarder à produire au jour, &c. &c. et pour esquisser à grands traits les principaux faits géologiques de l'Ecosse, et préparer ainsi aux ouvrages classiques qui ne peuvent pas tarder à sortir de la plume des géologues Ecossais, et surtout de celle de leur chef.”

The Essay of Dr. Boué is divided into three parts: the first of which is devoted to a general view of the Physical Geography of Scotland, including also a few remarks on its hydrography; the second embraces a very full account of the different *formations* exemplified in the geological structure of that country; whilst the third comprehends a rapid sketch of the geognostic constitution of the surrounding countries, England, Ireland, France, and the Scandinavian peninsula, together with some theoretical considerations founded on the general survey now described.

The *first* part is extremely well drawn up, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the localities of Scotland; but

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how interesting soever it may be to a foreign reader, and even indispensable to his comprehension of the subject about to be discussed, it can have no attractions for an English geologist, to whom the whole is necessarily familiar. We therefore proceed to the second division of the Essay, entitled "*De la Structure Geognostique de l'Ecosse.*"

It will surprise the systematic student, who has been all his life accustomed to three principal formations, the primitive, the transition, and the secondary or floetz, and who may have perceived that Dr. Macculloch reduces the whole to two leading orders, to find, in the work now before us, no fewer than *ten* formations. These, according to our author, are the formations (terrains) of *granite*, of *gneiss*, of *mica-slate*, of *porphyry*, of *chlorite quartz* and *clay slate*, of *gray-wacke*, the *red sandstone*, or *coaly formation* (*grès rouge ou houiller*) the later *limestone* and *sandstone*, the *volcanic* formation, and, lastly, the *alluvial*.

This portion of the book, highly interesting and useful as a guide to the actual structure of the Scottish mountains, admits very imperfectly of an intelligible abstract. It consists, in fact, of a series of extremely minute descriptions of particular localities, according to the character of the rocks which prevail in them—details which must be presented entire, or altogether withheld. For example, we are told that the number of groupes or insulated portions of granite and sienite in Scotland amounts to about nineteen; every one of which has characters so peculiar as to require a separate delineation; and forthwith all the minutiae of their structure are recorded with a faithful and unwearied hand. We cannot encounter the fatigue of a recapitulation, but we assure the juvenile student that he will find his labour amply repaid by the acquisition of much valuable knowledge.

Next follows *le terrain gneiss*, on which we are sorry to observe the author loses himself completely. Blindfolded by some wag who writes occasionally in the Geological Transactions, and who chose to deny the existence of gneiss as a rock distinguishable from granite, the polite Frenchman did not allow himself to perceive that more than half the country over which he travelled (*a pied*, too) north of the Tay is composed of gneiss as the fundamental deposit. The writer in question, who, we believe, was Dr. Macculloch, has since discovered his mistake, and admitted the usual distinction in primitive rocks; but Dr. Boué, who seems, on this occasion, as also on some others, to have used his predecessor's legs as well as his eyes, adheres to the opinion first given, and has, consequently, in his geological map of

Scotland, laid down the *gneiss* district as consisting of *mica-slate*. Nearly the whole country from Dundee to Caithness is, in the map, coloured with the tint of micaceous schist—a circumstance, we confess, which creates a certain degree of doubt as to the actual and personal inspection of that extensive field by the industrious author now before us. Nor is our astonishment lessened when we find Dr. Boué placing as subordinate to the mica-slate those vast masses of gneiss in Ross and Inverness-shire, so clearly pointed out and described both by Professor Jameson and Dr. Macculloch. We leave him, however, to settle the dispute with the able geologists now named, to neither of whom, we believe, is any part of that wild region altogether unknown.

The third formation is that of mica-schist itself, which the author, according to the views just given, assures us “*occupe le plus de place en Ecosse, puisque c'est la roche dominante qui donne un caractere si uniforme a toute cette partie de ce royaume, au nord du pied meridional des Grampians, et assujettit ses habitans aux habitudes et au genre de vie qui ont toujours distingué le rusé et belliqueux montagnard Ecossois, des habitans des plaines.*”

The facts and observations arranged under the above head are remarkable for perspicuity, making due allowance for the specialties of nomenclature.

Between the mica-slate and clay-slate Dr. Boué places the porphyry formation; acknowledging at the same time that he does so without possessing any very distinct ideas as to its precise geognostic situation.

We recommend to the young geologist a careful study of the several sections devoted to the red sandstone and coal formations; the latter of which is not improperly considered as subordinate to the other. The trap rocks, which occupy certain portions of that formation, and about the origin of which so much controversy has been maintained between the two dominant classes of geologists, are very minutely described by Dr. Boué, and, generally speaking, with wonderful accuracy. We ourselves have examined most of the ground in question, and read several tracts illustrating its singular structure, written by keen partisans of each of the rival theories; and we willingly do our author the justice to declare that his details will be readily received by Wernerian and Huttonian, how little soever they may be disposed to adopt his conclusions.

Under the head of “*Terrain de calcaire et de grès postérieurs au grès rouge, ou terrain de calcaire a gryphites,*” Dr. Boué opposes himself boldly to Dr. Macculloch on the

ground assumed by the latter, relative to the identity of primitive and secondary limestone. From the fact, observed by him in one of the Hebrides, that limestone, having all the ordinary characters of that which is called primitive, passes into the stratified or secondary, he not unnaturally inferred that their origin must be the same. He imagined also that he observed organized remains in the former; a circumstance which, if well established, would certainly warrant the inference which that ardent enquirer is so willing to found upon it.

"Enfin," says his antagonist, "entraîné par les idées ingénieuses du Docteur Hutton, et n'admettant pas la division des terrains de transition il se satisfait plus vite qu'un autre: il croit avoir suffisamment prouvé l'union intime de ces calcaires, et ne s'occupe plus que d'expliquer toutes ces anomalies par la chaleur des nappes ignées de sienite ou de trapp, mais malheureusement la théorie Huttonienne elle même nous servira en partie à lui ôter ses points d'appui. D'abord, si la chaleur de roches en fusion étant la cause de l'état cristallin de ces calcaires, l'on pourrait s'étonner pourquoi ils se trouveroient mêlées de parties supposées intactes: mais j'abandonne cette difficulté; j'admets que M. Macculloch a bien deviné l'origine de la grande masse cristalline, que l'inégalité de chaleur de ces anciennes laves a produit ces anomalies et même que l'idée bizarre de laves cachées sous les roches peut être employées dans les cas les plus extraordinaires; mais ce que je lui conteste, faute de preuves, c'est que la chaleur et la pression la plus intense puissent changer tellement la composition d'une masse minérale qu'un calcaire terreux mêlé de sable devienne un calcaire cristallin mêlé de silice, d'argile, de magnesia, et renfermant des amas de serpentine transparente."

There is a very long article on "le terrain volcanique"—a formation which is said to bear a striking analogy to those of indisputably extinguished volcanoes. This deposition is almost entirely confined to the western coast of Scotland, where it is said to constitute a considerable portion of the Hebridean isles as well as of those in the Frith of Clyde, and even to extend itself into the great valley which separates the Grampian range from the grey wacke mountains of the south. It would be impossible to follow the reasoning of the ingenious author throughout this interesting section without stating the principles of his geognostic theory, because as his views, as far as they are peculiar, rest solely on the origin of basalt and the other trap rocks, they are ever and anon brought forward by him whilst describing the geological features of the several districts in which they occur. In the pursuit of his hypothetical speculations he, of course, comes

occasionally into collision with Dr. Macculloch and other members of the Huttonian school; and it is extremely amusing to a neutral reader to observe how far, in his eagerness for victory, the politeness of his language is at variance with his suspicions of inaccurate statement and bad logic on the part of his antagonists. After a stout conflict with Messieurs Macculloch, Buckland, and Conybeare in regard to the nature and origin of chert or flinty-slate, he expresses himself as follows. “*Mais le geologue qui se defie autant des idées trop erronées du Docteur Hutton que de la partialité systématique de certains élèves de l'école de Freyberg, essaiera tous les moyens possibles pour approfondir la nature de ces roches et il verra bientôt qu'elles rentrent dans une classe de produits tout a fait differens qui, malgré les descriptions qu'on en a données, sont encore peu connus.*”

When describing the country around Edinburgh, Dr. Boué fearlessly throws down his glove to the whole school of Wernerians, now flourishing in that neighbourhood, not excepting even “*le chef de l'école*” himself. The coal field which surrounds that city, and extends to some distance from either shore of the Forth, presents many groupes and isolated masses of trap rock; and these the Huttonians have pronounced to be distinct specimens of the igneous or plutonic formation, whilst the disciples of Werner are no less obstinate in describing them as depositions from an aqueous solution. Our author differs from both, and maintains that the rocks in question are volcanic, and formed while as yet the crater whence they proceeded was under the level of the surrounding sea. It is clear, says he, that the hill called Arthur Seat is a volcanic mass, resting upon the inferior beds of the coal formation, with which it may perhaps be connected, notwithstanding its singular position; though, adds he, it appears more probable that it makes a part of the later deposit, to which are attached more or less intimately the rock of the castle of Edinburgh, eminences of Craig Lockart, the basalts situated still further to the West, and even the obtuse cones of Dalmahoy, &c. &c. After having thus unfolded the structure of this groupe, if, he continues, one goes to examine the basaltic mass which extends from east to west, and upon which is built the most ancient part of the city of Edinburgh, there will be found a great mass of unstratified volcanic rocks, which, resting on a basis of that sandstone peculiar to the coal formation, begin to appear between Salisbury Craig and the Calton-hill, and rise gradually towards the castle, where they attain the height of 335 feet above the level of the adjoining Frith. “*Mais d'où est venue cette lave? doit-on*

supposer qu'elle est près de l'endroit dont elle est sortie, ou est-ce une portion d'une grande coulée? Vers quel côté se dirigeait ce courant igné, et quelle est sa liaison avec la masse trapéenne du mont Calton? telles sont les questions qui se présentent à l'esprit, et aux quelles on ne peut répondre que par les apparences présentées par les anciens courans de lave."

This is unquestionably a near approach to the opinions of Dr. Hutton, whose whole theory began with Arthur Seat, and never proceeded much beyond it. Following the rule of Virgil's peasant, he fondly conceived that all the mountains on the face of the earth were like the proud little hill which towers above the smoky roofs of Edinburgh.

"Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos Noram."

The Wernerians, too, have taken their main position on that celebrated eminence, and still seem determined to defend it to the last; well knowing that if they yield basalt, greenstone, and trap-tuff to the enemy, granite, porphyry, and even sienite must soon share the same dishonourable fate, and all their conquests and their glory will disappear from the earth. What value must the the head of the Edinburgh school now set upon the complimentary assurance of Dr. Boué, that "j'ai mis à profit les intéressantes leçons de all. Jameson, et j'ai suivi dans mon travail les principes de son école." The Professor must indeed be amazed at this application of his principles, so completely subversive of all the conclusions which he is wont to found upon them!

Passing over the "terrain d'alluvion" which presents nothing either new or striking, we advance to the third part of the work, containing, among other things, the author's "considerations generales theoriques."

In the first place, Dr. Boué scouts the Wernerian idea of universal formations. He admits indeed that rocks of the granitic form (*granitoides*), constitute the base of all the deposits (depôts) which, rising above the sea, give existence to Scotland; and yet in the very same page he denies this pre-eminence to granite properly so called. There is, says he, but a very small number of granitic masses which have all the characters necessary to place them under the deposit of gneiss; and he goes on to specify the district of Braemar, and three or four other localities as the only instances in Scotland of a truly primordial granite. Perhaps the author is not aware that the Wernerians of 1821 have modified considerably their opinions in regard to the primitive rocks; no

longer insisting on separate or distinct formations of granite, gneiss, mica-slate, and the other members of that series, but rather choosing to view the whole as the result of a simultaneous crystallization. Whether the same notion will be extended to the transition rocks we presume not to say; not knowing on what principle of chemical deposition the structure of the grey wackes and sandstones of that order can be satisfactorily explained. Leaving all subordinate points, however, the Doctor at length arrives at the main question, *Quelle est l'origine des terrains ecossais?* How can one reasonably explain to one's self, in the actual state of human knowledge, this successive formation and their characters?

As to the older formations nothing is attempted, and we readily enter into the justice of the author's remark, that geologists have generally begun with the primitive rocks, of which they could not experimentally acquire any knowledge; and, having established their theories on that unknown ground, they descend to the later formations, and insist upon explaining their nature and origin, upon the theoretical principles which they had gratuitously assumed in regard to the more ancient. It is, as he properly calls it, a march from the unknown to the known; a mode of procedure which covers with voluntary darkness a great variety of facts which nature has vouchsafed to bring to light. Thus, because the granitic rocks of the primordial class are ascribed *hypothetically* to a chemical deposition from an aqueous menstruum, the trap rocks of the newest order must have a similar origin. This absurd rule pervades all their speculations. If, for example, the crystalline substances enclosed in certain trap rocks be advanced as a proof of the intimate connection of these last with volcanic products, the thorough-paced geologist will exclaim, that resemblances go for nothing, because, forsooth, almost all the same minerals are found in the primitive rocks. Is it not, says Dr. Boué, as if a person who knew only a few words of English were to set himself to read Shakspeare, and endeavour to guess, without the help of a dictionary, the meaning of the terms which were unknown to him; and then to apply his pretended knowledge, founded upon a few conjectures more or less ingenious, to the exposition of the Vicar of Wakefield!

The Doctor's method of conducting geological researches is infinitely more philosophical than that which generally obtains. He founds his procedure on facts, and never transgresses the limits of a reasonable analogy. Beginning with the grey-wacke formation, and proceeding to the red sandstone,

he ascribes their origin to the operation of causes which are still in existence and partially active,—the influence, namely, of water whether tranquil or in currents, in dissolving rocky bodies, and in scattering their *débris* over the adjacent plains. The characters of both the formations now specified seem clearly to determine the source whence they sprang. The nature of their ingredients and the manner of their aggregation at once denote their affinity to more ancient bodies, and carry back their origin to that remote period when the great waters covered the surface of our globe.

In like manner he endeavours to proceed from the known to the unknown in regard to the trap rocks which present themselves so abundantly in the red-sandstone formation. Finding that volcanoes produce rocks bearing a striking resemblance to the deposits in question, and even in some instances exhibiting a strict identity of matter as well as of structure, he thinks himself warranted to conclude that the trap formations have likewise had a volcanic origin. To make out this point, therefore, it is only incumbent upon him, as he justly conceives, to establish the similarity now spoken of, between rocks avowedly volcanic and those which he wants to prove such ; and to remove whatever physical objections may be imagined to oppose themselves to the existence of volcanoes at the epoch of the trap formation. In this attempt he stands almost alone, for although “un nombre assez considerable de geologues anglais reconnaissent bien la volcanicité des roches dont nous parlons, mais imbus des idées erronées du Docteur Hutton ils sont enclins a croire que les laves de ce temps n'ont pas coulés comme a present, en consequence ils les font arriver de mille manieres au milieu des roches, et leur font produire des effets qui n'existent pas dans la nature, où qui s'expliquent de la maniere la plus simple, suivant les idées des volcanistes.”

In establishing the identity of the igneous origin of the trap rocks, found in the red-sandstone formation, and of such rocks as are allowed to be volcanic, he insists upon the similarity of the *composition*, and the *mineralogical structure* of these two substances, the resemblance of the *minerals which they embody*, and thirdly, on the similarity of *their position*, et de *presque tous leurs accidens*.

As to the first particular, every one, says he, has recognized in the trap rocks of the red sand-stone formation, feldspar, oxidulous titaniferous iron, quartz, mica-hornblend, and even many persons of an opinion opposite to that which he holds, allow there is to be found in these rocks augite and even olivine. But supposing this to be a mistake, and

that augite does not exist in them, he asks whether there be any product whatever, clearly aqueous in its origin, which presents to us an assemblage even of the other minerals. There is not one. I know well, he continues, that recourse may be had here to the old objection that mineralogical appearances are deceitful, and that even if this identity of composition were proved, it might still be regarded as possible, that the same rocks which in one case are formed from water, by precipitation, may in another case, have been formed by means of fire; on the principle that these two agents have equally the power of forming certain siliceous productions. But the question here does not respect mere fragments of rocks; it turns upon the general composition of two mineral masses; and until it shall be shewn that water has naturally the power of precipitating, on some occasions, feldspar, mica, and titanated iron, I shall think myself entitled, says the author, to regard all attempts to explain the origin of such productions on the *aqueous* principle, as mere dreams; or at least as consequences drawn, in the first instance, from theoretical ideas, in respect to the primitive rocks, and afterwards applied to throw light on later formations which ought to be better known than the others whose properties are adduced to explain them. Since one is allowed to make conjectures, it seems wiser in prosecuting a theory, to explain geological problems upon the ground of facts which nature presents every day, in her regular operations, than to imagine miracles, or changes in her immutable laws; as even these, if admitted, would be altogether inexplicable according to our actual knowledge whether of chemistry or geology.

Besides identity of composition, he proceeds to shew at some length, that the trap rocks and the volcanic, have almost all the same properties—the same structure *in the great and in the small*—and that they embody the same crystals. “En un mot tout ce que j'ai dit sur la position géognostique des couches felds-pathiques et trappéennes du gris rouge Ecosais, et en particuliere de ces dépôts charbonneux, vient à l'appui de l'idée de leur origine volcanique.”

Ascending towards the primitive rocks, Dr. Boué applies the same principles to explain the origin of trap in the grey wacke formation, usually esteemed the oldest of the transition series. He denies the existence of chemical precipitates in that order of rocks. The pudding-stone, connected with grey wacke, like grey wacke itself are, says he, “des roches aggrégées,” that is composed of the debris of prior rocks, accumulated by the agency of water in the neighbourhood of the more ancient mountains, much in the same way

as we see *deltas* formed at the mouths of large rivers, or banks of sand deposited at the entrance of extensive bays. The trap rocks here are, according to our author, likewise decidedly volcanic; and the same arguments, drawn from composition, structure, position, and imbedded minerals, which were used to establish the identity of the floetz trap and the known products of volcanoes, are repeated with slight modifications under this head to effect the same object, in regard to the transition trap.

Entering the region of the primordial rocks, Dr. Boué detects the operation of the same causes, and attended with nearly the same results. All the schistose depositions, and more especially the quartz and chlorite slates, are pronounced mechanical; that is, an aggregation of the debris of more ancient rocks united in a certain base and held together by a particular cement. "En effet, beaucoup de roches quartzieuses et chloriteuses semblent présenter dans la manière de leur aggregation et les fragmens qu'elles contiennent, des caractères si evidens d'aggregation mecanique que plusieurs geologues les ont classées parmi les granwachés, quoique tous ne soient pas de l'opinion que je viens d'émettre." The same principles are immediately extended to clay-slate, mica-slate, and gneiss. This last rock, like all the foregoing, is composed mechanically of the ingredients of a mineral body still older than it. It is made up of the constituent parts of granite; being in fact neither more nor less than a stratified granite, and embodying the mineralogical substances which are derived from granite. In a word, the unstratified rocks, granite, sienite, and porphyry are *volcanic*, and were the first formed of all the bodies which compose the great mountain ranges of the earth, and serve as points of attachment to which all our continents adhere, and from the materials of which all our land is derived. On these views, by no means original, rests the geological theory of Dr. Boué, which he gives briefly in the following sentences.

"Les roches granitoïdes primitives, d'après les idées que je viens d'émettre, auraient formé d'abord des grandes masses de granite associées avec quelques amas porphyriques et sieniteques dont nous n'appercevons que rarement les restes, et d'on seroient derivé en partie, par des destructions posterieurs, le terrain du gneiss, pendant la formation duquel des coulées de différentes roches se seroient intercalées entre ces aggregats.

"Des eruptions volcaniques se seroient ensuite renouvelles peut-être avant ou au milieu de la formation du mica-schiste, et auroient aussi donné lieu à des ames, des coulées et quelques filons graniliques ou sienitiques, et pendant ou après la formations des

roches quartzzeuses et chloriteuses auroient été formés ces amas de sienites ou de roches granitoïdes si abondans en roches porphyriques, et accompagnée aussi de quelques filons qui sont des fentes remplies par les laves dans leur marche, ou bien lateralement au moment du soulèvement des masses, et les ramifications qu'elles presentent quelquefois, feraient presumer que les roches n'étaient par encore entierement consolidées au moment de leur formation.

“ Ces idées theoriques feraient donc deriver la formation de la croûte du globe de quelques lois generales simples et encore actuellement existantes, et l'explication de l'origine de toutes les masses minerales se trouverait de presque donnée en disant que la croûte du globe est composée d'une succession de roches non stratifiées de formation ignée et des roches stratifiées que l'eau a formé mechaniquement ou chimiquement avec les premieres produits, ou avec des substances provenant des animaux, des plantes, ou des sources encore actuellement inconnues.”

We have said that these views are by no means original. They are, in fact, the very same which Dr. Knight of Belfast, has advanced in his “ New Theory of the Earth ;” proceeding equally on the ground of a modified Huttonianism, and abjuring alike all deference for the founder of the plutonic school. Can it be possible that Dr. Boué has not read Dr. Knight's book ? There is not in any part of his Essay the slightest allusion to the “ New Theory,” although published a year before the “ Western Isles” of Dr. Macculloch, the “ *apparition subite*” of which work seems to have given a new character to the labours of the Parisian geologist. Such a coincidence is at all events remarkably striking, and, if entirely accidental, appears to indicate a new era in geognostic research ; the same views occurring at the same time to authors who had nothing in common besides the natural objects to which their studies were separately directed.

The opinion that the stratified rocks of the primitive class were formed from a mechanical deposition of older rocks, suspended in an aqueous solvent or vehicle, has been held by several geologists of great name. We find in Jameson's Mineralogy of the Scottish isles, that Ferber and Pallas observing appearances of granitic masses and schistus passing into each other in the Russian mountains, supposed that gneiss, mica slate and clay slate were formed from the *detritus* of granite. Dr. Macculloch, too, in several passages addressed to the Geological Society, has expressed his belief that some of the primitive rocks, particularly quartz and mica-slate, will be found to have had a mechanical origin, and to have derived their materials from the ingredients of rocks still more ancient. Perhaps, however, it is to these

very writers that Dr. Boué alludes when he says, " quelques-uns ont déjà même été convaincus de la nécessité de rejeter plusieurs de ces masses non stratifiées parmi les produits ignées ; ces personnes là n'ont qu'un pas à faire pour être de mon avis et de celui de M. le docteur Hutton."

We have not time to point out the numerous objections which might be urged against the principles on which the theory now before us is constructed. Several of them are suggested and even stated with sufficient candour by the author himself ; but although stated fairly they are not answered satisfactorily. Indeed, in the present state of our knowledge both as to the nature of mineral substances, taken separately, and as to the effects reciprocally produced by their combination in mountain rocks, and above all, in regard to their relations to the two powerful agents, fire and water, which are employed in determining their form and distribution, we cannot venture upon the slightest approach to theory, without incurring the hazard of contradicting ourselves and provoking the severest criticism at the hand of others.

It is but justice however to observe, that Dr. Boué's notions in regard to the origin of the trap rocks so abundantly scattered in the red-sandstone and independent coal formations, have the singular merit of relieving the geologist from the difficulty which attends the fact of successive layers or beds of sandstone and greenstone being found in the same deposit. In Salisbury Craigs, for example, a locality already so often alluded to, there are alternate beds of the two rocks above specified, presenting themselves in repeated succession, and preserving a distinct parallelism throughout the line of their junction.

Neither the Wernerian nor the Huttonian has been able to derive from the principles of his theory, a satisfactory or even an intelligible explanation of this fact. The former assures us, that the water which at one time surrounded the globe contained in solution the ingredients both of greenstone and sandstone, and upon the recurrence of certain circumstances which in some hidden manner influenced the condition of that solvent, it deposited first the one rock and then the other ; resuming this periodical formation at intervals apparently equal. The Huttonian, on the other hand, maintains that the greenstone was injected from below, between the several beds of sandstone, separating this last into layers, and filling up the space thereby occasioned with beds of melted trap, which in many instances are thicker than the portions of sandstone by which they are divided. This ac-

count of a physical phenomenon, by no means rare in any part of the world, is so extremely ridiculous, not to say unphilosophical, that it covered the whole theory whence it sprang with very general contempt. The hypothesis of a submarine volcano discharging at intervals its feldspar, hornblend, and augite, and forming beds of trap, upon which the superincumbent water, charged with siliceous and aluminous earths, deposited a layer of sandstone, to be afterwards covered with a fresh stream of lava flowing under the pressure of the ocean, carries with it much plausibility, and precludes most of the objections which assail the doctrines of Hutton and of Werner.

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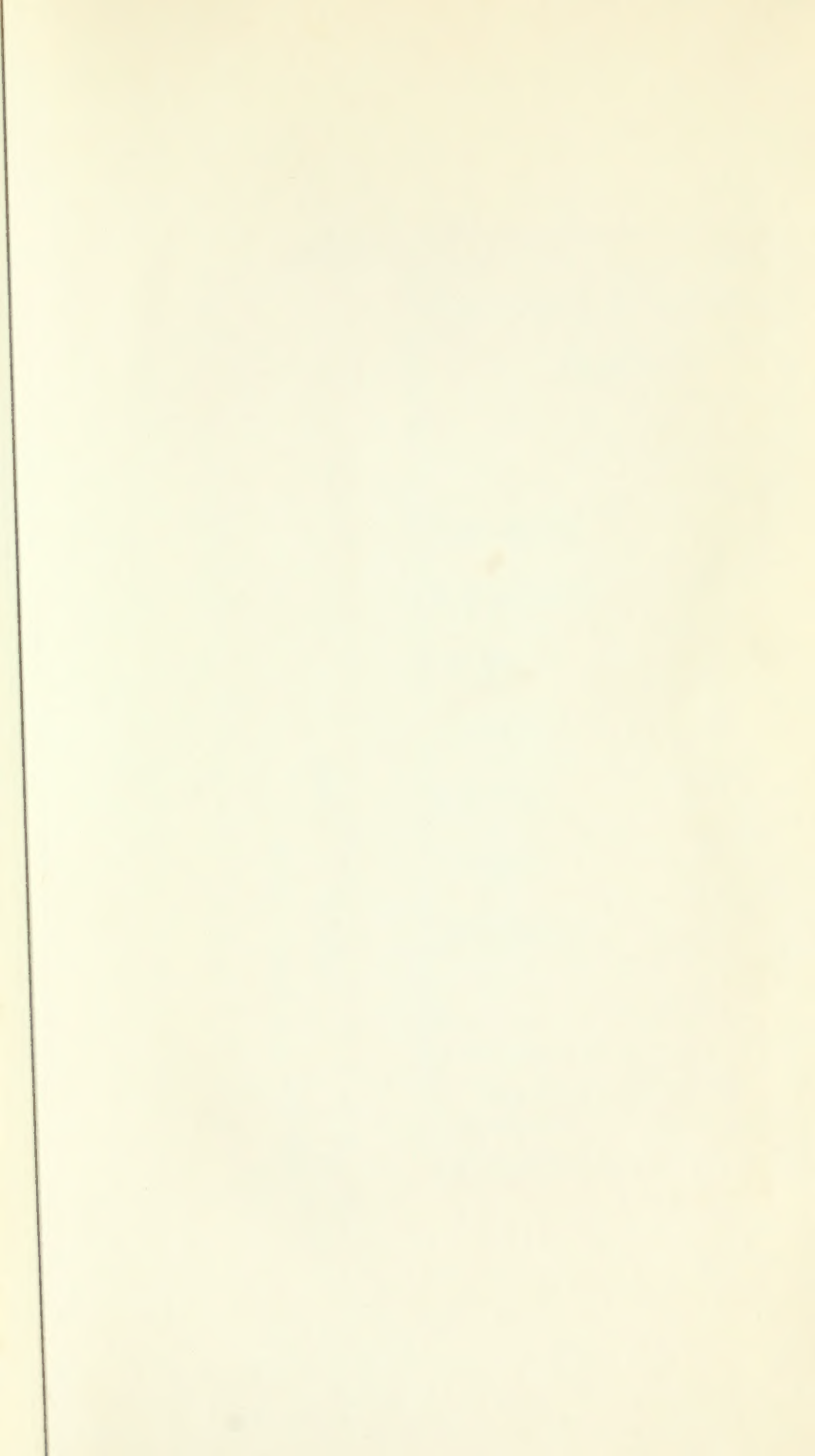
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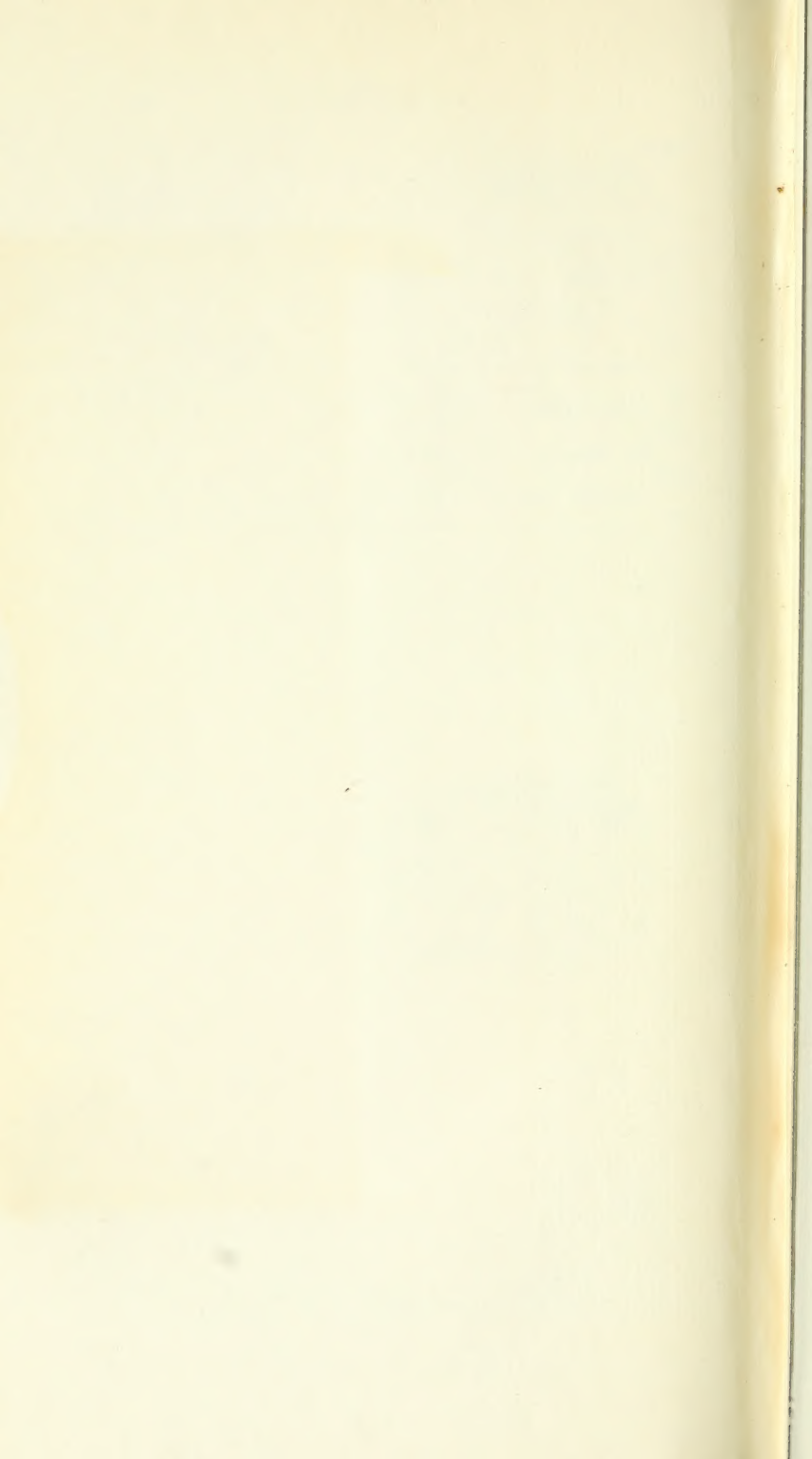
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